



His Highness Maharaja Jagatdipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur

954.11
A

HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR

[FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY A. D.]



1573

TRANSLATED FROM ORIGINAL BENGALI

By

SARAT CHANDRA GHOSHAL, M.A., B.L.,

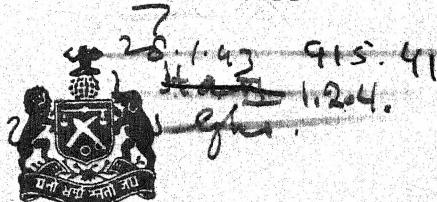
SARASVATI, KAVYATIRTHA, VIDYABHUSAN, BHARATI;

JUBILEE POST-GRADUATE SCHOLAR, BANKIMCHANDRA GOLD MEDALLIST & JYOTISHCHANDRA MEDALLIST (UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA), EWART PRIZEMAN—SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE, SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH & PHILOSOPHY—HINDU COLLEGE, DELHI, AND PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH & SANSKRIT—EDWARD COLLEGE, PAONA.

MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, CIVIL & SESSIONS JUDGE, COOCH BEHAR.

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD.

THE history of Cooch Behar, like that of Greece has its origin in mythology, but there is sufficient ground for contending that the earliest mythical narrations of Prágjyotis or Kâmarupa are far more reliable as historical sources than those of classical Greece. For, while Grote in his History of Greece⁽¹⁾ assumed the inefficacy of the religious legend or the purpose of history, the main theory of Euhemerus, an Asiatic traveller, "represented",⁽²⁾ in the words of Grote, "both gods and heroes as having been mere earth-born men, and deified or heroified after death as a recompense for services of striking exploits." It is also Lyall's conclusion⁽³⁾ in his study of the subject that the divine myths of India did not form themselves upon the personification of natural phenomena, or by accidental linguistic coincidences, so much as by deifying authentic men.—An expressive illustration of this process may be studied in the author's treatment⁽⁴⁾ in the present work of the song of Maynâmati.

As Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed has observed in his introduction to this history of the State, research into the period of India's antiquity has been, as yet, insignificant. Progress in archæological research, which is not only costly and laborious, but presupposes a scholar's knowledge of all other sources, has been particularly slow. Standing on one of the long ramparts of old Kâmatâpura, only fourteen miles from the present capital of the State, one may speculate on the fascination of the story which would be unfolded if this vast fortress had been excavated, and were as well-known as the Romano-British towns of Silchester or Dorchester. Instead, one has to resort to comparatively modern chronicles to secure what are little more than glimpses into the medieval civilisation of the Koch Country. Even so, these sources are more adequate than are extant in many parts of Eastern India, and especially is this true of the documentary

(1) History of Greece, Chapter XVI.

(2) Mythology of the Aryan Nations.

(3) Asiatic studies, Chapter II.

(4) Latter part of Chapter II and of foot note 24 *ibid.*

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

evidence relating to the ancestry of the present ruling dynasty of the State. There can be few States on this side of India where such evidence has survived, as it has in Cooch Behar, to indicate that the reigning house is traceable to the seventh century A. D. This testimony, which is to be found principally in the Târikhé Pheristâ and Târikhé Assam, was furnished⁽⁵⁾ to the Political Authorities during a recent revision of the accounts of States in the "Memoranda of the Indian States."

It was but natural that Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, G. C. I. E., C. B., should have inspired the labours of Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, for no Ruler had more profound regard for tradition in the fullest sense of the word, or could have done more to introduce and patronise the modern forms of learning in his State. As the Khan Choudhuri Sahib acknowledges, it was during the reign of His Highness Maharaja Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, K. C. S. I., that the actual task was approached, assisted by the generous co-operation of the late Maharakumar Victor Nityendra Narayan. The author continues, in his introduction, to express his indebtedness to other scholars and friends whose courtesy and erudition facilitated his enquiries.

The present translation which has been undertaken, at His Highness' personal wish, by Mr. S. C. Ghosal, could not have been committed to more able hands. The form in which the original was cast, and the actual text, have been adhered to closely and literally. The few interpolations for which the Editor is responsible, have been denoted by the symbol "(Ed.)".

It is satisfactory to record that arrangements have already been approved by His Highness for the preparation in English of Part II of the history of the State, from the end of the eighteenth century to the present day. That these plans will be implemented as timely as the nature of the work will permit, is to be gratefully ascribed to the personal suggestion and encouragement of Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba of Cooch Behar.

—*Haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

L. G. W.,

June, 1942.

Cooch Behar.

(5) Letter No. 2469, dated the 26th February 1937, from the State Council to the Secretary to the Resident for the Eastern States, which quoted excerpts in Bengali from the two authorities.

Translator's Note.

This translation of the Bengali work "Kochbihârer Itihâs" was undertaken by me as mentioned in the Editor's Foreword at the personal wish of His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Nârâyan Bhup Bahadur. The rulers of Cooch Behar were never indifferent to encourage composition of history of their country and we find earliest reference of such a history (though the original work is now lost) named Râjakhanda by Kaviratna during the time of Maharaja Pran Nârâyan (middle of the 17th century). Portions of a Sanskrit work named Visvasinhacharitam by Sreenath have also been discovered. This work was also written during the time of Maharaja Pran Nârâyan. A more detailed history entitled Râjopâkhyâna by Joynath Ghose was written with the encouragement of Maharaja Harendra Nârâyan, the concluding portion of this work being finished during the time of Maharaja Shibendra Nârâyan. Even the Maharanis encouraged the composition of history of Cooch Behar and we find that under orders of Maharani Kameswari Devi, consort of Maharaja Shibendra Nârâyan, Ripunjay Das wrote Mahârâj-Vansâvali. Maharani Brindeswari Devi, another Maharani of Maharaja Shibendra Nârâyan is herself the authoress of Behârodanta, a short history of her times.

Râjavansâvali of Durgadas was composed when Maharaja Nripendra Nârâyan was only one year old.

All these histories were composed from traditions and facts actually seen by the writers during their time. The first attempt to compile a history in English on a comparative method based on authenticated books and papers was made by late Harendranarayan Chaudhuri in his work "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement." This work was undertaken under the orders of Maharaja Nripendra Nârâyan. Informations on every important matter regarding Cooch Behar have been summarised in this valuable work along with the history of the State.

The historical portion of this work being however brief, need of a more detailed work was felt for a long time. The work of which the present is a translation was taken up to remove this want under inspiration of His Highness Maharaja Jitendra Nârâyan, after whose sad and untimely demise Her Highness Maharani Indira Devi as Regent of the State, during the minority of the present ruler was greatly interested in its publication and very graciously encouraged the present translation.

A Bengali work being however of limited circulation, the present English Edition was taken up to meet the demand of readers in different provinces and Native States in India for a knowledge of the history of Cooch Behar and its rulers traced as far back as the 7th century A.D.

The Bengali work ends with the installation of Maharaja Harendra Nârâyan. The present translator at the desire of His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Nârâyan Bhup Bahadur is engaged in the compilation of a second volume which will bring up the history up to date from the time of Maharaja Harendra Nârâyan. A full history of Cooch Behar from the earliest times down to the present day will be available on publication of this second volume.

Greatful acknowledgment is due to L. G. Wallis, Esq. I.C.S., Vice-President, State Council, Cooch Behar and Dewan Bahadur R. Subbayya Naidu Chief Minister, Cooch Behar for going through the manuscripts of the translation. Some portions of the translation have been omitted at their instance and some portions added by Mr. Wallis have been marked "Ed."

*Cooch Behar,
June, 1942.*

S. C. GHOSHAL.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

THE function of the historian is not merely to satisfy the curiosity of those who would be acquainted with movements or incidents long passed. Rather does it seek to supplement that body of human experience which should guide the present and future action of mankind, to establish deductively the connection between events which have been lost to the memory of a people, and modern problems. (Ed). In the Voltairian phrase, the present is born of the past, and the present gives birth to the future, and there is never change in that relationship. And according to Max Muller, the improvement of that people is impossible who are ignorant of their past history.

Research which has hitherto been conducted into the history of so anciently civilised a country as India, may be said to be insignificant, though in recent years much labour has been devoted to the task. A special difficulty is presented by the narrative histories⁽¹⁾ which were written before the introduction of the scientific historical method. This applies in marked degree to those "Kochbihar Rājvansâvalis", (or histories of the ruling dynasty of Cooch Behar), which have been composed in earlier times. No clear idea of their basic sources can be derived from them. It can only be inferred that they depended largely on hearsay evidence. Their accounts display patent discrepancies. Moreover, these Vansâvali manuscripts are concerned with the ruling family and not with the conditions of the country. Later, certain short histories on more modern lines were written and printed except in one or two cases at the instance of the Durbar, but they have since become obsolete and are not readily accessible.

In 1903, 'The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement' was published, and contained a short history of Cooch Behar. It was some years after the publication of this work, however, that Colonel His late Highness Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, G. C. I. E., C. B. expressed the desire that an authentic and detailed history of the State should be published. In this connection the writer of the present work submitted a short note

(1) "Those exasperating alchemists of fact and fiction". (Ed.)

containing *inter alia* a list of authorities. (2) Thereafter His Highness proceeded to England and alas, to his demise (1911). His late Highness Maharaja Rajrajendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, his eldest son, died (1913) but a short time after his installation. It therefore fell to His late Highness Maharaja Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, K. C. S. I., the second son of His Highness Sir Nripendra Narayan, to fulfil the wish of his father, and he entrusted (3) his younger brother the late Maharakumar Victor Nityendra Narayan and the writer with the work, and he himself engaged in collecting material. (4) At a later stage responsibility for the compilation was specifically assigned to the author, (5) but to his profound regret no opportunity was afforded of placing all the newly-found evidence before His Highness, for in 1912 this Ruler who had so encouraged learning and education, departed untimely from this world, and his eldest son His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur (then a minor) succeeded to the *Gaddi* of Cooch Behar.

(2) Extract from a letter dated, Darjeeling, the 8th August, 1909, from the Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur to the author.—

“Thanks for your letter of the 1st August The materials you have given me are very interesting and I trust we will be able to make use of them in the second edition of our History.”

Also letters on the subject, dated 5th August 1909 and 30th June 1911, from Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur, B. L., C. I. E., Dewan to the author.

(3) Letter No. 1828, dated the 31st March 1920, from the State Council to the Member, State Council in charge of the Education Department of the State.

(4). Letter dated the 5th April 1923, to the author, from the Secretary (later Financial Secretary) to His Highness.

(5). Extract from an address delivered by the President, (the late) Maharakumar Victor Nityendra Narayan, at the third annual meeting of the Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha in 1325 B. S. (1918).

“I am glad to announce that His Highness has sanctioned the publication of an authenticated History of the State. The task of collecting all materials..... has been left in the capable hands of our able Secretary Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed. I ask all members for their cordial help,....”

Extract from a letter No. 1868, dated the 4th March, 1930, from the Registrar, Regency Council, Cooch Behar, to the Revenue Officer of the State.—

“With reference to your letter No. 2982, dated the 18th February, 1930, I am directed to inform you that the Regency Council are pleased, as recommended by you, to accord their sanction to the grant of a sum of Rs. 3,500 (three thousand and five hundred) for the printing and publication of a comprehensive History of Cooch Behar State compiled by Khan Chowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed.”

The author's primary reason for undertaking so responsible a duty was his natural zeal to execute the orders of his Ruler. He had also in mind the words of Bankimchandra,—‘ We require a history of Bengal ; otherwise there is no hope for Bengal. Who will write it ? You will write it. I will write it. Everyone will write it. Whoever is a Bengali must write it . ’

Some years previously (1910) the writer had prepared a bibliography of all old manuscripts preserved in the State Library in Cooch Behar. At the beginning of the 19th century the capital of Cooch Behar was a centre of literary culture and Maharaja Harendranarayan was the inspiration of this enlightenment. Under his orders, a large number of books was written and translated and he himself was an author, † but as the second half of the century advanced, the introduction of Western education accelerated and accentuated a tendency of disregard for Eastern ideas and culture. This deteriorative influence was specially marked in Cooch Behar ; and it is to be regretted that many ancient relics preserved in the Palace were conveyed to English research workers to be preserved outside the State for ever. Fortunately, there remain in the State Library many manuscripts in Bengali, Assamese and some in Urdu and Persian.

In assembling his material for this history, the writer has searched old documents in the various offices of the State. Thus, in the Mahafezkhana of the Maleutchery there are more than two thousand records of settlement cases of the first Settlement. These cases concerned lands occupied by persons claiming to have acquired them by gift from former Rulers. The Waqqas (Amalnâmâs) and Sunnuds filed by the parties in these cases were, by practice, not returned. Many an item of significance has been revealed in these documents ; for example, in the deed granted by Maharaja Prân-narayan on the 18th Falgun 135 Rajsaka (1645 A. D.) or in that granted by Maharaja Modnarayan on the 5th Magh 166 Rajsaka (1676 A. D.). (The latter deed was written on cloth and was sealed with the ‘Sinhachhap’).

One of the oldest documents preserved in the Mahafezkhana of the Cooch Behar State Council is an order (Ajnâ-patra of Maharaja Prân-narayan dated the 22nd Bhadra 137 Rajsaka (1646 A. D.). There are some letters written by the Devaraja and the Dharmaraja, the oldest of which is dated 246 Rajsaka (1755 A. D.). These letters were written in Bengali from ‘Killâ Tâsisâme’ (Tasisudan) and Punakh.

† “Upakathâ”, “Kriyâyogasâra,” “Sundarkânda Râmâyana” of Maharaja Harendranarayan have been edited with Introduction and notes by S. C. Ghoshal and published by the Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha (Ed.).

In some the address is superscribed in doggerel Sanskrit, e.g.—“*svastih
Behar Kāmatesvar udayagirirājarājesvara mahāsampa da mangala
airinī drana prakhyāta prithivipati sree sree Beharer Maharaj Bisamasamare
panchānanesu*”.⁽⁶⁾

The manuscripts of the songs to the deity Kali composed by Maharajas Harendranarayan and Shibendranarayan⁽⁷⁾ are also in the Mahafezkhana.

The Assamese manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of the Assam Valley in Gauhati have been studied,⁽⁸⁾ and such portions as bear on the history of Cooch Behar have been extracted. The assistance rendered to the writer in this behalf by the Kāmarupa Anusandhān Samiti is gratefully acknowledged.⁽⁹⁾

In the Anglo-Oriental Library (Khudabaksh Library) at Patna, previously unpublished accounts relevant to the history of Cooch Behar were discovered in old documents. The records preserved in the Record Office of the Government of India in Calcutta, the Imperial Library and the Library of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, and in the Punjab and the Jaipur State, have been studied.

By courtesy of the Governments of Assam and Bengal, certain rare documents have been received on loan. The Government of Bengal not only extended the favour of furnishing copies of old and important documents, but accorded facilities to Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan and the author to search the records.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Maharajkumar Sahib collected plaster-casts of coins in the British Museum and took copies of old papers in the India Office Library in London. Through the courtesy of the British Ambassador in Nepal copies of inscriptions preserved in that country were available.

(6) Captain Turner after his visit to Bhutan in 1873 has recorded that correspondence between the Bhutiyas and Bengal was carried on in the Bengali language—Embassy to Tibet, page 69.

(7) The songs of Maharaja Harendranarayan and Maharaja Shibendranarayan have been edited with notes and introduction by Mr. S. C. Ghoshal, M.A., B.L., and published by the Cooch Behar Sāhitya Sāhabā.

(8) All these manuscripts are in the custody of the Kāmarupa Anusandhan Samiti.

(9) Letter No. 36/5-G, dated the 24th July, 1914, from the Second Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Commissioner, Assam Valley Division.

Prospectus of the Kāmarupa Anusandhān Samiti, page 4, 1914.

(10) Letter D. O. No. 873 R. R., dated the 13th November, 1919, from Mr. D. Gladding, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan of Cooch Behar.

INTRODUCTION.

Numerous coins of the present ruling dynasty of Cooch Behar and of other Rulers, have been examined, and previously accepted readings of some Narayani coins, have perforce been amended. The new historical questions thus arising, are discussed in Chapter XIX.

The author visited many places (besides historical sites within the State of Cooch Behar,)—Gauhati, Beltala, Hajo and Rângâmâti in Assam, Mahâsthângrah (in the district of Bogra), Ghodâghât (in the district of Dinajpur) and the Duars (in the district of Jalpaiguri) in Bengal.

The ruins of the old fort of Kâmatâpur within the State of Cooch Behar, have been given the special attention they have aroused as far back as 1808 when Government deputed Dr. Buchanan Hamilton to inspect them. Selected portions from his memorandum were subsequently printed in the work "Eastern India." Brajachandra Mazumdar, the Headmaster of the local Middle Vernacular School, resided in this fort for ten years and in 1306 B. S. printed the manuscript 'Gosanimangal' the appendix to which contains his personal observations on the ruins. In 1900 Babu Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri recorded their condition at that time in his book "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement". In 1921, in response to a request from the Government Archaeological Department addressed to the State Authorities, the writer drafted a note on the ruins. This, unfortunately, was founded on superficial external evidence, but perhaps had this value that the writer has himself observed changes at various places in the Garh during fifty years.

The reader should be informed that difficulty was experienced in deciphering the inscription on the door of the Temple of Kamatesvari within the Garh. This inscription is placed at an inaccessible height, and the reading given in this work was prior to that taken by the Public Works Department of the State, and requires minor emendation.

In Chapters I—VI of this History of Cooch Behar, the ancient history of the country is reviewed. In the Chapters V and VI the prevailing conditions in the country have been described. After this, the history of Cooch Behar under the Rulers of the Haihaya dynasty begins, to end in Chapter XII. The subject-matter of the succeeding seven Chapters is supplementary to the contents of Chapters VII—XII.—

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER XIII—Some branches of the Cooch Behar ruling family.—

This has reference to the branches of the ruling family which gained special recognition outside the State of Cooch Behar.

CHAPTER XIV—The Mahomedan connection.—

A chronological précis of the conquest or rather part-occupation of the country effected by contemporary Mahomedan rulers or governors.

CHAPTER XV—Narayani coins.—

A numismatic study of the coins issued by the 'Narayan' rulers of Cooch Behar.

CHAPTER XVI—The Nazir and Gosvami.—

The quarrel which began at the end of the 18th century between Chhatra Nazir Khagendranarayan Kumar and Rajguru Sarbananda Gosvami.

CHAPTER XVII—Bhutan Duars.—

Bhutan history and the history of the separation from the State of Cooch Behar of the territory known as the 'Duar' situated between the present State of Cooch Behar and Bhutan.

CHAPTER XVIII.—The Cooch Behar Treaty.—

The relations between the Ruler of Cooch Behar and the East India Company, and the terms of the treaty.

CHAPTER XIX.—Various chronological discussions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND APPENDICES.

The works known as the Rājvansāvali and in particular those with special relevance to the history of Cooch Behar, have been described briefly in the Bibliography appended to this work. For the convenience of the reader a list of other works from which material has been derived, is given. References to Urdu and Persian works, which could not be inserted in their proper places in the text, because of printing difficulties, are included separately in the Appendices. The maps annexed, are roughly drawn and based on both old and contemporary sources of information. Illustrations of certain temples, inscribed figures, coins, and photographs of two cannon, have been introduced at suitable places in the text.

The genealogical table has been prepared mainly from the Rājopākhyāna and the colophon of "Banaparva" translated by Paramānanda Tarkālankāra (1797 A. D.) importing such additions and alterations proved necessary after discussion and consultation with Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., M. A., C. I. E., formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and Professor Padmanāth Vidyabinode Tattvasarasvati, M. A., formerly of the Cotton College Gauhati. Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan and the Members of the Regency Council supported these emendations after full consideration.

Sir Edward Gait was of opinion that his work 'The History of Assam' would constitute a mere guide to historians, and as he wrote to the author in February 1924, could not be free from errors. Sir Edward's remarks may be taken to apply equally to this present undertaking.

The author cannot adequately express his obligation to Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Narayan for his never-failing practical assistance. Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Professor Padmanāth Vidyabinode have shown great and rare favours by their advice, the latter especially by carefully going through this work when the manuscript was ready. Much help has been contributed by men of letters in the State and by literary societies in several places beyond. To those specialists also who advised in deciphering doubtful passages, to Sjt. Akhil Chandra Bharatibhusan of Cooch Behar who kindly corrected the proofs, to all these coadjutors the writer expresses his sincere gratitude.

INTRODUCTION.

—And also, to Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba of Cooch Behar, who as Regent of the State of Cooch Behar was pleased to read this work and to commend it.⁽¹¹⁾

COOCH BEHAR :

The 24th Chaitra 1342 B. S.

AMANATULLA AHMED.

(11). Letter No. 262, dated the 8th June, 1935, from the Private Secretary to Her Highness the Maharani Regent, to the author.

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1. RÂJAKHANDA.

This work was composed by Kaviratna in the middle of the 17th century A. D. under orders of Maharaja Prânnârâyan of Cooch Behar. This work is mentioned in 'Râjopâkhyâna' of Munshi Joynath Ghose (about 1823 A. D.) and the article 'Kochbihârer Itihâsa' written by Anandachandra Ghose (1865 A. D.). But this work is not now found anywhere. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that Kaviratna was one of the ministers of Prânnârâyan and that he was killed by Chhatra Nazir Mahinarayan.

2. VISVASINHA-CHARITAM—(Written in Sanskrit).

This is a Kavya written in Sanskrit. Pages 14 to 22 of this work have been preserved by Srijukta Girisananda Chakravarti of Khagrabari, a village near the town of Cooch Behar. No trace of the remaining portion of the work has been found. The fourth canto ends on page 17. In the portion found, one or two incidents in the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan have been described. So this was written after the time of Visvasinha. There is a colophon in page 17 of this manuscript to the effect that it was composed by 'the young poet Sreenath the son of Bhudev (Brahmin) Ramesvar'. Sreenath was the son of Ramesvar and the grandson of Bhabânanda (the reader of Sukladhvaja). Ramesvar was a contemporary of Maharaja Prânnârâyan. Sreenath wrote many works under orders of Maharaja Prânnarayyan. So it can be inferred that 'Visvasinha-charitam' was composed during the reign of Maharaja Prânnârâyan, (17th century A. D.).

It is written in page 21 of this work that there was a battle between Maharaja Naranârâyan and 'Hazratan Chhiliman-nâmâ Yavanendra' (Soleman Kararani). The Mahamadan historians have also mentioned this. Soleman bore the title 'Hazrat Âlâ.

3. RÂJOPAKHYÂNA.

This work is written in Bengali prose by Munshi Joynath Ghose. The writing of this work began under orders of Kalichandra Lahiri, the Dewan of Maharaja Harendranârâyan. The date of the beginning of the writing of this work has not been mentioned in the work. But it is considered from circumstances that composition of this work began between 1230 to 1240 B. S. and it was finished towards the end of the reign of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan (1252 B. S.). The Rungpur Sâhitya Parishat have secured a copy of this manuscript. In it there is a seal of Nilkamal Sanyal, a former Dewan of Cooch Behar. This is bound in leather and is like a modern book containing 298 pages. It is written in the manuscript that this work (up to Adhyâya 18 of Pratyaksa Khanda) was made over to Maharaja Harendranârâyan (1240 B. S.) for reading and he after reading the whole of the same granted 'Panchagrâma' (consisting of five villages) lands as revenue free (Lakheraj) to the writer as a reward. * This work was also given to Maharaja Shivendranarayan for perusal but it is not written in the work whether he read it or not. It was the desire of the king to give publicity to this work everywhere but it is not known whether this was really printed or not. It is not clearly mentioned in the Introduction what was the basis on which this work was written.

* There is mention in the Settlement papers of Cooch Behar dated 1872 A. D. that 817 Bighas of Lakheraj land were held as 'Bakshis' by Dinanath Ghose and others, the heirs of Joynath Ghose.

There is mention in the introduction quoted above that Joynath Ghose knew the accounts collected during the enquiry of the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet in 1788 A. D. Many old and important facts about which there was no difference of opinion between the king's party and the Nazir, have been printed in the report of the Commissioners. This report was finished in 1788 A. D. (1195 B. S.) and seven years after this Joynath Ghose joined his post. Still many facts as mentioned in the report, are not found in Rājopākhyāna.

It is mentioned in the Vansāvali of the Durrung Raja Gandharvanārāyan, that Maharaja Harendranārāyan sent a messenger and brought the manuscript of 'Durrung Vansāvali' from Raja Vijaynārāyan but there are many discrepancies between this Vansāvali and Rājopākhyāna.

In the case State *versus* Bikramānanda Chakravarti (Settlement Case No. 489 and 490 of 1871 A. D.) when an objection was raised against the genealogical table as written in Rājopākhyāna, the then Dewan Rai Calicadas Dutt Bahadur wrote: "Joynath Munshi's book is not always quite correct". The claimants in that case urged that there are genealogical tables in possession of the contemporary Maharani Bara Aye Devati, Kumar Munindranārāyan, Babu Ratidev Bakshi and pleader Babu Chandranath Tarafdar and these were different from what was mentioned by Joynath Ghose. The work named 'Rājavansāvali,' written by Durgadas Mazumdar, a relative of Ratidev Bakshi, has been found in possession of the sons of Ratidev Bakshi. The work named 'Beharodanta' composed by Maharani Brindesvari Bara Aye Devati has also been found. But these two Vansāvalis are in comparison with Rājopākhyana full of mistakes. No trace of the two other genealogical tables as mentioned above has been found. The genealogical table given in the colophon of Banaparva by Paramānanda Tarkālankar (1204 B. S.=1797

A. D.) is similar to that given in Rājopâkhyâna. Mr. Moore, the Collector of Rungpur, in his report dated the 9th June 1781 A. D. gave a genealogical table of the royal family of Cooch Behar. No genealogical table written before this, has yet been discovered. But even this table is full of mistakes in comparison with that given in Rājopâkhyâna.

Joynath Ghose has written that when the manuscript Rājopâkhyâna was made over to Maharaja Harendranârâyan for perusal, he passed a remark "The moon of fame of the old kings who were my predecessors was almost devoured by the Râhu (who causes eclipse) of time. By your work, the lost fame is again made permanent". Dewan Kalichandra Lahiri told Joynath Ghose "Even now many are unable to mention all who became kings and whom they succeeded and for what period they reigned and how many generations of kings have passed since the days of Shiva". From these circumstances and remarks, it is inferred that an authenticated genealogical table of the royal family of Cooch Behar was almost lost and Joynath Ghose composed Rājopâkhyâna collecting his materials from various sources. He has mentioned in the introduction that he even depended on tradition.

Rev. Mr. R. Robinson, formerly the Superintendent of Education, Cooch Behar State, translated Rājopâkhyâna into English. This was printed in the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, in 1874 A. D. The size is demy 8 vo and there are 244 pages in this work. In the title page of the translated work the name of the writer has been mentioned as 'Jadunath Ghose'. There are also many mistakes like this in the translation which cannot be overlooked. Some works have been written on the basis of this translation. The writers of some of these works have only increased the number of such mistakes in their attempt to express in their own language this incorrect translation.

Joynath Ghose, the writer of *Rājopākhyāna* was a Kayasth by caste and a resident of village Baniajuri in the Sub-division of Manikganj in the district of Dacca. In 1202 B. S. he was appointed a tutor of Maharaja Harendranārāyan to teach him Bengali and Persian. The Maharaja appointed him as his own Munshi (writer) after he attained majority. Later on he became the Sheristadar of the Khalisa Mehal. The next Maharaja Shivendranārāyan appointed Joynath as Sheristadar of the Rajsabhâ. Towards the end of his service, he held the post of the Tehsildar. The period of service of Joynath in Cooch Behar was for more than 50 years. Even at the time of the installation of Maharaja Narendranārāyan, he was in service. He died in Benares in 1265 A. D.

4. SANGITSANKAR.

This manuscript was composed by Jagatdurlabh Biswas in Bengali verse under orders of Maharaja Harendranārāyan in the beginning of the 19th century A. D. but the date of composition is not mentioned in the work. An account of the reign of Maharaja Harendranārāyan is given in this work. This is finished briefly in 15 pages and in several places there are songs bearing in the colophon the name of Maharaja Harendranārāyan. The writer Jagatdurlabh Biswas was a resident of the district of Murshidabad. His father was Brajamohan. His residence was in village Kalikapur on the banks of the Ganges. This work being bound along with another work 'Harabhaktitaranga' written by Durgadas in one Volume is preserved in the Mahafezkhana of the Malcutchery in Cooch Behar. There is no historical value attached to this work. The discrepancies with other Vansâvalis are also very great. The cover has pictures painted in colours. There are coloured portraits of Mahadeva, Hari Mandal, Hira and Jira Devi, the boys Bisu and Sisu, Maharaja Naranārāyan, Dhairyendranārāyan, Harendranārāyan and

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Shivendranârâyan. Names have been put down under the pictures to identify the portraits. Coloured portraits of Maharaja Harendranârâyan and Shivendranârâyan are preserved in the State Library, Cooch Behar. The Cooch Behar Sahityasabha has published the 'Syâmâsangita' of Maharaja Harendra-nârâyan with his portrait. † There is similarity of this portrait with the figure painted on the cover of the manuscript but no such similarity is apparent in the portraits of Maharaja Shivendranârâyan. The other pictures appear to be drawn from imagination.

5. HARABHAKTI-TARANGA,

Written in Bengali verse by Durgadas and containing 73 pages. At the end of the work an account of the installation of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan (139 A. D.) is given. This manuscript also has no historical value.

The writing in this book in many places is similar to that of the manuscript entitled 'Râjvansâvali'—in places these are almost identical. If we take that Durgadas Mazumdar, the writer of 'Râjvansâvali' and this Durgadas were one and the same person, we must hold that this work was first composed and that it was subsequently corrected and came to be known as 'Râjvansâvali'.

6. MAJOR JENKINS' REPORT 1849.—

(Selections from the records of the Government of Bengal, No. 5).

Major Francis Jenkins was the Agent to the Governor General in the North Eastern Frontier Province. The report

† The work is edited by S. C. Ghoshal, M. A., B. L. The work is named 'Gitavali'. It does not contain songs on Syâmâ only but also on other deities and subjects. (Tr.).

which he wrote in 1849 regarding Sikkim, Morang and Cooch Behar was printed in Calcutta in 1851 under orders of the Government. The account regarding Cooch Behar begins in page 19 and ends in page 51. The account previous to Maharaja Devendranârâyan was very briefly written and that following 1772 A. D. was given in detail.

7. MAHÂRÂJA-VANSÂVALI.—

Written in Bengali prose under orders of Maharan Kamesvari Devi (Dangar Aye) the eldest queen of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan, by Ripunjay Das, a resident of village Gobrachhara in Cooch Behar and a Pundit holding the title of Vidyâratna. The date of composition is not given in this manuscript. It is inferred that it was written after the death of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan (1847 A. D.). Though the history of Cooch Behar is very briefly given in this work, we find the names of twenty-one sons of Maharaja Visvasinha in it, which we do not find in any other Vansâvali. There are many variations between this manuscript and Râjopâkhyâna. Joynath Ghose wrote the last few Chapters of Râjopâkhyâna under orders of Maharaja Shivendranârâyan this Vansâvali was written under the orders of the queen of Shibendranârâyan. But it is clearly seen that the two writers of this manuscript did not read Râjopâkhyâna or they composed this work in rivalry with the same.

There are some particulars in this work which are not found in other Vansâvalis, e. g. 'Composition of Malladevi Abhidhâna by Maharaja Malladeva', 'Discovery of Lolarka Kunda in Benares by Maharaja Laksminârâyan'. 'Establishment of some images of Gods and Goddesses by Maharaja Prânnârâyan' etc.

8. BEHARODANTA.—

"By Maharani Sree Sree Brindesvari Devya. Residence—the royal seraglio in Cooch Behar. Printed in Sambhuchandra Press in Kakina. The 15th Bhadra 1266 B. S.". Size Demy

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8 Vo. 55 pages. In 1330 B. S. the Cooch Behar Sahitya-sabha has reprinted this work.

The authoress Maharani Brindesvari (Bara Aye Devati) was the queen of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan. She has given her account in the colophon of this work as follows : -

"Rajendranârâyan (is) a resident of Parvatjoar. He is richer than Kuvera.....I am his daughter. I do not know anything but misery. To whom shall I mention the same ? What is the good of mentioning the same ?.....The ruler of Behar married this unfortunate self along with Sree Sree Kamesvari". Pages 12-13.

Parvat Joar is situated on the northwest of the district of Goalpara (Dhubri). There are many mistakes in the genealogical table given in this work.

9. RÂJVANSÂVALI.—

Written in Bengali verse by Durgadas Mazumdar Contains 176 pages. The work was completed in 1270 B. S. (1863 A. D. = 354 Rajsaka). At this time Maharaja Nripendranârâyan was only one year old and he had just been installed on the Gaddi. There are many statements in this work which are against history. Still, after Râjopâkhyâna it is fit to be considered by historians as a Râjvansâvali of Cooch Behar. Many incidents not noted in Râjopâkhyâna are describel in this work. Like Joynath Ghose, Durgadas has mentioned the date of installation of each king in Rajsaka in this work. This manuscript is preserved in the custody of Sarat Kumar Dev Bakshi of Cooch Behar.

Durgadas has written that in 53 Rajsaka, Sukladhvaja brought 14 Kayasthas from 'Purvadesa' * and established

* According to the inference of Srijukta Pandit Padmanath Vidyavinode' Srihatta ia meant here by the word Purvadesa'. In an ancient work, it is written: "Barabakro Mahâtirthah purvadesa-samudbhavah" ('Barabakra is the

them in Cooch Behar granting them lands. He was the descendant of one of them :—

"Fourteen persons were his subordinates. Thirteen of these died intestate. Only I am remaining. The land which was granted for maintenance, is nearly washed away by the river. Anxiety for maintenance fills the mind". *Page 56.*

"He is the son of Shiva. His name is Sankar. The son of Sankar bears the name Manohar. I, Durgadas, possessing but little knowledge, am the son of Manohar and the only one remaining out of the fourteen and the most wretched of the family". *Page 65.*

Durgadas died in 1298 B. S. at the age of 75. No descendant of him is surviving at present. So the family of the Kayasthas brought by Sukladhvaj is extinct.

10. LECTURE BY BABU ÂNANDA CHANDRA GHOSE.—

Babu Ânanda Chandra Ghose read a paper named 'Kochbiharer Itihas' in Kochbihar Hitaisini Sabhâ. He was a member of this Sabhâ. This article is wrongly called as 'the lecture of Ram Chandra Ghose'. Ananda Chandra was the natural son of Munshi Joynath Ghose, the writer of Râjopâkhyâna. He was the adopted son of Gopinath Ghose, the elder brother of Joynath Ghose. Ânanda Chandra worked as the Sheristadar in the office of the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and in 1869, the charge of the office of the Dewan was for some months placed with him.

great place of pilgrimage arising in Purvadesa'). Barabakra-mâhâyam. The river Barabakra is now known as Barâk. It flows in Srihatta (Sylhet). Sukladhvaja conquered Srihatta in 1563 A. D. (53 Rajsaka). In a Waqqa granted by Maharaja Rupnârâyan in 201 Rajsaka it is mentioned that 14 families of kayasthas were brought from Kâmarupa and that Maharaja Naranârâyan made grants of land to them in 53 Rajsaka. In ancient times Srihatta was within Kâmarupa.

This article (along with others) was printed at State cost in 1787 Saka (1865 A. D.) in the Gupta Press, Calcutta. A Copy of this was with Rai Chaudhuri Satis Chandra Mustofi. This article occupies 29 pages of Demy 8 vo. In it, the boundaries of the kingdom, origin of the name of Cooch Behar, geographical condition of the country, account of crops grown on the soil, account of the capital and famous places and the dynasty of kings have been briefly and separately described. Probably it was Ânandachandra Ghose who for the first time showed the way to write history in this manner in Cooch Behar. In this article, the Vansâvali of Râjopâkhyâna was briefly given. The style of the writer is like that of his father and there is evidence of independent criticism in this article.

11. One authoritative paper on the early History of Kuch Behar, which unsigned and un-dated, was published as Appendix B in "Selections from unpublished records of Government of Bengal". Edited by Rev. J. Long (Calcutta, 1869).

This work has not been found.

12. COMPLETION OF SETTLEMENT REPORT.

Mr. W. A. O. Beckett wrote this report. Mr. Beckett came as the Assistant Commissioner of Cooch Behar in 1871 A. D. Afterwards he was placed in charge of Settlement work and wrote this report in English in 1874 A. D. This was written regarding the first Settlement of Cooch Behar and in it a short history of the State has been given. The historical portion of the report was compiled from Râjopâkhyâna and the report of Major Jenkins. This report is preserved among the State papers and in the State Library. The Vansâvali is finished in 3 pages of royal folio size.

13. ACCOUNT OF THE COOCH BEHAR.

This was written in English in 1876 A. D. by Captain T. H. Lewin. This work too has not been traced. In 1884 Bhagabaticharan Bandyopadhyaya wrote a work named 'Kochbiharer Itihas'. He took help from the above work. This work was also in existence when Srijukta Harendranarayan Chaudhuri wrote his history (Work No. 17, 1903 A. D., page 225), but in the Preface to it Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur mentioned it as out of print.

14. KOCHBIHARER ITIHAS.—

By Bhagavati Charan Bandyopadhyaya and printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar in 1882 A. D. This work was printed for the public. In the Preface to the work, the author has mentioned that perusing the work 'Kochbiharer Bibaran'* written by him, the then Dewan Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur requested him to write a systematic history of Cooch Behar and accordingly he engaged himself in this work. As 'many people of this country' objected to certain portions of the work, these were omitted according to the wishes of Sreejukta Kumar Govindanârâyan Saheb' in a second edition consisting of 170 pages Demy 8 vo. which was printed in 1884 A. D.

15. KOCHBIHAR RAJYER SANKSIPTA BIBARAN.

This work was compiled in 1883 A. D. by Jadab Chandra Chakravarti, the Fouzdari Ahilkar (Magistrate) of Cooch Behar. This was written on the occasion of the installation of Maharaja Nripendra Narayan and printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar and distributed free. The work contains 79 pages Royal 16 vol.

* In 1879 A. D. 'Kochbiharer Bibaran' was printed to meet the necessity of students. It contained 26 pages Demy 12 vo. The State officers Srijukta Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharya in 1922 A. D. and Srijukta Ksetramohan Brahma in 1928 A. D. composed treatises for the same purpose and printed the same.

Two copies of this work are found in the State Library, Cooch Behar. In it, accounts of the geographical condition of the country, the rivers, people, climate, animals and arts and trade were given. The historical portion of this work was written mostly on the basis of Râjopâkhyâna.

16. INTRODUCTION TO DÂMODARACHARITAMRITA (UNPUBLISHED).—

Written by Govindadeva Gosvami. With the object of printing 'Dâmodara-charitâmrita' written by Ram Ray, the author prepared a press copy of this and made over the same on the 20th Sraban 1877 Saka (1895 A. D.) to Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur, the Dewan of Cooch Behar. With that press copy, there was an Introduction covering 22 pages written by himself and in it a short history of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar and the Saka era of the beginning of reign of each king were given. This 'Dâmodarcharitâmrita' or its introduction was not printed. In 1915 A. D. this press-copy was in the Mahafez-khana of the Malcutchery in Cooch Behar.

17. THE COOCH BEHAR STATE AND ITS LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT.

This work is generally known to the public as the Cooch Behar Settlement Report. It was composed in English in 1903 by Srijukta Harendranarayan Chaudhuri, B. L., the then Settlement Naib Ahilkar (Assistant Settlement Officer) and printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar. It contains 705 pages Royal 8 vo. This work was compiled for requirements of the State and the work was also distributed to some unofficial gentlemen. The author received Rs. 2,000 from the State as honorarium. As many necessary illustrations and maps were appended, the work has become appropriate and attractive. The then Dewan Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur, C. I. E., wrote a

Preface covering 16 pages to this work. There is no additional information in the Preface except a short summary of the work. Though the historical portion of the work is short, there are some mistakes in the accounts newly collected.

18. THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE TOWN OF COOCH BEHAR.

This work gives an account of the resettlement of Cooch Behar, the Capital of the State. This is written in English by Pramathanath Chatterjee, M. A., B. L., Naib Ahilkar. It was printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar at the cost of the State. Its size is Royal 8 vo. The historical portion covers only 10 pages. The names mentioned in the work of Munshi Joynath Ghosh as the former capitals of Cooch Behar have been attempted to be identified by the author, but many mistakes are found in the statements made in the narrative.

19. COPY OF THE DECREE OF THE CHAKLAJAT CASE.

At the end of the 18th century under Chhatra Nazir Khagendranarayan, Fakirchand and Harinarayan were Chaudhuris or collectors of rent in Boda, Deviprasad was the Collector for Patgram and Alimohainmad was for Purbabhab Chakla. With the intention of misappropriating the three Chaklas, they instituted a case in Rungpur against the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the Nazir but were defeated. This is the decree of that case (1778 A. D.).

These three Chaklas came under the territory of the Mughal emperor 66 years before this case. It is mentioned in the copy of this decree that Mughal supremacy was established on these three Chaklas and Ijara of the same was given in the name of the Nazir to the king. It is written in the decree that these accounts were written on the basis of an old document preserved in the Canoongo's Duftar, at the time of the case (1778 A. D.). This portion of the history of Cooch Behar is in the dark. During

the enquiry by Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, a copy of a decree of this case was filed on behalf of the king, but as there was no signature and seal on the same, the Commissioners did not accept it.

An old copy of the decree of this case has been found (in 1920 A. D.) among the old records preserved in the State Council. There is no signature on it. The accounts given in this decree tally with those written in the report by Mr. Glazier in Rungpur and with those collected by Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet regarding the occupation of the three Chaklas by the Mughal emperor. There are many additional particulars given in this copy but there is no means to test their truth. The discrepancies found in some places might be due to mistakes in copying. The Jalusi and Bengali eras mentioned in the same, mostly tally with historical dates.

20. MERCER AND CHAUVENT'S REPORT.

(Messieurs Lawrence Mercer and John Lewis Chauvet's Report).

At the end of the 18th century there was a quarrel between Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan and Rajguru Sarbânanda Gosvami (on behalf of the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan) of Cooch Behar. Messieurs Mercer and Chauvet, Commissioners appointed by the East India Company, enquired into this (1788 A. D.). Besides the statements of the parties before the Commissioners, English translation of necessary documents, genealogical table and oral evidence, the report of the Commissioners and the finding of the Government are preserved among the old records of the Government. The authorities of the State of Cooch Behar brought copies of these and had these printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar in 1869 A. D.. The work consists of 205 pages Royal quarto (contents 8 pages). The

name of this work is "Cooch Behar Select Records in 1788, Vol. II". This is commonly known as "Mercer and Chauvet's report". The first volume of this work has not been traced but the volume available though named as the second volume includes the full report of the abovementioned enquiry. The complaint against the Nazir written by the king (received on the 19th December, 1787 A. D.), the report of the Commissioner dated the 10th November 1788 and the Resolution of the Board dated the 13th May 1789 have been printed in this work.

During the time of enquiry the oral and documentary evidence produced by one party were not acknowledged as true by the opposite party. But still there were many independent statements recorded in this report. The incidents in the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan as seen by eye-witnesses have been printed in this report. There are some accounts in this report which are not found in any other Vansâvali. This report was mentioned in the resolution of Colonel Haughton. When the present history was compiled, help from this work was taken, but subsequently this work was not found when an attempt was made to verify the accounts. Another edition of this report was printed in the same year in the State Press, Cooch Behar. One copy of this is in the Maharaja's office and a second in the office of the State Council. It contains 190 pages of double foolscap quarto size. Accounts about the subject matter of the enquiry and the report of the Commissioners have been printed in this work. The complaint, resolution of the Board and Contents have not been printed in this edition. It is also not mentioned whether this is the first or the second volume.

21. COOCH BEHAR SELECT RECORDS.

Two other volumes in English named 'Cooch Behar Select Records' were printed and preserved in the Mahafezkhana of

the State Council. These were printed in the State Press, Cooch Behar, the first volume in 1882 A. D. and the second in 1884 A. D. The authorities of the Cooch Behar State brought from the Government Duftar copies of most of the letters in English or Bengali exchanged between the king, the Commissioner, the Political Agent and the Government from 1777 to 1864 A. D. and had these printed. The English copies are preserved bound in twenty volumes and the Bengali copies in three volumes. The former Dewan Rai Calica Das Dutt Bahadur selected the English letters and these have been printed and preserved in two volumes in the name of 'Cooch Behar Select Records' in double foolscap quarto size. In the first volume there are 359 pages and in the second 279 pages. Many historical facts in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the 19th century have been collected in these letters.

Maharajkumar Victor Nityendra Nârâyan brought copies of some other old letters in English regarding Cooch Behar from the Government Duftar (1922 A. D.). Many incidents which took place after the establishment of relations between the king of Cooch Behar and the East India Company have been rendered in these copies. Accounts which are not mentioned in the 'Select Records' have also been found in these copies.

22. BÂHÂRISTAN-I-GHAIBI.—

History of Bengal and Orissa in the first part of the 17th century A. D. It is written in Persian by Mirza Nathan Alaüddin Ispahani Shetab Khan.* Malek Ali Ehteman Khan, the father of the writer was a General of

* 'Setab Khan' is a title granted to the author by the Badsaha. In 'Purani Asama Buranjee' and 'the Buranjee of Khunlung and Khunlai' we find the name of contemporary Mughal General as 'Mirya Nathan' or 'Nathal'.

the army under the Mughal emperor. Detailed descriptions of battles which took place in the kingdoms of Kāmatā and Kāmarupa during the rule of Subedar Eslam Khan, Kasem Khan and Ibrahim Khan (1608 to 1624 A. D.) are given in this work. The writer personally took part as a General in many of these battles. It appears that at that time he had close intimacy with Laksminārāyana the king of Cooch Behar. There is no great discrepancy between the accounts given in this work and those mentioned in 'Bâdsâhanâmâ' and 'Purani Asama Buranjee'.

The original 'Baharistan-i-Ghaibi' in the handwriting of the writer himself is now preserved in a Library in Paris. It contains 656 pages. There are 21 lines in each page. The Dacca University and Professor Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., c. i. e., have brought rotographs of this work. The account has been given from the manuscript prepared from the rotograph brought by Sir Jadunath.

23. RUDR SINHER BURNAJEE.

Many Buranjees (histories) were compiled during the reign of the Ahom kings of Assam. Even in later times, some Buranjees on modern methods have been compiled and printed. The Government of Assam have printed some old Buranjees without any alteration. Sir Edward Gait in his work 'History of Assam' has highly praised the Assam Buranjees. There was a manuscript Buranjee in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam Government (1915 A. D.). This was "1634 Sakat (1712 A. D.) Sree Sree Rudrasinha vdeve puthi vichâri Guâhâtir ksetra parvat likhâ karâ" ('written in ksetra Parvat of Gauhati by the efforts of Sree Sree Rudrasinha Deva in 1634 A. D.'). This manuscript is mentioned as 'Rudrasinher Buranjee'. Accounts of rulers

of Kāmatā previous to Visvasinha and some kings of Cooch Behar contemporary of the Āhom kings have been found in this work.

24. SAMUDRANĀRĀYANER VANSĀVALI.—

Written in verse in the Assamese language under orders of Raja Samudranārāyan of Durrung, and written on Agar bark. The name of the writer is Baladeva. His title is 'Suryakhari Daivajna'. The date of composition of the work is about 1791 A. D. In the first part of the work from 1-6 pages, there are accounts of killing all Kshatriya kings in the world by Parasurama and the previous history of the dynasty of Visvasinha. In this work there are accounts of events up to the reign of Laksminarayan the king of Cooch Behar (page 100). The last portion of the manuscript deals with the visit to Assam of Balinārāyan, the brother of Pariksitnārāyan. In this manuscript in different places the Cooch Behar dynasty has been mentioned as 'Shivavansāvali' or 'Rājavansāvali', Under most of the pages there are coloured pictures illustrating the subject described in the work. It is inferred that the portraits of Visvasinha, Hira Devi etc. are all drawn from imagination.

This manuscript was brought from Durrung to the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam. As this was received from Laksminārāyan, the king of Durrung, Sir Edward Gait has called it 'Laksminarayan's Vansāvali'. As no special name was given to this work, we have mentioned this work as Samudranārāyan's Vansāvali. This manuscript was preserved in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam and the Assam Government has printed this as Durrung Vansāvali in 1917 A. D.

25. RÂJAVANSÂVALI. (Kharganârâyan's Vansâvali).

Written in verse in Assamese language by Ratikanta under orders of Kumar Kharganârâyan of Durrung in 1722 Saka (1800 A. D.). A copy of this manuscript was preserved in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam in the town of Gauhati (1915 A. D.). There are 82 pages double foolscap quarto size, in this work. The account of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan ends in page 66. No accounts of late kings are found in this work. In pages 1-6, there are accounts of the reign of Sambarâsura in Kâmarupa, Bâra Bhuiyas and the dynasty of Visvasinha. Sir Edward Gait has not mentioned this Vansâvali in any of his works.

26. KÂMARUPA-VANSÂVALI.—

Written in Assamese prose on Agar bark. This manuscript was preserved by Srijukta Krisnakanta Sarma Adhikari in Takubari in the town of Gauhati in 1915 A. D. Accounts of the kings of Kâmarupa preceding Maharaja Visvasinha have briefly been mentioned in this work. The history of kings following Maharaja Laksmînârâyan is not given in this work. The work is incomplete and was not systematically done. There are only pages 18—58 available in the manuscript. The same account has twice been given (though not in the same language) in pages 54 to 58. The time of composition of this work has nowhere been mentioned but from the writing and condition of leaves, the manuscript appears to be old. The name of the writer has nowhere been found in the work. This work tallies in many places with the work named 'Kâmarupar Buranjee' printed by the Assam Government in 1930 A. D.

27. SHIVAVANSÂVALI OR BIJNIVANSÂVALI.—

Written in verse in the Assamese language by Virupâksa Nyâyabâgis under orders of Balitnârâyan, the king of Bijnâr

(within the district of Goalpara). Virupâksa was a resident of village Hadi in Perganna Habraghat in Bijni. This Vansâvali was filed as evidence in the case *—Lalitnarayan Kunwar, Plaintiff *versus* Rani Abhayesvari Devi. The plaintiff had printed it. The whole Vansâvali consists of 6 pages containing two columns in each page double foolscap quarto size. The original manuscript is in Bijni. The time of its composition is not given in the manuscript (Raja Balitnârâyan was the Raja of Bijni from 1201 B. S. to 1236 B. S.). The parties of the abovementioned case filed also several other genealogical tables. A report written on the 25th Sraban 1245 B. S. was filed in that case. It is written therein that Maharaja Visvasinha was born in 'Visvasinha Mokam' in the north and his throne ('Rajtakta') was established there. †

28. GANDHARVANÂRÂYÂN'S VANSÂVALI.—

Written in verse in the Assamese language under orders of Gandharvanârâyan the son of Jagatnârâyan, kink of Durrung. The name of the writer is Suryadev Sidhantabagis. He was a resident of Mangaldai. The writer was the Guru of Gandharvanârâyan. He mentioned himself as a descendant of Pitâmbar Sidhantabagis who was the Court Pandit of Maharaja Naranârâyan. The time of writing of this work has nowhere been mentioned. Gandharvanârâyan was living in 1840 A. D. So the manuscript was composed about that time. In the first part of the manuscript it is written:—

"The king of Durrung always honours (me) as belonging to the family of Mahanta. I composed Vansâvali which

* Title Suit No. 100 of 1894 A. D. in the Court of the First Sub-Judge, 24 Pargannas.

† Ruins of 'Killa Visvasinha' or 'Killa Bisensinha' are still in existence at the extremity of the kingdom of Bhutan and about 42 miles to the north-west of Sidli within Goalpara.

was sent by Vijaynârâyan to Behar. Raja Harendranârâyan of Behar sent a messenger and took away this Vansâvali. I wrote another Vansâvali later on for being given to a Saheb by Raja Vijaynârâyan. You know all these facts, I shall write the Vansâvali according to my knowledge."

From the extract quoted above, it is known that this manuscript was composed after two others were written and transferred. There is a mention that a Vansâvali was brought by Maharaja Harendranârâyan of Cooch Behar. Maharaja Harendranârâyan was living at this time and his officer Joynath Ghosh went to Hajo and Kamakhya. Joynath Ghosh wrote Râjopâkhyâna, but many of the accounts given in this work are not mentioned in Râjopâkhyâna.

This manuscript was brought from the descendants of the Durrung king and was preserved in the office of the Director of Ethnography, Assam (1915 A. D.). Sir Edward Gait has named this work as connected with Prasiddhanârâyan who followed Gandharvanârâyan. For reasons mentioned above we have called it Gandharvanârâyan's Vansâvali.

When writing his 'History of Assam' Sir Edward Gait had the Vansâvalis of Gandharvanârâyan and Sumudra-nârâyan (Prasiddhanârâyan and Laksminârâyan) translated into English. He got much information regarding the Cooch Behar royal family from these works. This is understood from the following :—

"I caused a translation to be prepared of the Bangshabali, or family history, of the Darrang Rajas, which contains a great deal of information regarding the Koch dynasty." (page iii).

There is no doubt that the Durrung Vansâvalis are older and more reliable than the Vansâvalis written in Cooch Behar ; and in the former, more information has been furnished. But all the statements made therein are not historically accurate and some of them were really exaggerated."

29. BIJNIRAJA-VANSA.—

Written by Tariniprasad Sen. Printed in 1876 A. D. in the Hitasadhani Press in Goalpara.

This Book has not been found.

30. AN ACCOUNT OF ASSAM.

The English manuscript of this work was prepared in 1792-94 by Dr. John Peter Wade. Dr. Wade was at that time a surgeon of a regiment of the East India Company in Assam. He sent this manuscript to Lieutenant Colonel Kirk Patrick and this was preserved in the India Office Library in England. Recently (1927 A. D.) Srijupta Benudhar Sarma, a resident of Sibsagar, has edited this. It contains 310 pages demy 8 vo. In this printed book there is a Geographical description of Assam (34 pages) written by the editor and a long index.

The history of the reign of the dynasty of Visvasinha is given in this work in pages 184-246. But information regarding the Cooch Behar royal dynasty in the same is meagre. Accounts up to the reign of Maharaja Laksmînârâyan are given in this work. This work is older than the Durrung Vansâvalis and there are no appreciable discrepancies in the accounts given in those works and in this work.

31. THE KOCH KINGS OF KÂMAKUPA.

In 1893 A. D. Mr. (afterwards Sir) E. A. Gait published an article in this name in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXII, Part I, No. 4) and this was printed in book form in 1895 A. D. in the Shillong Secretariat Press and published. This work contains 53 pages royal 8 vol. size. In it, an account of the kings of Kâmarupa preceding Maharaja Visvasinha has briefly been given. This book was compiled from works on Tantra, Purana, local manuscripts of Vansâvalis, Assam Buranjees and works of Mahomedan historians. Accounts of Maharaja Bisvasinha and his descendants (kings of Cooch Behar, Bijni and Durrung) have also been briefly mentioned in this work. No account regarding Cooch Behar of the period later than the time of Maharaja Naranârâyan has been given in this work. The whole account of this work has subsequently been included in the fourth Chapter of the History of Assam and this Chapter contains 22 pages Demy 8 vol. size (1906 A. D.). The author while writing this portion of the 'History of Assam' specially depended on the manuscript of the Durrung Vansâvali.

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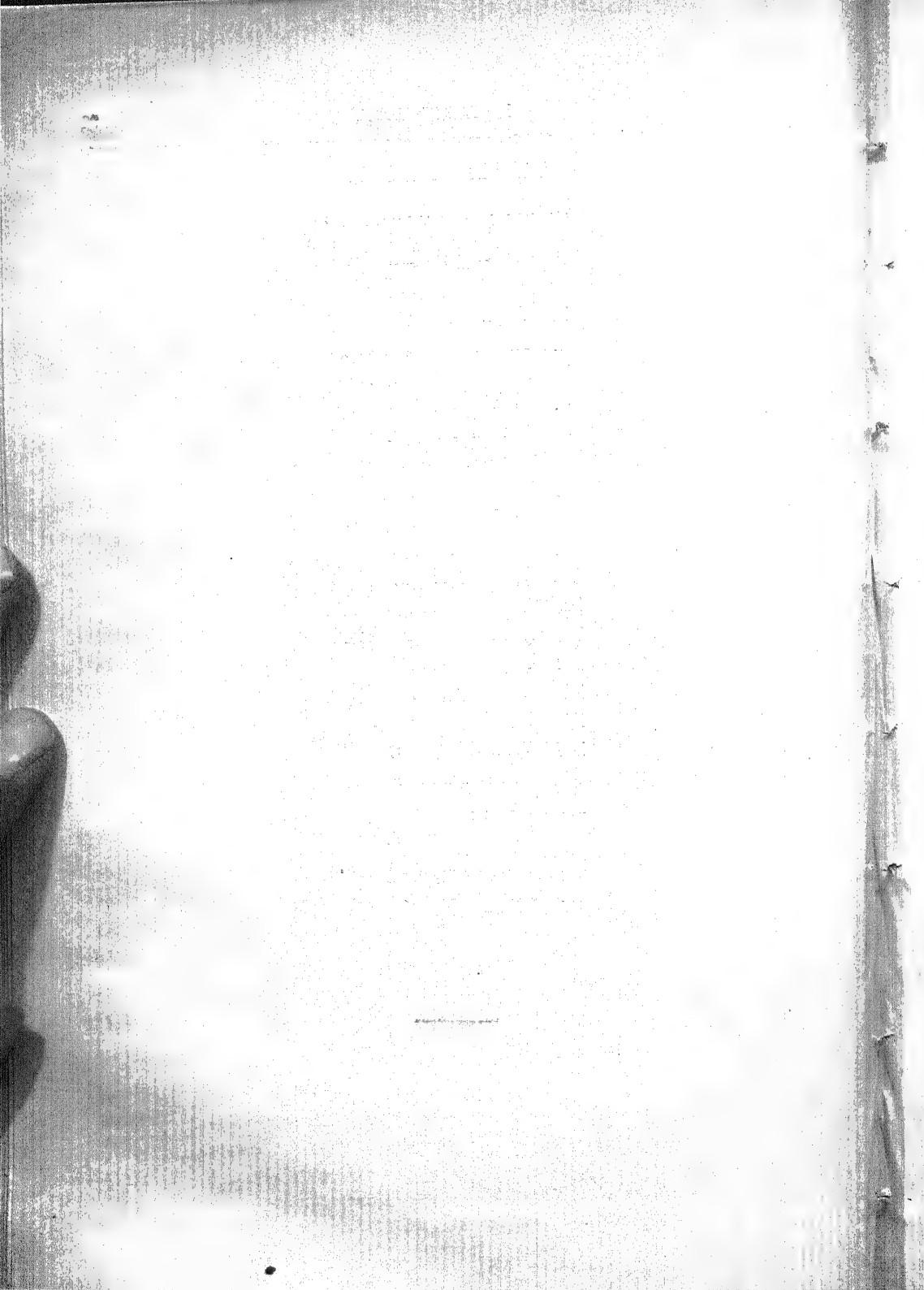
* Two different works bearing the common name of 'Upakâtha' and written by Maharaja Harendranârâyan have been edited by S. C. Ghoshal, M. A., B. L., and published by Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabhâ.

HINDI, URDU AND PERSIAN WORKS AND
MANUSCRIPTS.

1. Ain-i-Akbari (original). ... Sheik Abul Fazl Allami.
 2. Akbarnâmâ (original) Account of the first 47 years of the reign of Akbar Saha). ... Do.
 3. Akbarnâmâ (Collections in Hindi and Urdu. Account of 51 years of the reign of Akbar). ... Munsi Deviprasad.
 4. Alamgirnâmâ (original) (Account of the first ten years of the reign of Aurangzeb Saha) ... Mirza Mohammad Kazem.
 5. Târikh-i-Asâm or Fâtehâ-i-ibriyâ (original). ... Hisabuddin Mohammad Talis.
 6. Târikh-i-Feristâ (original) (Different editions printed in Calcutta, Bombay and Cawnpore). ... Mohammad Kazem Feristâ.
 7. Târikh-i-Feristâ (Urdu) (Printed in 1896 in a Lucknow Press). ... Newalkishore Press.
 8. Tabkât-i-Nâseri (original). ... Minhâj Serajuddin Omarul Gajjali.
 9. Tozak-i-Jahangiri (Urdu) (Biography of Jahangir Saha) (Original by Jahangir Badsâha). ...
 10. Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri (original) ... Isvardas Nâgar.
 11. Badsahanama (original) ... Abdul Hamid Lahori.
 12. Maser-i-Alamgiri (original) (Account of events later than Alamgir nama). ... Mohammad Sâki Mostayed Khan.
 13. Sähâjähän-nämä (Urdu and Hindi) (collections on the basis of the original written by Mohammad Bin Sâleh). ... Munshi Deviprasad.
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SANSKRIT WORKS,
(With Bengali translation)

1. Agni Purâna.
 2. Aitareya Brahmana.
 3. Rigveda-Samhitâ.
 4. Kâlikâ-Purâna.
 5. Kurma Purâna.
 6. Garuda Purâna.
 7. Brahma Purâna.
 8. Brahmanda Purâna.
 9. Matsya Purâna
 10. Manu Sanhitâ.
 11. Mahâbhârata.
 12. Mârkandeya Purâna.
 13. Yogini Tantra.
 14. Raghuvamsa.
 15. Râmâyana.
 16. Varâha Purâna.
 17. Vâyu Purâna.
 18. Visnu Purâna.
 19. Vrihat Samhitâ.
 20. Satapatha Brahmana.
 21. Harshacharita.
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A

HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE NOMENCLATURE OF ANCIENT KÂMARUPA.

THAT vast region to the north-east of India, subtending front the base of the mighty Himalayas and washed by the pure waters of the Trisrotâ (Tista) and Brahmaputra, is recognised as the abode of an ancient Indian civilisation. During the past thousand years or more, it came to be known as Prâgjyotis, Lauhitya, Kâmarupa and Kâmata, and its geographical boundaries fluctuated. Betimes the country was divided in parts bearing different names; at other times the parts amalgamated and the whole assumed the name of one of the parts.

The designation "Prâgjyotis" is current in works like the Râmâyaṇa, the Mahâbhârata, Hari-vamsa, Brahma-purâna, Brahmânda-purâna, Vâyu-purâna, Matsya-purâna, Srimadbhâgavat, Raghuvamsa and Brihat-samhitâ. The form "Upajyotis" is mentioned in the Brihat-samhitâ and "Uttarajyotis" in the Mahâbhârata. "Prâgjyotis" recurs in the Harsha-charita (7th century) and in the inscription of Nârâyan-pâla (9th century); and again in the inscription of Vanamâla (9th century) which also referred to the town of Hâruppeswar on the banks of the Lauhitya. In the inscription of Balabarmâ (10th century), the names "Prâgjyotispur," "Daksinakula", "Dijinnâ" and "Hâruppeswar city", appear. In the rock-inscription of Harjar Varmâ at Tejpur (510 Gupta era = 829 A. D.), we read of Hâruppeswar city. Then in the inscriptions of Indrapâla and Ratnapâla which date from the

beginning of the eleventh century;—“Prâgjyotis”, “Uttarakula”, and “Durjjayâ” are specified in the former, and in the latter Ratnapâla is self-styled “the delight of Kâmarupa” and “the Ruler of Prâgjyotis”, and there are references to “Uttarakula”, “Durjjayâpur” and “Kalangâ”. In the beginning of the twelfth century, when Dharmapâla and Vaidyadeva were rulers, an inscription from the former’s reign speaks of “the ruler of Prâgjyotis”, and says that “Dharmapâla was the king in the city of Kâmarupa”. From a copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva’s time, we find that he conferred a grant of land in “Kâmarupa-mandala” within “Prâgjyotis bhukti”. In the Rajatarangini (12th century), “Prâgjyotisa” and “Strîrâjya” are mentioned.

The name “Lauhitya” is common to the Raghuvamsa Lauhitya, the Brîhat-samhitâ, the Mahâbhârata and the Mârkandeya Purâna. In the Brahma Purâna we find “Brahmakunda” and “Kâmâ khya”.

There are widespread references to “Kâmarupa” in the Visnu Purâna, Kurma Purâna, Brahma Purâna, Kâlikâ Purâna, and other Purânas, and in the Raghuvamsa; and again on the,

Kâmarupa. Asoka pillar of Allahabad, in connection with the conquests of Samudragupta (4th century). The oldest of all inscriptions of the rulers of Kâmarupa, the copper-plate inscription of Bhâskarvarmâ (7th century), which issued from Karna-suvarna, bears the name “Kâmarupa”.

In “Si-u-ki” the record of the travels of Yuan Chwang and in the Harsha-charita, the form is “Kâmarupa”, and Yuan Chwang states that aborigines dwell to the east of the country. (Suleman, an Arabian trader of the 9th century, refers to the land of “Rumi”.) “Kâmarupa” is engraved in the temple inscription of Vijayasena (11th century), the inscription of Laksman Sena (12th century) and abounds in the works Vikramâṅka-deva-charita and

Râm-charita. The traveller Al Beruni (11th century) gave the countries on the north-east of India as Nepal, Kâmru and Bhoteswar. Later, (13th century), Kâmarupa is used in the work "Tabkât-i-Nâsiri and on the Kânâi-barsi rock-edict of north Gauhati (early 13th century). Hemchandra Suri who lived during the same period affirms in his work Abhidhâna-chintâ-mani that Kâmarupa is another name of Prâgjyotisa. On the coins of Sikendar Sah, the Sultan of Bengal (14th century), there is the variation "Kâmru alias Châulistân," and on those of Husain Sah (15th century) the two forms "Kâmru" and "Kâmata."

In 1586, Ralph Fitch, an English merchant, knew the "Couch" country. "Koch" is the spelling in the Târikhi-i-feristâ (compiled in the latter part of the 16th Koch. and the beginning of the 17th century) the Akbarnâmâ and the Tozak-i-Jehângiri. Stephen Cacella, a Portuguese traveller of the same period latinized the name of the country to "Cocho" and recorded its capital as "Biar." In the works Âin-i-Âkbari and Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi we find reference to the "Koch" country within which there are two kingdoms

"Kâmatâ" and "Kâmarupa," and in the Kâmatâ and Kâmarupa. Yoginitantra and in the colophon of the translation of Mârkandeya Purâna by Pitâmbar Siddhântabâgîs, to the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Raghudebnarayan (1583 A. D.) styled himself "the lord of Kâmarupa" in an inscription at the door of the temple of Hayagriva Mâdhava in Hajo. Prânnarayan and Modnarayan, Rulers of Cooch Behar in the 17th century, declared themselves the rulers of Kâmatâ. "Comotay" is the appellation on Blaeu's Map 1650 A. D.

The form changes to "Ratnapith" in the colophon of Âdiparva of the Mahâbhârata translated in the 17th century. In the Koch-bihar and Koch Hâjo. Bâdsâhanâmâ and Sâhâjâhân-nâmâ, which date from the middle of the 17th century, the western portion of the country has been called Koch-bihar

in place of Kâmâta and the eastern portion Koch-Hâjo in place of Kâmarupa. The same distinction has been maintained in the Târikh-i-Âsâm and the Alamgir-nâmâ. In the map of Vanden Brouck drawn in this century there is the variation, "Ragiawerra-Cos Bhaar." An unknown Dutch sailor (who accompanied Nawab Mirjumla) refers the country "Kosbia."⁽¹⁾ In the colophon of Kirâtparva and Adiparva translated during this century we find "Kâmtâ Bihar." In the Mâser-i-Âlamgiri and the Fatuhât-i-Kâmtâ Bihâr. Âlamgiri of the 18th century, "Kochbihar" is used. In the Biswa-kosa it has been suggested that prior to the reign of the Ruler Laksminarayan of Cooch Behar, the country was "Bihar," but it had become designated as "Kochbihar" to distinguish it from "Bihar" which was under the Mughals.—This view is not tenable.

In the Kalikâpurâna we read that Brahmâ first created the stars within a region which, to betoken its equality with the abode of Indra, became famous as Prâgjyotisa,⁽²⁾ and there is a tradition that in olden times astronomy was studied here. Another interpretation has it that formerly an area near Dinajpur was known as 'Jyotisdesa' and because of its situation towards the east, it was called Prâgjyotisa.

In Pandunâth, according to the Paurânik legend, the Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha were killed and Brahmâ worshipped Kâli for the destruction of Kesi. This place came to be more widely known as Kâmakhya from the legend of a part of the body of Sati having fallen here. † Kâmarupâ is another name

The origin of the name of Kâmarupa.
(1) "After a long march, we entered into Kosbia, a country lying between the kingdoms of Bengal and 'Azo,' of which the general easily became master."—*Bengal Past and Present Vol. XXIX, p. 14.*

(2) Kâlikâ-Purâna Adhyâya 38, verse 119.

† Kâlikâ-purâna; Adhyâya 62 Verses 74, 77 and 103. Also Yogini Tantra, First Half. Patala 15 Verses 48, 49.

of Bhagabati.⁽³⁾ Another belief inclined to derivation from the tribe 'Khamba' of Assam ; yet another, that because Madan or Kâma, after being destroyed by the fire from Shiva's eye, regained his body (Rupa) there, the place-name became Kâmmapupa.⁽⁴⁾

There are different views about the origin of 'Koch-Bihar'; one that it means the abode or play-ground of the Koch people;

The origin of the names
"Koch" and "Koch-bihar."
another that it is the place where Mahâdeva dallied with a daughter of a Koch. Similarly with "Koch"; one

derivation is that Ksatriyas took shelter in the lap (koch) of Bhagabati, being frightened by Parasurâma; another that the root is derived from the shrunken condition (sankoch) of the Ksatriyas. In the Viswa-kosa 'sankoch' is considered synonymous with 'koch'; alternatively the word Koch has been adapted from the 'kos' portion of the name of the river "Sankos". It is also claimed that the root is from "kubâcha" (signifying those who do not speak a pure dialect) and mentioned in the Jâtikaumudi and Yoginitantra. In the Yoginitantra, the land is "Kos", and in Pliny's Indica "Cosyri" are inhabitants of the land below the Himalayas. The "Koch" race is referred to in the Brahmavaivarta Purâna (Brahma Khanda, Adhyâya 10) and in the Melbidhi of Debivara Misra (15th century). "Kochak" is the variation in the Kulakârikâ of Dhrubânanda Misra. Most of the Mahomedan chroniclers, however, are aware of the Koch race.⁽⁵⁾

(3) Kalikâ-Purâna, Adhyâya 64, verse 73.

(4) Ibid Adhyâya 51, verse 55—76.

(5) There is no mention of any race other than Koch and Mech as dwellers of the country, in the Khorshed Jâhânamâ (19th century), Riâz-us-Sâlâtin (18th century) Âlamgîrnâmâ and Târikh-Âi-sâm (17th century). In the Tabkât-i-nâsiri (13th century) we find the name of an additional race named Kheru.

In the Rājopākhyāna, it has been written that the country was named Bihar because Jalpeswar (Siva) wandered or played there, the meaning of the word being "wandering" or "play." Again, the monasteries of Buddhist ascetics were

The origin of the name of Bihar.

generically known as Bihar. According to some writers a Buddhist monastery was founded in the place called Bihar in the modern district of Patna; and later, by inference, a vast surrounding area came to be known as Bihar. There is no doubt that Buddhist doctrines were widely spread, and the places of worship of Mahākāl at the extremity of the town of Cooch Behar and in the Bhūtan hills, the Yogi-ghopā and Mangalchandi in Goalpārā, Mangalchandi in the District of Kāmrup, Yogijān in Naogaon, the temples known as Chandikā-bihār and Singri in Durrung and those in Khamti in Laksmipur,—are all relics of the Buddhist age. It is interesting to find an area or town of Kalinga in the temple inscription of Bijaysendeva in Debapara within the district of Rajsahi, in the old work Mangalchandi written by Manik Dutt and in the copper-plate inscription of Ratnapāla. According to some historians, Kalinga was a centre of Bauddha-tāntrik practice and was situated at the foot of the Himalayas.⁽⁶⁾ In the song of Maynāmati, still prevalent in this part of the country, the name 'Kalinga bazar' occurs.

In the Rājavansāvali which was written under the orders of Kharganaryan, the Raja of Durrung, it is set down that the capital of Raja Ārimatta was in the town of Bihar. In the Kāmarupa Vansāvali, a Bhuiya of Bihar who was conquered by Bisvasinha, is mentioned. The country of Mithila is known

(6) Sahitya-parisat-patrikā 1317 B. S., Part 17, Issue 4, page 255.—It is said that 'Ekāmraksetra' the place of play of Siva, as described in the Purānas, was in the country of Kalinga. In the Yoginitantra it is written that the mother of Bisvasinha who was loved by Siva was cursed by a Brahmin in her previous birth in Ekāmraksetra (now known as Bhubaneswara Dham) and as a result became a Mlechchha in her subsequent life.

as North Bihar from the Buddhist age. Different places in Bengal and Assam, 'Chandikâ-Bihar' in Durrung districts, 'Halud Bihar' in the district of Rajsahi, 'Subarna Bihar' in the district of Nadia etc., the villages 'Bihâr' and 'Vâsu-bihâr' near Mahâsthângarh in the district of Bogra, are so called, in General Cunningham's view, because they were sites of Buddhist monasteries, and indeed it may be inferred that 'Bihar' does imply the former existence of a Buddhist monastery.

In the sixteenth century Sukham Fa, the Ahom ruler, addressed Naranârâyan the Ruler of Kâmatâ as "lord of Bihar".

In an inscription of the 17th century found Use of the name of 'Bihar'. in a temple in Nepal this country is also referred to as Bihar. In the work 'The lives of Sankaradeva, Mâdhbabadeva and Dâmodaradeva' written in the same century, there is allusion to "the kingdom of Behar" and "the city of Behar". In a sanad granted by a Ruler of Cooch Behar in the 18th century, 'Bihar' only, occurs. In the map of Major Rennel drawn in the same century, the capital of the kingdom has been styled Bihar. At that time the Ruler of Bhutan addresses the Ruler of Cooch Behar as 'lord of Behar'. In the treaty between the East India Company and the Ruler of Cooch Behar in 1773, however, the kingdom is 'Kochbihar' and the capital 'Behar Fort', and subsequently in the narrative of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton written in the beginning of the last century we find only the name 'Bihar'. The history of the dynasty of the Rulers of Cooch Behar, the Râjopâkhyâna, compiled in the middle of the 19th century, uses 'Bihar' and not 'Kochbihar'. Sir Willam Hunter

The modern name of Cooch Behar.

opined that 'Nijbihar' was the form recognized by the Durbar of Cooch Behar.⁽⁷⁾

Be this as it may, to avoid diversity, the State of Cooch Behar has since directed, by an order

(7) A more accurate view would be perhaps that Nijbihar was employed to differentiate the kingdom of Cooch Behar from the territory occupied by the Moguls in the middle of the 17th century which was called "Sarkar Kochbihar".

published in 1896, that 'Cooch Behar' shall be the spelling to be used. (8)

The description of ancient Kāmarupa is not the same in all the Tantras. In the "Kālikāpurāna" it is recorded that Narayan

The topography of ancient Kāmarupa.

transferred the territory bounded on the east by Lalitakāntâr and on the west by the river Karatoya, to Naraka. Before

this the Kirâtas had dwelt in this region, but with the advent of Naraka they migrated to the country of Dikkarabâsini (on the banks of the Dikrai river) near the sea. (9) There was 'sea' to the south of Kāmarupa. (10) In the Kalikāpurâna the area of the country is 30 yojans in length and 100 yojans in breadth. It is triangular in configuration and abounds in black hills, though there is no express reference either to a northern or southern boundary. There are four territories, Katnapitha, Kāmapitha, Svarnapitha and Saumârapitha.

According to geologists, in very ancient times the area now bounded on the south by the river Pûdma, on the east by the river Meghna and on the west by the river Hoogly, consisted of islands in a vast sea. It is noteworthy that the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) has not referred by name to any

(8) "His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur having signified his approval of the use of the spelling 'Cooch Behar', all other spelling of the word should be dropped."—*Cooch Behar Gazette*, Part I, 1896, Page 28. (Translator).

(9) *Kalikāpurâna*, Adhyâya 38, verses 94—126.

"At the extremity of which, there are Kirâtas on the east and Yavanas on the west—Visnupurâna, Ansa II, Chapter III, verse 8.

In Nepal many races of Kirâta reside. It is inferred that the nomadic tribe Scyrîtæ mentioned in Pliny's *Indica* is the race of Kirâtas. In Ptolemy's geography *Kirradia* has been mentioned as the residence of Kirâtas. Some commentators have expressed the opinion that this was ancient Kāmarupa.

(10) "A person bathing in Chandikâ, ascending the hill Uhabaleswar, seeing the southern sea, touching Goloka.....The sea named Lauhitya on the south of Barnâsâ."—*Kalikāpurâna*, Adhyâya 78.

Probably the river Lauhitya was also called the sea of Lauhitya.

country east of the Gangâ (Bhâgirathi or Hoogly) either in his work or map.⁽¹¹⁾ The situation of the "Banga" which occurs in the Purânas, has not been located. The Mahâbhârata also refers to the kingdom of Banga and the rulers of Banga, Chandrasena and Samudrasena.⁽¹²⁾ The Mlechchha rulers living near the shores of the sea in Lauhitya are reputed to have offered jewels of various kinds as presents, and rendered tribute to Bhimasena. Before Yuan Chwang visited India, the tract to the east of the Bhâgirathi was known as Samatata. In his travels, he noted descriptions of the following places in north-eastern India :—(1) Paundrabardhana (Malda, Rajsahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and Pabna, (2) Kâmarupa, (3) Samatata (the plain near the sea), (4) Karnasubarna (Murshidabad) and (5) Tâmrâlipta (Tamluk).⁽¹³⁾ Formerly the estuary of the Lauhitya river is said to have been so extensive as to be called the Lauhitya sea, and even now portions of the river are referred to by local people as Hâor (sea). It does not appear to be impossible therefore that the estuary of Lauhitya in some past age was near the southern boundary of Kâmarupa.

(11) In the work of Claudius Ptolemæus the map of India was roughly drawn. His description of Bengal and Kâmarupa is indefinite, but commentators like Saint Martin, Yule etc, have attempted to identify the places mentioned by Ptolemy, e.g.—Tamluk (Tamalites), Bardhamân (the capital of Gangaridai), Rungpur (Kirradia), Rângâmâti (Rhadamarkotta) the northern part of lower Assam (Aninakhai), Subarnagrâma (Sonanagoura), Tripura (Triglypton), Himalaya (Emoli), Bhutan hills (Damassa), the Hugli river (Kambyson), Burigangâ (Antiboli), Dihing Brahmaputra (Doanas), the Nâgâ tribes (Nangalogai) etc. Some has inferred that there was a place called Gange near Jessore and Khulna but this view has been dissented from by others.

(12) The real name of this country is Banga. As there are small 'Als' (weirs) in it, the name has become Bengal. [Sair-ul-Mutâksarin (Urdu) page 15].

Banga was the son of Bali. "His sons were Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma. The countries named after them became known in the world."—Mahâbhârat—Adiparva, Adhyâya 104, verse 53.

(13) "Kosalândhra-pundra-tâmrâlipta-samatata-purim cha devaraksito raksitâ".—Visnupurâna, 4. 24. 64.

In the Purânas the sacred character of the country has been emphasized. The Pândavas at the time of their renunciation advanced to the shores of the Lauhitya sea. Arjuna flung his Gândiva bow into the waters of the Lauhitya. In the Râmâyana and the Purânas, we do not observe any reference to the Brahmaputra; only in the Garuda Purâna is this form used. In the Brihatsâmhitâ Harivamsa, Matsyapurâna, Vâyupurâna and Brahmanâdapurâna the river is termed "Lohita", and in the Kurmapurâna "Lohini". Even in the 6th century the present-day Brahmaputra was known as the Lauhitya. In the copper-plates of Vañamâla and Balabarmâ (9th century) mount Kailâsa has been stated to be the source of the Lauhitya.⁽¹⁴⁾ The copper-plate inscriptions of Ratnapâla and Indrapâla (11th century) designate the river as the "Lauhitya". In the copper-plate inscription of Indrapâla, Lauhitya is the son of Brahmâ. It is said that Parasurâma while seeking expiation from the sin of killing his mother, discovered Brahma-kunda and conducted its water in a channel (Brahmaputra) to India. The Buddhists, on the other hand, say that the Brahmaputra was made to descend to the plains by Manjughosa, and according to another view, that the Buddhist sage Padmasambhava created the junction of the Sâmpu river with the Brahmaputra.

From the Purânik age, Karatoya is regarded as a sacred river of Kâmarupa. It is said that it sprang from the water falling from Siva's hand when Himalaya was giving him his daughter. Other traditions are that Manu worshipped Siva on the banks of the river Manu in Sylhet, that the river Barabakra was

(14) In the Purânas, the source of the river Lathitya is thus described:—

The source of Lauhitya is in the Himalayas (Matsya Purâna, Adhyâya 114. Varâha Purâna, Adhyâya 85; Vâyu Purâna, Adhyâya 45). The river Lauhitya has sprung from the Lohita Sarovara (lake) near the peaks of the Himalayas (Matsya Purâna, Adhyâya 121). The river Lauhitya has originated from the Lohita Sarovara (lake) in the south of Kailâsa (Vâyupurâna, Adhyâya 47).

In the Ahom language, the Brahmaputra is called Nam-dao-phi, and its tributary the Lohit, Nam-ti-lao.

capable of cleansing all sin. Some scholars consider that the Karatoya must be different from the Sadânirâ referred to in the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa. The Trisrotâ or Tista, another big river, is stated in the Kâlikâpnirâna to have risen from the heart of Bhagavati. In the same Purâna the following rivers are noticed :—

Subarnamânas (Mânas), Jatodâ (Jhaddâ or Gadâdhar), Sitaprabhâ or Svetabarnâ (Dhabalâ or Dharla), Nabatoyâ (Toyarosâ or Torsâ), Ksîrapâksyâ (Dudhkumar), Nilâ (Nilkumar) and Bhairabi.

Certain kingdoms are said to have existed in or near Kâmarupa :—the ancient Nâga kingdom (Naga hills).

Hairambha (Kâchhâr), Sonitapur (Tejpur)

Some kingdoms mentioned in the Purânas. Matsyadesa (south of Rungpur), Vidarbha

or Kaundilya (near Sadia) and Manipur.⁽¹⁵⁾

Naraka established a colony of Aryans in Kâmarupa after expelling the Kirâta race. His son Bhagadatta attended the

(15) In ancient works like the Purânas, there are indefinite and differing versions regarding the situation of these countries, e.g.—

PRÂGYOTISA.—In the eastern country—(Mârkandeya Purâna, Adhyâya 57; Vâyu Purâna, Adhyâya 45; Matsya Purâna, Adhyâya 114; Brahma Purâna, Adhyâya 27). Situated in constellations 6, 7 and 8 in the eastern country (Brihatsamhitâ 14. 7—8). Between Trigarta and the territory of the ruler of Sindhu (Aswamedha Parva, Adhyâya 74 and 77). On the north of Hastinâpur (Sabhâ Parva, Adhyâyas 25 and 26). Narak resided in Prâgyotisa near Varâha mountain on the shores of the western sea, (Kiskindhyâ Kânda, Sarga 42). The kingdom of Bhagadatta was in southern valley of the Himalayas (Vâyu Purâna, Adhyâya 41; Brahmânda Purâna, Adhyâya 43). Bhagadatta resided on the shores of the eastern sea (Udyoga Parva, Adhyâya 4).

LAUHITYA.—In the eastern country (Sabhâparva, Adhyâya 30).—In constellations 6, 7 and 8 of the eastern country (Vrihat Samhitâ XIV. 7—8), Near Trigarta and Kâsmira (Sabhâparba, Adhyâya 27).

HAIRAMBA.—Near the country of Matsya and Trigarta (Âdiparva, Adhyâyas 155. and 156). According to other views, near Badaun or Bundelkhund or in the Punjab.

SONITAPURA.—There is a tradition that the city of Bâna was in Devakot (Devikot) in the district of Dinajpur and that the fight between Sreekrishna and Bâna took place in Karadaha on the banks of the river Punarbhabâ. The ruins of Baligram situated eight miles to the north-east of Thana Ksetlal in the district of Bogra is indicated as the capital of king Bali.

MATSYA.—In the central country—(Bhismaparva, Adhyâya 6; Matsya Purâna, Adhyâya 114). Under constellations 3, 4 and 5 (Brihatsamhitâ 14. 2—3). In the

Râjsuya sacrifice performed by Yudhisthira and he joined in the great war of Kuruksetra with armies of Chîna and Kirâta soldiers.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the Purânas Srikrisna, Bhîma, Karna and Arjuna came to Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa in persuit of conquest and for other purposes. The Asuras, Daityas, Dânavas and Kinnaras, though spoken of either as demi-gods living in heaven, or as different from ordinary human beings, were really members of a society with advanced knowledge and improved customs. It is inferred from these sources that these castes dwelt at the base of the Himalayas and within the India of those days, the home of Mura the enemy of Visnu or Mura Daitya (or the race of Daityas) being also in Prâgjyotisapura.

In the Yoginitantra and Kalikâpurâna the whole of Kâmarupa is acclaimed as a holy place of pilgrimage. The Brahmakunda and Kâmâkhyâpitha are celebrated to all the Hindus of India. The sanctity of places like Vasisthâsrama Aswaklânta, Umânanda, deities like Pândunath, Bhubaneswari,

central country, near the Vindhya ranges (Mârkandeya Purâna Adhyâyas 57 and 58). In the south (Sabhâparva, Adhyâya 31; Kiskindhyâ-kânda, Sarga 41). In Brahmarsi-desa (Manusamhitâ, 2. 19). Near the Ganges (Vâyupurâna, Adhyâya 47; Brahmânda Purâna Adhyâya 51). Other views vary from near Mayurbhanj or Surat, to the Jaipur State or the south of Mathura. There is a place named Virât in the south of Rungpur. There is a tradition that a place known there as 'Ghodâghât' derived its name from the stables of king Virât situated there.

VIDARBHA.—In the south (Mârkandeya Purâna, Adhyâya 57; Vâyu Purâna, Adhyâya 45; Matsya Purâna, Adhyâya 114; Harivamsa, Visnuparva, Adhyâya 59; Kiskindhyâkânda, Sarga 41). In the south-eastern country (Garuda Purâna, Purvakhanda, Adhyâya 55). Under constellations 9, 10 and 11. Vrihatsamhitâ 14, 8) Near Saurâstra (Sabhâparva, Adhyâya 31).

Bhîsmaka was the ruler of Kundina kingdom in Vidarbha (Visnupurâna, v. 26. 1.)

It is traditional among the 'Chulikâtâ Mismi' race of Assam that they shave their heads to preserve the remembrance of Srikrisna's shaving the head of Rukmi.

There is a place named Kundin and a river named Kundil near Sadia.

MANIPUR.—Situated at the base of the Mahendra hills in the Eastern Ghat (Âdiparva, Adhyâya 215).

(16) Mahâbhârata, Sabhâparba, Adhyâya 34; Udyogaparva, Adhyâya 19.

Kedâresvara, Hayagrîva, ⁽¹⁷⁾ Kâmatesvari, Siddhesvari, Banesvar and Jalpesvar, ⁽¹⁸⁾ and rivers like the Brahmaputra (Lauhita), Trisrotâ, Karatoyâ, Barabakra and Jatodâ, is accepted by all the Hindus.⁽¹⁹⁾ There is a tradition that Laksmindra the son of Chând Sadâgar regained his life in Dhubri through the kindness of a washerwoman, Netâ.⁽²⁰⁾

(17) In the Râmâyana the demons Panchajana and Hayagrîva lived near Prâgjyotisapura. Nârâyana killed them and brought back a discus (Chakra) and a conch (Pânchajanya) e. g.—

"Tatra Panchajanam hatvâ Hayagrîvancha dânavam. Âjahâra tataschakram sankhancha purushottamah."

Kiskindhyâkânda, Sarga 42, verse 28. Hayagrîva was the General of Naraka (Harivamsa, Visnuparva, Adhyâya 63). Srikrisna killed him.

"Tam jaghâna Hayagrîvam samatikramya Kesavah." (Kâlikâ Purâna Adhyâya 40.)

According to another view, Hayagrîva is the incarnation of Nârâyana.

"Manikûtâchale Visnur-Hayagrîva-svarupadhrik." (Yoginitantra, Uttara-khanda IX. 123). Nârâyana killed the Asuras Madhu and Kaitabha taking the appearance of Hayasîrsa. (Sântiparva Adhyâya 347.)

The people of Bhutan worship the deity Hayagrîva. They believe that the image has been brought from Bhutan—(Assam Buranji, by Rai Gunâbhîram Barua, page 37).

"The temple of Hazo is an object of veneration of Buddhists as well as to Hindus. It is said to have been originally built by Ubo Rishi,"—(Kamrup District Gazetteer, page 93).

(18) It is said that Kâmatesvari was in an amulet worn by Bhagadatta on his arm. There is a tradition that Banesvar Siva was established by king Bâna and, Jalpesvar Siva by king Jalpesvar.

(19) The efficacy of bathing in Jotodayâ (Gadadhar) is thus described in Kâlikâ Purâna :—

"A person bathing in it on the Sukla Astami day in the month of Chaitra, goes to the abode of Siva after enjoying his full span of life and becoming the best of men." (Adhyâya 77.)

The present temple of Jalpesvar Siva is situated on the banks of a small stream named Jhordâ. (The Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, page 152). It seems that in ancient times this stream was a big river and known as Jatodayâ (Jatodâ).

(20) The residence of Chând Sadâgar is supposed to be in many places e. g., in the town of Champak in Tripura, in the town of Champai in Burdwan, in Mâhâsthan in Bogra, in Kântanagar in Dinajpur, on the banks of the Ranjit river in Darjeeling, on the Nâtaka hill in Kâmarupa, etc.

Some historical renderings from the Purânas.

In the 28th Chapter of the Varâha-purâna Betrâsur, the son of King Sindhu-dvipa is recorded as the ruler of Prâgjyotisa and as defeating Indra. According to the Mahâbhârata, Indra killed Britrâsura with a thunderbolt prepared from the bone of the sage Dadhîchi.⁽²¹⁾ In the Rig-veda, there is marked absence of reference to Prâgjyotisa but a description of the killing of the son of the necromancer Brisaya is included. According to Sâyanâcharya, Brisaya is an alias of Tvaстâ, and his son Britra was killed by Indra with the help of the bone of Dadhîchi.⁽²²⁾ If we hold that Betra, the son of Sindhudvipa, as mentioned in the Varâhapurâna, is identical with the son of Brisaya referred to in the Vedas, we can conclude that Aryans had come to the country when the Rigveda was compiled. In the Brâhmaṇas of the Vedas the Aryans settled in the eastern country by crossing the river Sadânirâ between Kosala and Mithilâ. This is recounted also in the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa.⁽²³⁾ The Aryans came to Kâmarupa through Mithilâ. According to the views of Bankimchandra Chatterjee also, Kâmarupa is an ancient settlement of Aryans.—The general inference is that when strife broke out between the Aryans and non-Aryans in southern India, some Aryans proceeded towards the east and settled in Kâmarupa or Prâgjyotisa.

(21) Mahâbhârata, Sântiparva, Adhâya 342; Banaparva Adhyâyas 100 and 101; Udyogaparva, Adhyâyas 9 and 10.

(22) Rigveda :—Mandal 6, Sukta 61, Rik 3,

Mandal 2, Sukta 11, Rik 9 and 10,

Mandal 1, Sukta 84, Rik 13,

Mahâbhârata, Udyogaparva, Adhyâyas IX and X.

(23) The river Sadânirâ of the Vedas flows Uttara Parbat (Satapatha Brâhmaṇa, Kânda 1, Prapâthâka 3, Brâhmaṇa 3; 14-17). According to the Sâyanâchârya, Karatoyâ and Sadânirâ are identical. Amarsinha and Hémchandra also assume that Sadânirâ is another name of Karatoyâ.

Before Naraka, the enemy of Srikrisna, the names of four kings of the Dânava dynasty *viz.*—Mahîranga, Hitakâsura, Sambarâsura and Ratanâsura, are recorded in connection with Kâmarupa. After the Dânava dynasty, Ghataka of the Kirâta dynasty became the ruler of Prâgjyotisapura. Beltalâ was the capital of king Mahîranga, Rângâmâti of king Sambara, and Ghataka had his capital in the Sarnia hills.⁽²⁴⁾ The Kâlikâpurâna contains a detailed narrative of the death of Ghataka, the king of the Kirâtas at the hands of Naraka, the conquest of Prâgjyotisa, the banishment of the Kirâtas, and the settlement in Kâmarupa of persons of higher caste like the Brâhmaṇas.

Naraka, Bâna and Bhîsmaka ruled different regions at about the same time. When Naraka was killed in battle by Srikrisna, his son Bhagadatta became the king of Prâgjyotisa. Mêghavâhan, the king of Kashmir married Amritaprabhâ, a princess of the dynasty of Naraka. He received the Vâruna umbrella as a dower in this marriage.⁽²⁵⁾ When Bhagadatta, the son of Naraka, died in the Kuruksetra war fighting for the Kurus, his son Vajradatta succeeded as king of Prâgjyotisa.⁽²⁶⁾

(24) The Vamsâvali of Samudranârâyan.—Sarnia hill is situated at the extremity of the town of Gauhati.

(25) Râjatarangini, Taranga II, verses 150—155. Bhâskaravarmâ a later king of Kâmarupa presented 'Âbhoga' an umbrella of Varuna to Harshadeva—Harsha-charita Uchchhvâsa VII.

Srikrishna killed Naraka and took his Vâruna umbrella (Harivamsa, Visnuparva, Adhyâya 64).

(26) Mahâbhârat (Asvamedhâparva Adhyâyas 75, 76). In the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhâskaravarmâ and in the copper-plate inscription of Indrapâla, Vajradatta has been mentioned as the son of Bhagadatta; but in the copper-plates of Vanamâla, Balabarma and Ratnapâla, Vajradatta has been deemed brother and not son of Bhagadatta. From the Kâlikâpurâna (Adhyâya 40) it appears that there were four sons of Naraka *viz.*—Bhagadatta, Mahâsîrsa, Madavân and Sumâli.

In the Mahâbhârata are the names of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, the kings of Prâgjyotisapura. It is deduced that a portion of China was under the rule of Bhagadatta. It would also seem that before the Aryans settled in southern and eastern Bengal, other Aryans were living in the neighbouring kingdom of Kâmarupa.

The work "The Koch Kings of Kâmarupa" states that the dynasty of Narka ended when the nineteenth king following Narka, Suparu, was killed by his minister. In the "Âsâmar Sanksipta Burunji" king Subâhu the predecessor of Suparu was considered contemporary to Vikramâditya. Even if Suparu were a king of the dynasty of Naraka, he could not be the nineteenth king after Naraka, though he must have reigned a long time afterwards. Bhagadatta, the son of Naraka was killed in the war between the Kurus and the Pândavas. There is great diversity of opinion as to the date of this war. ⁽²⁷⁾ Another story handed down is that king

(27) "Âsan maghâsu munayah sâsati prithvîm Judhisthire nripatau. Saddik-panchadvijutah sakakâlastasya rajnascha. Ekaikasminnrikse satam satani te charan-ti varsânâm". (Vrihat-samhitâ 13, 3-4.) i. e. when king Judhisthira ruled the world, the Saptarsis were in the Maghâ constellation. The time of Judhisthira is determined by adding 2526 to the year of Saka era. The Saptarsis stay in each constellation for a hundred years.

The begining of the Kaliyuga, and in this connection the time of the reign of Parîksita have been mentioned in Purânas (Matsya Purâna Adhyâya 273, Vâyu Purâna Adhyâya 99, and Visnupurâna 4, 24 Adhyâya.)

The copper-plate inscription of Bhâskaravarmâ, reads that Pusyavarmâ appeared three thousand years after Vajradatta. It has been reckoned that Pusyavarmâ was a king of the fourth century. With this data the time of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta can be fixed in the 2700 B. C. The calculation of the Brihatsamhitâ also would support this. In the almanacs now in vogue, which follow the view of the Purânas, the beginning of the Kaliyuga has been given as 3101 B. C.

Vikramâditya came to Kâmarupa under the orders of his Guru, and after offering 'Hatyâ' at the door of Kâmâkhyâ, became master of the demons Tâla and Vetâla. It is difficult to ascertain who this Vikramâditya was, even supposing the tradition to be true.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

THE history of the Sudra dynasty, from the beginning of the Christian era, is seen "through a glass darkly" (Ed.). It

The Sudra dynasty.

is sufficiently established that Debeswar who belonged to the Sudra caste and was a devotee of the goddess Kâmâkhyâ,

ruled in Kâmarupa in the first or second century A. D. There are several sources to show that a king named Prithu, of the dynasty of Debeswar, ruled in western Kâmarupa, and that 'Bhitar garh' or 'Prithu Raja's garh' to the south-west of Jalpaiguri was his capital.⁽¹⁾ King

Nâgasankar.

Nâgasankar ruled in eastern Kâmarupa in 378 A. D., his capital being in

Pratapgarh near Tezpur. His dynasty is presumed to have existed for four hundred years, to the end of the 8th century.⁽²⁾

It is accepted that a king of the Koch country, Sângaladeva became very powerful during the fourth or fifth century A. D. With four thousand soldiers mounted on elephants, a hundred thousand cavalry and four hundred thousand infantry, he repulsed the Hunas, extending his

(1) Dr. Buchanan Hamilton was of the opinion that this fort must have been built when knowledge of the art of warfare was meagre. He did not consider it to be very old. He discerned a resemblance between this fort and that at Kâmatâpur which was conquered at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. He supposed Prithu to be a relative of Dharmapâla, king of Kâmarupa. This Prithu was defeated by Bhîma who might be supposed to be a ruler of the same name belonging to the Kaibarta caste at the end of the 11th century.

(2) It is suggested that this dynasty was of subordinate rulers. During the period (the middle of the 7th century) Yuan Chwang came to Kâmarupa, but he has not referred to any kingdom near Kâmarupa. He has mentioned that aborigines reside on the east of Kâmarupa and on the south-west of China. Nor in the description of the conquests of King Lalitâditya of Kashmir, has any country other than Nepal, Morang and Bhot, been specified. For these reasons, it may be inferred that Kâmarupa was ruled to the end of the eighth century by subordinate Chiefs under the suzerainty of the dynasty of Bhagadatta.

kingdom from Bengal to Malava. He established his capital at the city of Laksnauti (Laksanâbati or Gour). In the Tarikh-i-ferista there is a reference to king 'Sankala'.

The 'Khorshed Jahannama' records that twenty-three centuries ago, a Koch king Mangaldipa defeated a Brahmin named Gandar or Kedar in the Siwalik hills and established the city of Gauda.⁽³⁾ His kingdom was subsequently conquered by the Turanis (Mongols) and he was killed.

The following table shows the names of famous kings of

Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa from the
Table of kings. fourth to the twelfth century A. D.
(with approximate dates) —

DATE,	KINGS.	QUEENS.
<i>The dynasty of Naraka.</i>		
Fourth century	Pusyavarmâ.	
"	Samudravarmâ	Dattadevi.
"	Balavarmâ	Ratnavati.
Fifth century	Kalyânvarmâ	Gandharvavati.
"	Ganapativarmâ	Jajnavati.
"	Mahendravarmâ	Subratâ.
"	Nârâyanvarmâ	Devavati.
Sixth century	Bhûtivarmâ	Bijnânavati.
"	Chandramukha- varmâ.	Bhogavati.
"	Sthitavarmâ.	Nayanadevi.
"	Susthitavarmâ	Syâmâdevi.
Seventh century	Bhâskaravarmâ	
"	Sâlastamba	
"	Bigrahastamba	
"	Vijaya	

(3) In ancient times there were several places named Gauda, in addition to Gauda the ruins of which are now in Malda. One was in Sylhet, another in the district of Gonda in Oudh to the north of Allahabad, a third in Malwa and a fourth also in Central India. In an aphorism of Pânini (VI. 1. 100) we find reference to a 'Gauda in the eastern country.'

DATE.	KINGS.	QUEENS.
<i>The dynasty of Naraka.</i>		
Eighth century	Pâlaka	
"	Kumâra	
"	Bajradeva	
"	Sriharis	
Ninth century	Prâlambha	Srijivadâ.
"	Harjjara *	Târâ, Mangalasrî or Srimattarâ.
"	Vanamâla	
"	Jaymâla	
"	Birbhû	Ambâ.
Tenth century	Balavarmâ	
"	Tyâgasinha	
<hr/>		
Eleventh century	Brahmapâla	Kuladevi.
"	Ratnapâla *	
"	Purandarapâla	Durlabhâ.
"	Indrapâla	
"	Gopâla	Nayanâ.
"	Harshapâla	
Twelfth century	Dharmapâla *	
<hr/>		
"	Tingadeva {	
"	Timgyadeva }	
"	Baidyadeva *	
"	Ballavadeva *	

* Inscriptions relating to the kings marked with asterisks, have been discovered. The copper-plate inscription of Bhâskaravarmâ is not an original grant. It was intended to replace a lost copper-plate grant of his great-great-grandfather Bhûtivarmâ. (One of its component plates has not been found). In the copper-plate grant of Ratnapâla, the kings from Sâlastambha to Tyâgasinha have been termed 'rulers of the Mlechchhas' and have been distinguished from the dynasty of Naraka. Ratnapâla mentions that the dynasty of Naraka or the Bhauma dynasty recommenced from his father Brahmapâla. From this, some historians have concluded that king Sâlastambha and others were Mlechchhas,—but those kings in their own inscriptions have deemed themselves descendants of Naraka and as belonging to the dynasty of Bhagadatta. The last three kings in the table do not rank in the dynasty of Naraka.

In the "Kâmarupa-Sâsanâvali" compiled by Padmanath Vidyâvinode Tattvasaraswati (pages 45 and 46 and the Introduction pages 20 and 21) it has been asserted that Bigrahastambha is another name of Vijaya and Viravâhu synonymous with Jayamâla.

In the fourth century, the influence of Samudragupta, the second emperor of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha permeated the kingdom of Kâmarupa.⁽⁴⁾ At the beginning of the 6th century Yosodharma Visnuvardhan consolidated a powerful position by defeating Mihirakula the ruler of the Hunas, and extended his kingdom to the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra river). It has been accepted that during the same century, Sasânka Narendragupta, king of Karnasuvarna pressed his sphere of influence as far as the country bordered by the Lauhitya.⁽⁵⁾ It is also on record that when the work 'Sankara-digvijaya' was composed (6th century, but according to some in the 8th century), king Gopichandra of Chittagong and his father Vimalachandra ruled over Kâmarupa.

Kumar Bhâskaravarmâ, king of the Bhagadatta dynasty, is famous in the history of Kâmarupa. According to Rakhaldas Banerjee, Susthitavarmâ, the father of Bhâskaravarmâ, was overcome in a battle on the banks of the Lauhitya by Mahâsenagupta, the son of Dâmodaragupta, a king of the Gupta dynasty; but this view does not appear to be tenable.⁽⁶⁾

(4) Pillar inscription of Samudragupta in Allahabad.

(5) Gauda-râja-mâla—pages 7-8.

(6) Bângâlâr Itihâs, Vol. I, page 7. But according to C. V. Vaidya (History of Medieval Hindu India Vol. I, page 37) this Susthitavarmâ was king of Kanouj and belonged to the Maukhari dynasty. He fought with Mahâsenagupta. In the Harsha-charita and the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant, the name of Bhâskaravarmâ's

During the time of Bhâskaravarmâ, western Kâmarupa, the whole of Assam and a portion of the present district of Mymensingh were within the kingdom of Kâmarupa. Most probably he conquered the kingdom of Karnasuvarna.⁽⁷⁾ In one of his copper-plate inscriptions, eleven of his predecessors have been retailed. Pusyavarmâ is written first. The same inscription has it that Pusyavarmâ was born in the dynasty of Bhagadatta after the dynasty had ruled for three thousand years. Yuan Chwang the Chinese traveller is accredited with the statement that Bhâskaravarmâ's was the thousandth generation from Nârâyana. Chwang came to Kâmarupa at the request of Bhâskaravarmâ in 643 A. D.⁽⁸⁾

During the reign of Bhâskaravarmâ the Tibetans attacked Bengal and Magadha. This was after the death of Harshavardhana (647 A. D.). Tibetan works say that Bengal was under Tibetan domination for a time. The Tibetans came to Magadha through Mithila, and Bhâskaravarmâ allied with them in the invasion.⁽⁹⁾ He was the friend of Emperor Silâditya Harshavardhana, and the friendship is referred to in the Harshacharita by Bânabhatta, the courtier of Harshavardhana. At the invitation of emperor Silâditya, Bhâskaravarmâ accompanied by a large army went to participate in the Mahâmoksa council convened by Silâdityâ.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the copper-plate of Ratnapâla, "Sâlastambha the lord of the Mlechchhas" is described as the king of Kâmarupa immediately after Bhâskaravarmâ. After Tyâgasinha the twenty-first ruler of this dynasty, the Bhagadatta dynasty was restored and Brahmapâla ruled Prâgjyotis. In the copper-plate inscriptions

father has been recorded as Susthiravarmâ (Susthitavarmâ) and his title as 'Mrigâṅka.'

(7) The copper-plate grant of Bhâskaravarmâ discovered in Nidhanpur was issued from Karnasuvarna.

(8) On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, page 186. There is no doubt that 'the thousandth generation' is a mistake either of the writer or the translator.

(9) Gauder Itihâs, Vol. I, pages 57, 127. The Early History of India, page 353.

(10) "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India", Vol. I, page 349.

of Vanamâla and Balavarmâ who belonged to the dynasty of Sâlastambha it is claimed that Sâlastambha was of the dynasty of Bhagadatta.⁽¹¹⁾

At the beginning of the eighth century, the kingdom of Prâgjyotisa and Strî-râjya were attacked by Muktâpîda Lalitâditya, the king of Kashmir, in the course of his conquests.⁽¹²⁾ In the Râjatarangini there is an allusion to 'Strî-râjya'. Lalitâditya conquered Gauda and then withdrew, with the king of Gauda as a captive, to his own country. Very probably, at this time, Sriharsa alias Haris, king of Kâmarupa, conquered Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and Kosala. Jayadeva the king of Nepal married Râjyamati, the daughter of Sriharsa (8th century).⁽¹³⁾

Only a portion of Kâmarupa was controlled by Gopâladeva, the first king of the Pâla dynasty. Dharmapâladeva, the second Gopâla and Dharmapâladeva, of the line, built a fort some 70 miles to the north of Bardhankot to protect this territory, and to repel attacks from the inhabitants of Kâmarupa proper. The fort is presumed to be "Dharmapâler Garh" in the Rungpur district, situated a few miles to the south-east of Domar, a station on the Eastern Bengal Railway. A tradition

(11) The Raja of Rani in the present district of Kâmarupa avowed himself a descendant of the Bhagadatta family. At the end of the 18th century, the 'Moâmâria' sect in Assam revolted and elevated one Bharat Sing to be ruler of Assam. This Bharat Sing in his coins styled himself as 'born from the race of Bhagadatta'—'Batarî' journal 2. 5. 31.

(12) "He entered Prâgjyotispur void of inhabitants and saw smoke issuing from the burning fields of black Agura. In the sandy deserts there were mirages reflecting his elephants as monstrous crocodiles. Then Strî-râjya was conquered by Lalitâditya." Râjatarangini, Taranga 4, Verses 272-274.

(13) The old name of Orissa is Udra or Odra and this Kosala is 'South Kosala' to the north-west of Kalinga.

In an inscription in the temple of Pastupatinâth in Nepal, Râjyamati has been credited with being 'born of the kingly race of Bhagadatta.'—Gauda-râjamâla, pages 17-18.

survives that during the time of Mahîpâla II, the fort was in the hands of a subordinate chief named Dharmapâla.

The dominion of the Pâlas was established in Prâgjyotisapura by Devapâla (815—850 A.D.), the third king after Dharmapâla. Some historians are disposed to the view that at that time Jaymâla and

Devapâla. Birvâhu, of the dynasty of Bhagadatta, were kings of Kâmarupa. Devapâla was a mighty warrior and with the help of his brother Jaypâla extended his sway from Orissa to Prâgjyotisa. During his reign, the Kâmboja tribe dwelling in the valleys of the Himâlayas attacked the kingdom of Gauda. The present Koch and Mech tribes are alleged to be the descendants of this Kâmboja tribe. During the tenth century (before the reign of Vigrahapâladeva II), a king of Kâmboja race who worshipped Siva, conquered Gauda.⁽¹⁴⁾ During the reign of Vigrahapâla III (1040—1070 A. D.), the royal prestige wilted in Bengal and Varendra. It may be that during this time the kingdom of

Vikramâditya Châlukya.

Kâmarupa was attacked by the Châlukya Prince Vikramâditya of Kalyâna of Daksinâpatha. When Vigrahapâla died, there was a struggle between his three sons Mahîpâla II, Sûrapâla II (1070—1075 A. D.) and Râmpâla, and availing of this discord Dibboka, of Kaivarta caste, conquered Gauda.

The name of Mahâmândalika Iswara Ghosh, a subordinate chief, has been bequeathed to us in a copper-plate inscription

Iswara Ghosh.

preserved in the office of a Brahmin zemindar of Maldoar in the district of Dinajpur. He lived in the 10th or the 11th century and conquered Kâmarupa. Dhurta Ghosh, the great-grandfather of Iswara Ghosh, was the ruler of the Radh country. His

(14) *Gauda-râja-mâlâ*, page 37. The inscription on a temple of Siva in Bânagarh in the Dinajpur district.

son was Bâla Ghosh, and Dhavala Ghosh was the son of Bâla. Dhavala in his turn was the father (and Sadbhâvâ the mother) of Isvara Ghosh. Isvara Ghosh, it is recorded, bathed in the river Jatodâ and presented a village Digghâsodikâ in Gâlpitippyak in Pippolla, to Nibboka Sarmâ. Nibboka Sarmâ transferred this land to his Guru in a copper-plate grant, the closing words of which read, "iti Samvat 35 Mârga dine 1".⁽¹⁵⁾

The kingdom of Koch was a fief of the Pâla kings of Kâmarupa from the 8th to the 11th century.

The Koch kingdom.

There is evidence that a Buddhist monk named Jitâri established a kingdom in middle Kâmarupa.

Jitâri.

Jitâri was the son of king Sanâtana of Varendra,⁽¹⁶⁾ and established the monastery of Vikramasilâ in Sultanganj near Bhagalpur. Jitâri was greatly revered by Mahîpâladeva I (978-1026 A. D.) who conferred upon him the title of Pandit and a Khillat. Places in Rungpur and a very large tank in Dinajpur known as "Mahîpâler Dighi", bear witness to the fame of Maharaja Mahîpâla.

(15) In the Visvakosa the river Bara Gadâdhar has been described as the Jatodâ or Jatodbhavâ (Part III, pages 512, 516). The Jatodâ is a very old river of Kâmarupa. The reputed efficacy of bathing in it has survived, for even today there is an annual mela on the banks of the Kaljani, a tributary of the Chhoto Gadâdhar. The local people call it 'Immersion in Gadâdhar'. In the history written by Babu Harendranarain Chaudhuri, the modern name of the Jatodâ has been given as Jaldhâkâ (page 210). In the manuscripts of the Râjopâkhyâna by Munshi Jaynath Ghosh, the name Jatodâ has been attached to the Mansai (Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 15), the lower portion of the present Jaldhâkâ. It may be conjectured that the small stream Jharda or Jharodâ near the temple of Jalpesvar flows in the bed of the ancient Jatodayâ or Jatodâ. To accept this as true, we must hold that the Jatodayâ or Jatodâ was known as Jaldhâkâ and Mansai at different times. It is substantiated by tradition and the immersion in the Jatodâ prescribed by the Purânas, that the ancient Jatodâ was in the country of Kâmarupa.

(16) According to another view, Jitâri was a Ksatriya of the Drâvida country.—Kâmarupa Buranji, page 4.

Rāmpâla (1077—1120 A. D.), the 14th king of the Pâla dynasty was able to reconquer Kâmarupa after quelling the revolt of the Kaivartas. It may be, however, that this reconquest transpired or Tingadeva, who succeeded him, was king of Kâmarupa. Kumârapâla

Râmpâla. Tinga Deva.
when Dharmapâla

Kumârapâla and Vaidyadeva.

king of Prâgjyotisa or a portion of it. When the power of the Pâla kings

Râyâri Deva Trailokya
Sinha.

Ballavadeva found in Assam tells of an army from Bengal which attacked Kâmarupa during the time of Râyârideva Trailokya Sinha, the grand-father of Ballavadeva. It is possible that this attack from Bengal was the invasion by Vijayasenadeva. Udayakarna was the son of Râyârideva and his son Vallavadeva flourished in Saka 1107.⁽¹⁷⁾

Vijayasena, the first king of the Sena dynasty (1079—1119 A. D.) endeavoured to expand his influence over

Vijayasena Deva.

Kâmarupa and defeated the king of Kâmarupa in battle. We read in the inscription in the temple at Devapârâ, found near Godâgâri in the district of Râjsahi,—“(Vijayasena) defeated the king of Gauda

Madanapâla and Vallâlasena

and drove out the king of Kâmarupa” During the time of Madanapâladeva, the seventeenth king of the Pâla dynasty, the kingdom

(17) There is a difference of opinion on this point. No seal has been discovered on the copper-plate inscription of Vallavadeva and the name of his kingdom could not be discovered from this inscription.

of Gauda passed to the famous Vallâlasena (1119—1169 A. D.), the son of Vijayasena, and it can be presumed that at this time at least western Kâmarupa was included in the kingdom of Gauda. Vallâlasena settled a hundred families of Varendra Brahmins in the country of Varendra and despatched other Brahmins to Bhot, Abhangâ, Moranga, Magadha and Utkala. Kâmarupa is not mentioned specifically in this connection. The epithet "Gâin" was derived, we are told, from gifts of villages to Brahmins during Vallâlasena's reign. One of them "Deoligrâma", belonging to Brahmins of the Vâtsya Gotra, was located to the east of the river Karatoyâ. From this, it can be assumed that at least part of the country to the east of the Karatoyâ, acknowledged the rule of Vallâlasena.

Mahomedan conquests began in Gauda in the reign of Laksmanasena (1169—1198 A. D.), the son of Vallâlasena, and

Laksmanasena. we read in a copper-plate inscription found in Madhainagar in the district

of Pabna of his "subduing Kâmarupa by prowess". The sons of Laksmanasena, Kesavsenâ and Visvarupasena, ascended the throne of their father but they were not permitted to rule their kingdom peacefully. At the end of the twelfth century, the Hindu kingdom became extinct in Gauda and the Mahomedans had established their rule.

After conquering Naodia (Nadia), the well-known Ekhtiaruddin Mahammad Bin Bakhtiar Khalji advanced

Mahammad Bakhtiar. (1205 A. D.) through Kâmarupa to conquer Tibet. The then capital of

Kâmarupa was on the bank of a hilly stream on the way to Tibet. It is uncertain whether there was any independent king in western Kâmarupa at the time of Mahammad Bakhtiar, but the local Koch and Mech races possessed a definite political organisation.

From time to time, inferior chiefs who bore the title "Pâla" ruled in Kâmarupa, but they became so numerous that it is difficult to reconstruct their history in any detail.

Pâla chiefs.

In western Kâmarupa the tales and songs of king Gopichand have come down to us. His name is also connected with ruins in places in north and east Bengal. We hear in the song of Manikchand and Maynâmati.

Maynâmati that Manikchand, the king of Bengal married Maynâmati, the daughter of king Tilakchand of "Ferusâ Nagar". After Manikchand, his son Gopichand became king. According to another source, king Dharmapâla was the brother or brother-in-law of Maynâmati, and seized the kingdom of Manikchand when the latter died. Maynâmati defeated Dharmapâla in a battle on the banks of the river Tista and made her son Govindachandra king. In the song dedicated to her, the name of her son is given as Gopichand. It is not easy to determine whether Gopichand and Govindachandra are one and the same person. Gopichand married two daughters of king Harischandra, Adunâ and Padunâ. The ruins of "Harischandra's Pât" exist in the jurisdiction of Dimla thana in the district of Rungpur.

Gopichand hailed originally from east Bengal, and having acquired some authority in north Bengal, came to west Kâmaupa with his Guru and mother. The song of Maynâmati is still heard in north Bengal,—

Gopichandra and Bhava-chandra.

"Two earthen pots and a bamboo pole and ropes will be given. The Lord of Bengal will thus bring water and eat rice".

In the biblical phrase king Gopichand begot Bhabachandra who begot Habachandra. The names of king Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra recur in many chronicles. There

is in Bâgduar in the south of Rungpur, a temple of Bâgdevi at which Bhabachandra worshipped. The "Pâler Garh" near this temple is now known as Danes Nagar. There is also a tradition that king Lorâ, a relative of Bhabachandra, lived in Lorâr Pât four miles to the south-west of Pirganj. Again in the Tirumalai rock inscription of southern India (1025 A. D.) the name of king Govindachandra of Bengal is preserved. Some authorities regard this Govindachandra as identical with Gopichand. A copper-plate inscription of king Srichandra has been discovered in Râmpâla in the Dacca district. The father of Srichandra was Trailokyachandra and his grand-father was Subarnachandra.⁽¹⁸⁾ These were probably kings of east Bengal in the 11th century.

In the work "Gorkhvijaya" of east Bengal, Maynâmati has been described as the mother of the king of "Meherkula," and references to the "Gârvas" kingdom, to "Vijayanagar" and 'Kadalidesa', abound. The location of the Gârvas kingdom has not yet been ascertained. Raghudevanarayan, the king of Kâmarupa, had a fort in Vijayapur or Vijayanagar in the 16th century. There is evidence of a 'Vijayanagar' near Godâgâri in the district of Rajsahi, and that King Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty resided there. Meherkula and Pâtikârâ are in the district of Tipperah. Bhabachandra may have lived there near 'Chauddagrâma'. Strong similarity is observed between the above work and the song of Gopichand which is still sung in north Bengal. In Chittagong also, there was a capital of a king of that name. A city of king Bhabachandra, the son of Gopichandra, existed in village Chutiâpârâ on the north of Gauhati. The names Mechpârâ, Pâtikânagar, Srikalâr Bandar, Kadali Sahar, Kalinga Bandar, Ferusâ Nagar, Dârâipur

(18) "Subarnachandra was Maharaja. Dhârichandra was his father. Manikchandra was his son. Hear his history." (83) Govindachandra Gita, page 63;

and Karatoya are in the song of Maynâmati. Mechpârâ in the district of Goalpârâ, Srikalâr Bandar or Hât and Pâtikânagar or Pâtikâpârâ to the north of Kakina in Rungpur, Kadali Sahar or Kalâgâchhi to the north of Rungpur town, and the Karatoya river are still known by their ancient names. A persistent tradition contends that Maynâmati and Gopichand lived in 'Dharmapâler Garh' in the south-west of Dimla thana and in Pâtikapârâ nearby. Gopichand and his mother Maynâmati are also associated with many places in the wide tract of territory between the railway stations of Domar and Parbatipur on the Eastern Bengal Railway. After the passing of Gopichand, his abandoned capital was occupied by kings of another dynasty. 'Maynâmatir Kot' is in village Atiabari two miles to the west of 'Dharmapâler Garh'. A fief of Atiabari was under Visvasinha the ruler of Kâmatâ.

"Charan Garh" and "Râmur Garh" in Dimla were used or constructed during the time of the Siva Gotra kings. It is said that Bhutiyas constructed the fort, the ruins of which are near Tengänmari, and that a king of Kâmatâpura erected "Manthanâkot" on the banks of Ghâghat. Gopichand is mentioned in the songs of Siva sung by Yogis of Kâmarupa.

The story of one Gopichandra who was a Brahmin is current in Rajputana, the Punjab, Oudh and Central India and his picture is a common article of sale there. A Gopichand manuscript has been discovered in Orissa. In the song of Mânikchand, Gopichand has been described as 'Bania Ksatriya'. Some say that Gopichand was a Vrâtya Ksatriya (Râjvansi). Men of this sect are now the worshippers (Deodâ or Deodhai) of Maynâ Buri. In the Maharastra Gopichand is stated to have been the son of Trailokyachand and his capital to have been in Kanchannagar in Gauda Bânglâ.

All portions of the song of Maynâmati are not old though the main part is probably so. The theme of this song is the story of king Mânikchand, his queen Maynâmati and his son Gopichand. The song satirizes the newly-appointed officers of Manikchand,—

“A Bângâl with long beard came from the south,
He realised revenue from the country”.

The significance of the appointment of the “Bângâl” is clearly indicated in this song,—⁽¹⁹⁾

“The king gave the post of Dewan to this Bângâl,
formerly where the revenue amounted to $1\frac{1}{2}$ buri;
this man realised 15 Gandâs.”

And according to the village poet, for this reason alone the life of the king was shortened and many evils beset his kingdom. ‘Maynâ Buri’ or ‘Buri’ is worshipped by the Hindus in Cooch Behar and Rungpur. It is everywhere believed that evil eye of Buri (“Burir Jhonk”) falls on infants.⁽²⁰⁾ There are thâns (seats) of Buri in various places. In the Mantra used in worshipping Maynâ Buri we find,—

“Thân madhye bando mā Gauda sola ándā” (“obeisance to the mother in the thâns in the whole of Gauda”.)

From this, it may be reasoned that the mantra was composed during the hey-day of Gauda’s greatness.

(19) We find different readings in some manuscripts. Formerly the people of Kâmarupa called the Mahomedans ‘Bangâl’. Afterwards any person who came from the south or west was called Bangâl. In Assam Europeans are called “Bagâ (white) Bangâl”. Even now in the east of Sylhet, Jaintia and Kâchhâr, Mahomedans are termed ‘Bangâls’.

(20) By ‘Burâ Buri’, Siva and Durgâ are also meant—(Râjopâkhyâna, Devakhanda, Adhyâya 3). Burâ means ‘father’ and Buri ‘mother’.

Adverting to king Habachandra, some sources regard him as a king of the Pâla dynasty. Many ruins, from Hâora on the banks of the Karatoyâ to the south King Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra. of Ghorâghât, are reported to betoken him and his minister Gabachandra.

King Habachandra at first lived in Gopinathpur and then in Bâgduar (in the district of Rungpur). The 'Dhâp' in the town of Rungpur preserves the memory of his Dhâpa kingdom. There is a tradition that the tank known as 'Binnâr Dighi' near Domar was excavated by a chief named king Binnâ who was under the ægis of Habachandra. The length of this tank is not less than 700 yards.

King Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra are legendary almost everywhere in Bengal. Whenever people speak about foolishness in a high personage, they cite the instance of king Habachandra and his minister Gabachandra. The following is a story concerning their foolishness.—

"Once, two merchants were digging on the bank of a tank near the palace in order to construct a fireplace for cooking. Gabachandra the minister prosecuted them on the ground that they were opening a 'sindh' to steal the tank. The king decided that their object was to steal the tank and cause the people of the city to die of thirst; so orders were given to impale the accused. The merchants, however, thought out a means of saving their lives and when they were brought to the iron stakes fixed in the ground, both began to express their preference for the higher stake. When the king asked them the reason for this, they said that they were astrologers and the stakes had been fixed at a very auspicious moment and he who would give his life on the higher stake must be born a king in the next life and he who chose the lower as the king's minister. They each professed their eagerness to be impaled on the higher stake. Therefore, king Habachandra and his minister decided to impale themselves in the expectation that in their next lives they would still be king and minister respectively. The merchants were released."

When the Kachhâris ruled east Assam in the 13th century, some of their settlements advanced to the west. It was Rule of the Kachhâris.

some time after Yuan Chwang's visit to Kâmarupa that the Kachhâris conquered Kâmarupa. After about 120 years they were, however, forced to leave Kâmarupa as they were attacked by powerful enemies who in the "Bhuiyâr Puthi" are stated to have been the Âhoms and Bârabhuiyâs. Though they were numerous the Kachhâris never entirely subdued the kingdom of Kâmatâ.

The venerable Jitâri, to whom we have already referred, flourished during the middle or the end of the tenth century. He is supposed to have established his capital on the Kuvera hills near Gauhati, but another source says that he ruled near Jalpesvar (in the Jalpaiguri district). The tradition runs that Ârimatta, a powerful king descended from a branch of the family of Jitâri, ruled in the valley of the Brahmaputra. A Ksatriya king named Dharmapâla is also said to be a predecessor of Ârimatta.⁽²¹⁾

In the Jitâri dynasty there was a king named Ramchandra. Another king called Jalpesvar won some fame in western Kâmarupa during the time of Jitâri and established the famous Jalpesvar Siva of Jalpaiguri. King Jalpesvar was a Hindu and probably fought with the Buddhist Pâla kings. He is the subject of the song of Goraksanâtha. His capital probably now lies in the bed of the river Tistâ. Some say that it was 'Prithu Râjâr Garh' several miles south-west of the temple of

(21) It is said that Ârimatta constructed 'Vaidyer Garh' and 'Pratap Garh' in Assam. (Kharganârâyaner Vamsâvali, page 102).

Jalpesvar.⁽²²⁾ The writer of the 'Jalpesvar Manidr̄er Itibrittā' regarded king Jalpesvar as the last king of the Barman dynasty and records that about 800 A. D. he consecrated a *linga* of Siva in his own name near the Trisrotā river. According to this writer the Barman dynasty ruled Kāmarupa from 200 B. C. to 800 A. D.

Four kings—Mimāṅga, Gajāṅga, Śribānka and Mrigāṅga—form a link in the history of Assam. It is said that they ruled in Lauhityapura for 200 years, and from another source it is gathered that Mrigāṅga was the grandson of Arimatta. The exact dates of their reigns have not yet been traced.⁽²³⁾

Later, the Chhutiyā race established a kingdom in east Kāmarupa. The first king of this dynasty was Sonāgiripāla or Gaurinarayan, the son of Virapāla. The dynasty of Chhutiyās. He defeated king Bhadrasena who ruled in the valley of the Brahmaputra, and establishing a kingdom near Sadiā (1224 A. D.), assumed the name of Ratnadhvajapāla. Ratnadhvajapāla married the daughter of king Nyāyapāla of east Kāmarupa and a princess of Kāmatā. He reigned up to 1303 A. D. and was friendly with the then ruler of Gauda. During the time of Nitipāla the last king of this dynasty, at the beginning of the 16th century, the Chhutiyā kingdom was conquered by the Āhoms. About the same time as the Chhutiyās were

(22) Another view is that Prithu was another name of Jalpesvara. Kāmrupar Buranjee, page 99.

(23) The title of the father of Bhāskaravarmā was Mrigāṅka. The kings of Kāmatāpura were known as 'Kāmataesvara' or 'Kāntesvara' in popular dialect. Nilāmbar, the last king of the Khen dynasty, was known as Kāntesvar. Mimāṅga etc. may have been names or titles.

establishing their power, Chukâ Fâ, the first king of the Âhom dynasty, had crossed the Pât Kai hills from the east to Assam (1229 A. D.).

His descendants exercised authority in eastern Kâmarupa up to the end of the last century. Muhammad

^{Ali Mech.} Bakhtiar met and made friendship with Ali Mech a chieftain, when he advanced

to attack Tibet through Kâmatâpur in 1205 A. D. After 1293 there was a sustained war between Sukhâng Fâ the then king of Âhoms and the ruler of Kâmatâ. Subsequently they concluded a treaty according to which Rajani, a daughter of the king of Kâmatâ, was given in marriage to the king of Âhoms. When Sukhâng Fâ died in 1332 A. D. his son Sukrâm Fâ succeeded. He made his step-brother Châo Pulâi (the son of queen Rajani and grandson of the ruler of Kâmatâ) the king of Saring. Tâfi Khen Bara Gohâi and Châo Pulâi plotted against Sukrâm Fâ, and leaving Assam, sought the protection of the king of Kâmatâ who proceeded to Saring to assist them. The issues were settled in another treaty.

In some old manuscripts accounts are given of the rule of Kâmarupa through small chiefs. From very ancient times it

^{Bâra-Bhuiyâs.} was the recognised policy of the kings to delegate authority to the 'Bâra Bhuiyâ'

('Twelve Bhaumiks'). It was a custom in some States of Rajputana. Under the Pâla and Sena kings, the Bhuiyâs actually ruled the country. Different opinions are expressed regarding the derivation and meaning of the word 'Bhuiyâ'.⁽²⁴⁾ The work

(24) "When the people found that there was anarchy, Bhuiyâ kings were established in Grâmas,"—Sankara-charita, 2528.

Many facts regarding Bhuiyâ kings can be gathered from folk tales still current. Ruins and garhs bear unmistakable testimony to them. Formerly the folk songs

'Asamar Sanksipta Buranji' records that one Manohar, a minister of a king later than Arimatta but of the dynasty of Jitâri, employed his relatives in State service and that they subsequently became known as 'Bhuiyâs'. In another source it is vouched that the Bâra Bhuiyâs were the twelve sons of Sântanu, the grandson of Manohar. Later on, led by the king of the Âhoms, the twelve Bhuiyâs defeated the king of the Chhutiyâs and the ruler of the Koch people.

There is yet another tradition concerning the Bârabhuiyâs. There was a battle between king Durlabhnarayan of Kâmatâpura and Dharmanarayan, the king of Gauda.⁽²⁵⁾ When a treaty was concluded between them, the king of Gauda, at the instance of Durlabhnarayan, sent seven families of Brahmins and seven families of Kâyasthas to him. The descendants of these Brahmins and Kâyasthas, it is claimed, still live in Kâmarupa. The names of the Brahmins were Krisna Pandit, Raghupati, Râmbar, Lohâr, Bayan, Dharam and Mathurâ. The Kâyasthas were Hari, Srihari, Sripati, Sridhar, Chidânanda, Sadânanda and Chandibara.⁽²⁶⁾ They settled in Pemâguri in the Bansi Pergana in Kâmarupa, (or according to another view in village Baradoyâ in the district of Naogaon). Chandibar Kâyastha was the most competent and educated of them. He was called Debidas as he was a great devotee of the goddess (Durgâ). In later times,

Yogir Gîta, Bisaharir Gîta, Satyapirer Gîta, Ekdil and Gaji's Gîta and Manâi Jâtrâ were considered fictitious, but now it is being proved that they have historic foundations. Indeed it was never ordinarily the custom to compose songs or stories without basing them on mytho-historical events or the lives of particular persons.

(25) In the beginning of the 13th century, Hindu rule over Gauda was extinct. In the 'Sankara Charita' there is mention of a fight between the king of Gauda and the ruler of Kâmatâ. (The situation of this Gauda will be discussed hereafter).

(26) In the work 'Rudrasinher Buranji', the names of the Brahmins brought by the ruler of Kâmatâ from Gauda are recited as,— Bhabâninâth, Gobinda Misra, Janârdana Chakravarti, Ramâpati, Kavibhârati, Gaurikânta and Kesava Misra.

they fought with the Bhutias. The celebrated Sri Sankaradeva was of the family of Chandidbar, and according to the 'Sankara-charita' belonged to the fifth generation from Devidas. Sri Sankaradeva was born in 1371 Saka (1449 A. D.). It will not therefore be unreasonable to hold that Devidas and Durlabh-narayan belonged to a period preceding the 14th century. Some of the Bhuiyâs bore the title of Khân and are reported to have served the king of Gauda.⁽²⁷⁾

(27) "The Bhuiyâ served the king of Gauda unceasingly. Afterwards he became a king named Bisva-sinha." Sree Sree Sankaradeva, page 91.

CHAPTER III.

KÂMATÂPURA.

During the 15th century Kâmatâpura (Gosânimâri) the capital and principal city of the kingdom of Kâmarupa was situated on the west bank of the Dharla. Wealthy and populous, it was defended by a massive fortress, only the ruins of which are now seen. The site is fourteen miles to the south-west of the present capital of Cooch Behar and five miles to the west of Dinhata, a railway station on the Cooch Behar State Railway. The modern designation is Gosânimâri (Gosâni mârai or place of the goddess). Dr. Buchanan Hamilton visited the fort in 1808 A. D., and formed the view that probably about five miles of its circumference were protected by the river Dharla. In the 15th century, there was no other fortification in north-east India which could compare with Kâmatâpura either in size or technicality of construction. Forts built in the Suba of Bengal both before and after Kâmatâpura, were not its equal. Its perimeter was nineteen miles long and it was surrounded on all sides by high earthen ramparts.

The gates, the traces of which are gradually disappearing were the "Sil Duâr", "Bâgh Duâr", "Joy Duâr", "Sannyâsi

The condition of the fort.

Duâr", "Hoko Duâr" and Nimâi Duâr".^(I)

The roads through the gates were paved with well-burnt bricks. Outside the main defences there were minor fortifications strategically placed. At the time of

(I) In 'Gosânimangal', the names of the gates are thus recorded.—On the east, Dharma Duâr; on the north, Aksoy Duâr; on the west Joy Duâr and on the south, Sil Duâr and Bâgh Duâr.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's visit the small stream Singimâri flowed from north to south through the fort. Subsequently, in the great flood of 1820 A. D., the Mansai river left its channel, joined the Singimari and met the Dharlâ to the immediate south of the fort. Today, this portion of the Mansai is known as the Singimari. To the west of the Singimari, the rampart and the dyke or moat are in comparatively preserved condition. The present height of the rampart is 30 feet near the Sil Duar and Bâgh Duar, 35 feet to the south of the Joy Duar (near the Jal Ubâr) and to its east, and 40 feet to the east of Joy Duar near the Singimâri.⁽²⁾. The width of the foundation of the rampart is not uniform but nowhere is it less than 200 feet. The width of the dyke is 250 feet at nearly all points, but on the north of the Bâgh Duar it is 500 feet and to the south 600 feet. The depth is gradually decreasing and in many places *aman* rice is being cultivated in the bed.)

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton observed that there were two consecutive dykes outside, and one within the ramparts. These are still traceable on the west of the fort. The first outside dyke is clearly visible, the second is gradually disappearing. The place between the Sannyâsi and Joy Duârs⁽³⁾ from which water was collected to fill the dykes is still known as 'Jal Ubâr'. A rampart four miles long extends to the north-west from this point. Its height is 18 feet to the west of 'Jal Ubâr' and 20 feet in Taluk

(2). *Vide* letter No. 826 D., from the office of the Survey of India, to Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, dated Shillong, the 2nd June 1930.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton has noted that in 1808 A. D. the height of the rampart was from 20 to 30 feet, the width of its base 130 feet and the width of the dyke 250 feet. It does not appear that these dimensions were measured by tape.

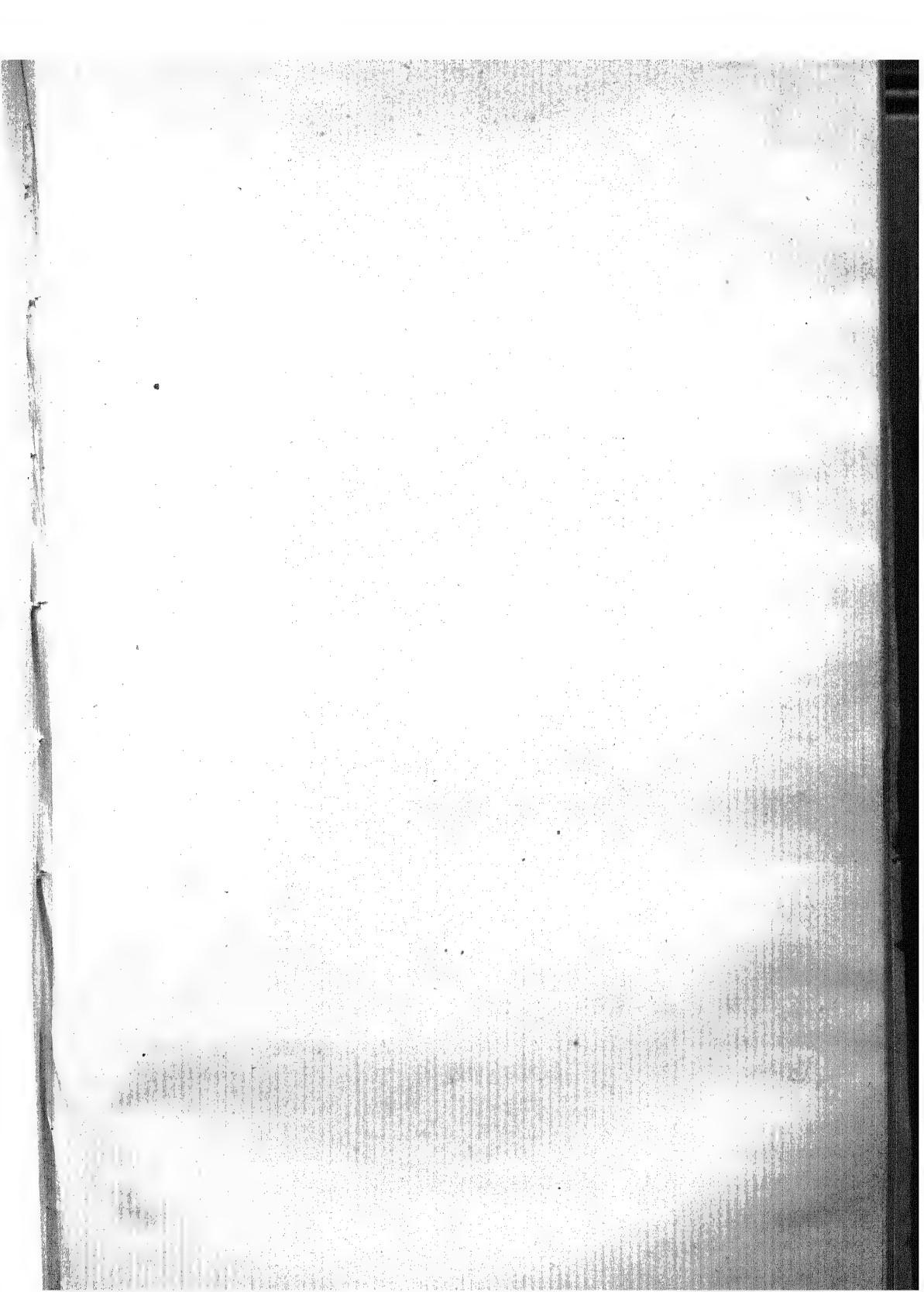
(3). The local people call a natural spring of water "Jal Ubâr".

Chhoto Gadiakhora. A part of a rampart running eastwards from the fort still exists and the State railway passes through it. Its height in Taluk Karisal is from 20 to 25 feet. On the north, on the east bank of the present Singimari river, the height of the rampart is 10 feet in Taluk Jigâbari, and 20 to 30 feet in Taluk Chhota Naldhondra near the Buri Dharla. The small piece of rampart which is still extant at the rear of the temple of Kâmateswari (Gosâni Devi) is 30 feet high. It is 32 feet in height in Taluk Fulbari and 30 feet in Taluk Âlokjhâri. Still further east, the height is not more than 5 to 7 feet. There are still signs of a dyke in this area but it is steadily becoming level land.

As the course of the river Singimâri constantly fluctuated within the fort, some parts of the town were obliterated long ago, and then later, much of it was submerged for ever in the swift waters of the new Singimâri. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton noticed a ruined bridge made of brick over a small channel to the east of Bâgh Duâr (in the village of Atiâbâri) and formerly, in all probability, an artificial dyke. The bridge was fashioned in the ancient method. The broad road from the Bâghduâr to the Râjpât crossed this channel; and today is 110 feet in breadth to the east and 100 feet to the west of the channel. There are no signs of the bridge at present and its site is now known to the people as Mâlibhângâ. Within the fort is a high mound called the Râjpât, its foundations on all sides being paved with bricks. Its height is 60 feet and its length and breadth are both 360 feet.⁽⁴⁾ In addition to the mint, 'Bhulkâ-bhulki' ("Bo-peep"), 'Dewan's Kot' and Petla (a tank for

(4). In the description by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, the height of Râjpât is estimated as 30 feet, but this measurement also appears to have been guesswork.

In ancient times, arches were not constructed in this country. The function of the arch was performed by corbelling.





Nāgini (Kāmatāpur). To face Page 41





Bâlkrisna (Kâmatâpur). To face Page 41

aquatic sports), there are many ruins the history of which has not been ascertained. A big stone basin called Sil Khuri (used for holding water for bathing) is lying in village Sitalâbâs one mile to the north of the fort.⁽⁵⁾. There are many stone slabs, some plain and some carved, within the fort and many astonishing folk tales are current regarding them. Witness what Dr. Buchânan Hamilton has written.—“So apt to be attracted by the marvellous are the people of this country that a Moslem Iuskar (lascar) attached to my camp, who had lived much in Fort William and had been in the habit of seeing large pieces of ordnance moved, declared that the works here could only have been performed by God.” Many stone slabs of this kind have gone down in the bed of the river Singimâri and others have sunk and are sinking below ground level. Many stones have been removed by the people and the Public Works Department of Cooch Behar State. The beautiful stone gate at the entrance of the Rangamandir in the older palace gardens in Cooch Behar, was brought from Kâmatâpur during the reign of Maharaja Harendranarayan. The carved images on most of the stone slabs lying within Kâmatâpur clearly indicate that they were parts of temples or dwelling houses. Some are in a half-finished condition.

(Many silver coins of Pathan kings were discovered in 1863 A.D. in the broken banks of the Singimari river to the south-east of the temple of Kâmateswari.) It is reported that a sword preserved in the temple of Kâmateswari was found when banks of the river collapsed. Two iron cannon were also discovered imbedded in the earth at the same spot. The

(5). Some years ago this stone basin was lifted on an iron cart with the object of conveying it to the town of Cooch Behar but it broke and could not be removed.

Smaller one burst when fired at a Durga Puja festival; the larger has been brought to the town of Cooch Behar.⁽⁶⁾

(There are sufficient grounds for holding that the Mahomedan forces resided outside the fort at the time of the siege or afterwards. The Arabic and Persian names of some of the villages to the south and west, *viz.*—

Lalbâzâr, Marichâ, Pathântuli, Nefra, Naohâti and Mirâpârâ, support this view.) Bâragharia or Bârabângla to the west of the fort is reputed to have contained twelve houses of Mahomedan generals, and Soâriganj near Bâragharia to be the stabling ground for the horses of the Mahomedan cavalry.⁽⁷⁾ There are ruins of a small fort to the south, on the western bank of the Singimâri. Its height on the south is 30 feet. Lalbazar is supposed to have been established by Lalbai, a lady who came with a Mahomedan general.⁽⁸⁾

The name Murchâ (Marichâ) seems to have been attached to a dyke which has been excavated in the course

(6). The appendix to "Gosânimangal", page 108.

In the palace grounds of Cooch Behar, there are six old guns of various sizes; their weight is uncertain. Three of them bear Arabic inscriptions, two of which are indecipherable as the letters are defaced. From the nature of the letters, these three guns are not older than the 17th century. It is stated in the inscription on the third that it was constructed in the month of Sawâl in Hijri 1022 (1613 A. D.). The entire inscription cannot be deciphered. It is inferred that it was constructed for the battle of Dhûbri or Akyab. It appears to be a gun suitable for use in naval operations. It is 5'-4" inches long. The rod in the breech measures 1'-7" inches. The diameter of the muzzle is 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " inches. The weight of the gun is 1 maund 28 seers and 2 chhitaks.

(7) The Eastern India, Vol. III, pages 437, 438.

According to another view Bârabangalâ and Sâgardighi are the works of king Kântesvara and the place where the 'Soâri' (conveyance) of the king was kept, was 'Soâriganj';—(Gosâni-mangal). By Soâri the common people of this country understand a palanquin.

(8) According to another view, this Lâlbai was a dancing girl of Upendra-narayan, a ruler of Cooch Behar.—Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya 12.

of military operations.⁽⁹⁾ The name "Pâthântuli" (the dwelling place of Pâthâns) is self-explanatory.⁽¹⁰⁾ Nefra is a variation of Nafar. The commanders of battalions resided in Mirpârâ or Mirâpârâ.⁽¹¹⁾ Naohati or Nâohati, implying a place of shelter for boats, is situated on the banks of the river Nutisâgar the (Kharpa or Ratnai), now a small stream but formerly a large river.

All these villages are within the modern State of Cooch Behar. In the settlement records of the State, some of these villages have been divided into two or more parts. Pâthântuli is not known officially, but is the name used by villagers. It has a Dargâ of Five Pirs. No Hindus reside in Lalbazar or in the six or seven adjacent villages to the west of the fort of Kâmatâpur. All are Mahomedan.

One tradition is that the Mahomedan soldiers penetrated the fort by the western gate, the 'Bâgh Duâr'. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton is of opinion that the attacks were from the Bâra Bângla side. Examination of the ruins shows that the Mahomedans resided near Bâgh Duâr. In 1808 A. D. when Dr. Hamilton visited Kâmatâpur, he saw the foundations

(9) 'Murchâ' or 'Murchâl' is a Persian word. In the sixteenth century, Subadar Mânasinha established a cantonment in Serpur (Bogra) called 'Serpur Maricha'. There is mention of this in the Ain-i-Akbari. The village 'Marichâ' (Thana Khargram) within Murshidabad is near village Âtâi. During the conflicts between the Mughuls and Pathans, Osman Khan camped with his soldiers for some time in the fort of Âtâi (1600 A. D.), and there was a sharp fight in the field to the west of this Maricha, between Osman Khan and the Mughul soldiers. There is another village of Marichâ to the west of Ghorâghât. A cantonment of Mughul soldiers was established in village Marich-purâ near Châtmoher in the district of Pabna.

(10) Villages named 'Pâthântuli' (Pâthânpârâ) exist in Chittagong, Bogra-Serpur and Maldah.

(11) Nafar is an Arabic word meaning soldier] Mir is Arabic meaning Sardar, the head of a body of men.

of brick houses on the south-west of "Bholânâther Dighi" (the tank of Bholânâth). From the Moorish style of architecture, he was sure that they were constructed by Mahomedans.

Bholânâther Dighi.

Even today, these foundations can still be seen. He also inferred that because the "Bholânâther Dighi" was dug lengthwise from east to west, it was excavated by the Mahomedans. He discredited the tradition that this tank was so named in consecration to Bholânâth (Siva) or excavated by a State Official Bholanath Karji. In his view, Lâlbâi probably lived in this locality. There was in fact a Bholânâth or Bhabanâth who was the minister and commander-in-chief of Prânnârayan, the ruler of Cooch Behar. The sides of the Bholanather Dighi were paved with brick and the ghâts constructed in stone. Many slabs of the ghât bear carvings. It may be conjectured that these were collected from Hindu temples.

In 1808 A D., Lâlbâzâr was a populous town; now it is devoid of inhabitants. The tank of the Raja's mother Râjâr Mâr Dighi is situated in Taluk Baramaricha

Râjâr Mâr Dighi.

to the north-west of Bholânâther Dighi.

This tank is square and its sides were also paved with bricks, though only a small portion of this pavement survives. About 150 years ago, a local man constructed a mosque on the south of this tank with bricks from its sides. Subsequently many bricks were removed to erect boundary pillars of taluks and local inhabitants also misappropriated them.

CHAPTER IV.

KÂMATESVARA.

The manuscripts 'Gurujaner Kathâcharitra' are concerned with Durlabhnarayan, king of Kâmarupa, who flourished at about the end of the 13th century and carved out a dominion from the Karatoyâ

Durlabhnarayan. in the west to Baranadi (in the modern district of Kâmarupa) in the east.⁽¹⁾ He was the son of king Pratâpadhvaja who in early life had been a minister of king Sinhadhvaja, had assassinated his master, himself usurped the throne. Ruprây was the father, Sindhupati the grand-father and Sindhurây the great-grand-father of Sinhadhvaja. Tâmradvaja was the son of Kâmesvara. In the Visvakosa, Niladhvaja the king of Kâmatâpur is considered a contemporary of Râjadhar, the son of Chandibar (1250-60 Saka = 1328-38 A.D.). In the 'Gauder Itihâs' the reign of Niladhvaja is estimated to have begun in 1328 A. D.

Between 1307 to 1407 A. D. Chao Ta Sulai and Tipa Mia Kumar of Assam sought shelter of Kâmatesvara, to the displeasure of Chao Fâ Sudâng the king of Ahoms who headed an army against Kâmatesvara. The hostilities ended in a treaty between the two kings at the request of queen Rajani to Kâmatesvara and Kâmatesvara gave his daughter Bhajani in marriage to the king of Ahoms and presented him with two elephants, a caparisoned horse, twelve ordinary horses, forty-seven male slaves, twenty female slaves, and gold and silver, etc., as dower.

(1) In the 'Sankar Charita', after 'Kâmesvara' Dharmapâla, his 'Belgiâ Bhâi' (brother living in separate mess) Durlabhanarayan became king. His capital was in the town of Gariâ three prahars, distant from Behar (Page 198). If the version of the 'Sankar Charita' (page 5) be accepted, Durlabhnarayan was king of Gauda.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton expresses the opinion that Dharmapâla was a king later than Prithu Râja of Kâmarupa (about the 11th century) and belonged to the same family.

The 'Rudrasinher Buranji' of Assam recounts that two kings, Tipâm and Tâmang Ray, warred against the king of Kâmatesvara in 'Buranji of Assam.' Ahoms in alliance with king Narâ of Assam, and were defeated (immediately before 164 Saka, (1442 A. D.) and took refuge with Kâmatesvara. Thereafter a treaty was concluded between the ruler of Gauda and Kâmatesvara who married Susuddhi the daughter of the king of Gauda. Susuddhi was a very beautiful woman and the chief queen. Kâmatesvara had another queen, Sulochanâ, and eight ordinary wives.

Nîlâmbara the priest of Kâmatesvara had three sons, Dinanath, Chandrabhâl and Chandrasekhar who secretly read the manuscripts of Haragaurisamvâd (the story of Siva and Gauri) to the queens. Chandrasekhar was a great favourite of the king, and taking advantage of his position, engaged in intrigues in the king's inner apartments. The outcome was that Chandrasekhar and queen Susuddhi were arrested by officers named Sâona, Chhalihâ, Bhogâi, Dhaneswar Guakata, and others. Now the king had two brothers Satânanda and Sati Rây, and a nephew, Kesa Rây. As Chandrasekhar had been intimate with Kesa Rây, the latter was killed and his father made to eat the flesh of his son. At this humiliation Satânanda and Sati Rây fled to the king of Gauda. Queen Susuddhi also had secretly informed her father of her condition through the priest's son Dinanâth.

The chronicle says that the 'Padshah' had despatched Thânâdar Jammu Khân to Kâmatâpur to apprehend Chandrasekhar and to bring the manuscripts of Haragaurisamvâd. Kâmatesvara did not submit to this demand, even when another deputation consisting of Hannân Khan and Bâjît Khân arrived before him in Saka 1401 (1479 A. D.).

Kâmatesvara, for his part, desired to come to terms with the king of Gauda and Râmadeva Bhattacharyya, the son of Rudra Sarasvati, was deputed as an ambassador to Gauda. The negotiations failed, however, and the king of Gauda, acting on the advice of his Ujir (minister) Ujvas (Euibeg ?), directed Tubarak, a member of his own family, to attack Kâmatâpur.⁽²⁾

The story of 'King Kântesvara of one generation' (Kâmatesvara) of Kâmatâpur is current among the local people and the version embodied in the manuscripts of Gosânimangal, is literally transcribed as follows.—

First king Srivatsa ruled Kâmarupa. Then Bhagadatta's reign began. After the extinction of the dynasty of Bhagadatta, a boy named Kântesvara was born under the auspices of Siva in village Jâmbâri near Kâmatâpur. His father Bhaktisvara and mother Anganâ were humble folk, and Kântesvara became the cowherd of a Brahmin. He displayed no interest in his duties, however, and one day when his master went to look for him, he found Kântesvara sleeping and a snake with its hood shading his face. The Brahmin understood this to be a sign of royalty, and from that time took great care of Kântesvara and extracted a promise that if

(2) Rudrasinhar Buranji, pages 24—34. It is difficult to estimate the significance of the fact that the marriage of the daughter of (the Mahomedan?) king of Gauda with Kâmatesvara as narrated in the Buranji. The names of the rulers of Kâmatâ and Gauda are not mentioned in this work. If it was a true event, it must have happened a little before 1479 A. D.

In footnotes (3) of Chapter II and (1) of Chapter IV the towns of Gauda and Garia have been mentioned. If the king of Gauda with whom we are here concerned, was a Hindu, his capital must have been in one of these places and not in the famous Gauda (in the district of Mâldaha).

From a Persian work, the 'Resalatossohâdâ' compiled in 1633 A. D. in the possession of the Matwali of the Darga of Ismail Gazi in Kântâduâr to the south of Rungpur, it is learnt that during the reign of Bârbâk Sâh, ruler of Gauda (1459—1474 A. D.), there was a battle between Ismail Gazi and Kâmesvara the king of Kâmarupa. After the battle, Kâmesvara became a disciple of the Gâzi and embraced Islam.

J. A. S. B., Old Series, Vol. XLIII, pages 215—220.

In 'Sankara Charita', Kamatesvara is abbreviated 'Kamesvara.'

he became a king, he would make him his Guru. In a dream Kântesvara was ordered by Chan dî, to go to the banks of the tank 'Kâjalikurâ' and touch whatever come out of the water. He duly arrived at the tank but was frightened at the sight of the sharks and alligators, and only succeeded in advancing his hand to the tail of a snake. On this account, so the legend has it, his kingdom was destined to endure for one generation only.

The legend also relates that as Monohûr the son of his priest committed adultery with his queen Vanamâlâ, Kântesvara killed Monohar and made his father Sasi Pâtra consume the flesh of hisson. To punish the king for this unjust decree, the father enlisted the aid of the 'Mogul of Delhi' (!) and defeated Kântesvara in battle and took him prisoner. At this juncture, under the spell grace of Chandî, the king disappeared while bathing in a tank named Kâjali-kurâ.—The story is not quite uniform in all manuscripts of Gosânimangal. In some, Lucknow instead of Delhi is quoted as the place to which Sasi Pâtra went. A general view is that Sasi Pâtra was a Brahmin. ⁽³⁾

(3) Similarity can be recognised between the marvellous story of Kântesvara's touching the snake etc, as described in the Gosânimangal and the history of the early-life of Nirbhayanarayan, the fifty-third king of the extinct royal dynasty of Kâchhârî. It is not impossible that the plot of the story owed something to Kâchhârî influence. It is also handed down that Hosain Sah, who conquered Kâmatâpur, was the cowherd of a Brahmin in his boyhood, and a snake cast its shadow over him while he slept.

Gosânimangal is a modern work. It was composed in verse by a local author, Radhâkrisnadas Bairagi, during the reign of Maharaja Harendranarayan of Cooch Behar (at the beginning of the 19th century). Brajachandra Mazumdar, a teacher of the Middle Vernacular School of Gosânimari printed a work of the same name in 1306 B. S. The above account has been complied from a manuscript dating from 1231 B. S. (1824 A. D.)

In the text 'Gosânimangal' Sasi Pâtra requested the Mughul to invade the country by saying, "I lay down my race and caste to you", and there is a phrase, "You have lost your caste and have become a Musalman." It is also written in the work that after the fall of Kâmatâpurâ, the citizens reviled him saying, "We do not call you a Ksatriya but a jackal". It is also learnt that Sasi Pâtra ate with king Kântesvara. An article giving the history of the family of Sasi Pâtra and printed in the journal "Alochanâ" (1322 B. S., pages 42-46), states that Sasi Pâtra was a Brâtya Ksatriya of Aryan race and was living in 837 B. S. (1430 A. D.). This article was written on the basis of a modern history of the family and is inconsistent with the general trend of original sources.

Sruñidhar Rupnarayan the disciple of Sankaradeva asserts in the 'Kâmatestvara Kulakârikâ' that the rulers of Kâmatâ were descendants of king Vardhana Niladhvaj. (16th century) after whom, according to tradition, the town of Vardhankot (in the district of Rangpur) was named. It is written in that Karikâ that being afraid of Nanda, the son of Mahanandi and a second Parasuram, "the Ksatriyas tearing off the thread on their shoulder, which was the sign of their caste, fled hither and thither. Fearing battle, they took the designation of Bhanga Ksatriya. Some called themselves 'Rajbansi'. The five sons of Bardhana resided in Ratnapitha. Some hid themselves in Yonigarbha Pîtha."

The second Patala of Bhrâmari Tantra reiterates that the sons of Vardhana discarded Ksatriya practices and sheltered in Ratnapîth (Kâmarupa) and were known as Rajbansi.⁽⁴⁾ It is added in very definite language, that the family of Niladhvaja was formerly Ksatriya, but later ceased to be and came to be known as Rajvansi or Koch.⁽⁵⁾

(4) Proceedings of the fourth conference of Uttara-Banga Sâhitya Sammilan, pages 189-191.

In 'Prâchina Kâmrupa Purâvritta' (the ancient history of old Kâmaripa) printed in "Kâmrupar Buranji", king Niladhvaja is accounted a "Koch-vansi" (page 99). The 'Jalpesvar Mandirer Itivritta' records that Chandan, the son of the maternal aunt of Visvasinha, married the daughter of Nilâmvara the ruler of Kâmatâ.

(5) There is a Khen caste in this part of the country. Probably Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1808 A. D.) was the first authority to regard Niladhvaja as a Khen but he has not quoted any source for the view. He had also heard that Niladhvaja was a descendant of Asura (Narakâsura?) and that the Rajbansi claimed him as belonging to their caste. Thus.—

"According to some, this servant (Niladhvaja) was an infidel (Osur), most probably from the mountains of Tripura,.....There is no trace of any earlier colony of Brahmans in Kâmrupa than this from Mithila, and the great merits of the prince were rewarded by elevating his tribe called Khyen to the dignity of pure Hindu. It is indeed contended by the Rajbangsis that Niladhvaj was of their caste, and that the Khyen were only his servants begotten by Rajbangsis by prostitutes of Khyatrio tribe, but it seems highly improbable that the Raja would procure the dignity of pure birth for the illegitimate offspring of his servants, while his own family remains in the impure tribe of Rajbangsi, the origin of which seems to me of a later date."

Niladhvaja is said to have been the cowherd of a Brahmin who found the tokens of kingship on the boy's body and released him from that work. There is also a tradition that the pasture land of Niladhvaja is now traceable in the district of Bogra.⁽⁶⁾ There are differing interpretations as to the manner of his acquiring a kingdom. One is that Niladhvaja conquered the kingdom of the Pâla king who was the heir to Havachandra; another that on the advice of his Brahmin master he defeated the last king of the Pâla dynasty near Gauhati and became king removing his capital from Gauhati to Kâmatâpur and settling many Maithila Brahmins there named his kingdom as 'the kingdom of Brahmin'.⁽⁷⁾

After Niladhvaja, Chakradhvaja succeeded as king of Kâmatâpura in the middle of the 15th century, but accounts of him are obscured. One tradition tells that

Chakradhvaja.

Kâmatestvari, the presiding deity of his kingdom, was established by him.—The Temple of Kâmatestvari is within the fortress of Kâmatâpur (Gosanimâri). In addition

The Eastern India Vol. III, pages 408, 409.

This opinion of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton cannot be sustained, for it has been settled beyond doubt by the copper-plate inscription of Nidhanpur issued by Kumar Bhâskaravarmâ (dated at least as early as 4th century A. D.) that Brahmins resided in Kâmarupa long before this time. In the Ahom language there are two words "Khun" or "Khen" the meaning of which is the same, *viz.*,—king, great, good, etc. In the work 'Ahom Buranji' we find the expressions 'Khun Kâmatâ' and 'Khun Kâmatestvarâ', (page 47, 48, 50). Possibly these words Khun and Khen were subsequently used to denote a particular tribe (Khen).

(6). There is a tradition that Niladhvaja was born in Devanagar, Pergana Boda (District Jalpaiguri) which was formerly within the kingdom of Kâmatâpura. A tank named "Hossain Dighi" near Devanagar lies in village "Jihvâkâtâ Khinnigâo" in the east of the Purnea district. Even now, there are signs of a broad road from the north-east corner of this tank to Bhitargarh in Jalpaiguri.

(7) The Koch kings of Kâmarupa, page 15. Some say that Niladhvaja established Kâmatâpur.

to the daily prayers, special worship of Kâmatesvari is offered during the whole month of Baisakh every year. Extensive lands, endowed by Maharaja Prânnarayan of Cooch Behar for the worship of Kâmatesvari, are now managed by the Debutter Department of the State.

When Bhagadatta, the king of Prâgjyotisa, was killed in the Kuruksetra war, it is said that his 'Kavacha' was lying on the field of battle. King

Kâmatesvari Gosâni. Chakradhvaja being advised in a dream, brought it and placed it in his capital Kâmatâpur. The Gosânimangal record is that this 'Kavacha' was buried under a simul tree on the bank of "Sphatika-kurâ", and King Kânteswara found it with the help of a Chandâla named Madhu Jâli, who, as a reward, was made a Maithil Brahmin and given the title 'Fultolâ Deori'. According to another view the indestructible Chandikâ Kavacha was in the possession of the descendants of Bhagadatta at the close of the Kuruksetra war. ⁽⁸⁾

The site of the temple of Kâmatesvari built by Chakradhvaja is doubtful. Dr. Hamilton hazarded that the original temple, and the Mancha attached to it, were on the 'Râjpât'. A place on level ground 200 feet to the east of the Râjpât, which Dr. Hamilton assumed to be the site of the armoury of the king, was adjudged a hundred years later by Babu Harendranarayan Chaudhuri in his history, as the ruins of the temple of Kâmatesvari, but no reasons were assigned for this view. The present temple of Kâmatesvari is situated to the south-east of the Garh on land seven to eight feet higher than the surrounding country, and to the east of a walled quadrangle (225 feet by 135 feet). There is a building

(8) Alochanâ (a journal) 1322 B. S., page 42.

for Homa in front.⁽⁹⁾ In the earth-quake of 1897 A. D. the walls were broken at various points and during repairs the height was lessened.

The Hindu kings often ruled in the name of a deity, and it is not impossible for the kingdom of Kâmatesvari to have been named Kamatâ or Kâmatâ and the place of the temple to have been known as Râjpât.⁽¹⁰⁾ The twelfth Patala of the Yoginitantra tells that the sage Vasistha became enraged by an action of Narakâsura the worshipper of Kâmâkhyâ and to fulfil his curse, the goddess Kâmâkhyâ was compelled to leave Nilâchâla. In Chapter 81 of the Kâlikâ Purâna it is said that at some time Kâmâkhyâ Pîtha lost its glory. The names of many Gods and Goddesses, but not that of Kâmâksyâ are extant in copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of Kâmârupa or Prâgjyotisa (7th to 12th century).⁽¹¹⁾ According to the Râjopâkhyâna Narakâsura was born as Kântesvara by the curse of Vasistha (Devakhanda, Adhyâya 3).

That the image of Gosâni Devî or Kâmatesvari was destroyed is learnt from a tradition of which Dr. Hamilton was aware. Hosain Sah sacked the temple of Kâmatesvari in 1493 A. D. and

(9) Within the main temple on the north of the Sinhâsan of Kâmatesvari, the image of Surya and on a separate Chowki, the images of Mahâdeva, Gopal, Nirâyan and Prajâpati Brahmâ are placed. Inside the walls and the courtyard there is a temple in the north-east corner where Mahâdeva and Bhairabi are established; in another temple to the east there are Mahâdeva and Laksminarayan. Târakesvara Siva is on the south-west and Dol-bhitâ on the north-west.

(10) "The kingdom of Kâmâkhyâ Devi is known as Kâmarupa. The incomparable four castes live in large numbers there."—Gurulilâ.

"Gosânidevi was placed in the first throne constructed by Visvasinha who was ordered in a dream to do so."—Gandharba-nârâyaner Vansâvali, page 44.

The kings of Mewar in Rajputana are known as "Ekalingakâ Dewan".

Another name of Kâmâkhyâ is Kâmâdâ (Kâlikâ Purâna, Adhyâya 62). "Kamadâpur" may have been vulgarised as "Kâmatâpur".

(11) The deities of Kâmesvara and Mahâgauri in Kâmakûta on the banks of Lauhitya are cited in the copper-plate inscription of Vanamâla, the king of Kâmarupa (9th century), but it does not appear that this Kâmakûta is Nilâchala or Mahâgauri, Kâmâkhyâ.

conquered the kingdom. Some time after this, Visvasinha retook Kāmākhyā Pīth, establishing Gosāni Devi (acquired by miracle) in Kāmatāpur. His eldest son Narasinha left the country with this image but Maharaj Naranarayan secured its return. In 1553 A. D. Kālāpāhār invaded Kāmarupa and destroyed many temples and images of Gods and Goddesses. In 1661 A. D. Nawab Mirjumla was responsible for further iconoclasm. In a letter written in 1556 Saka (1634 A. D.) by the officials of the king of Ahom to Nawab Ahlayār Khan it is said that "Kāmatesvar's Pāt" is to the east of the Karatoyā river. The present temple of Kāmatesvari was constructed by Maharaj Prānnārayan in 1665 A. D., but the tradition contains nothing regarding the establishment of an image, only of a Kavacha. The Bara Deuri of the temple says, "The image of Bhagavati is inscribed on the silver casket within which the Kavacha is kept. No one is allowed to see what is inside the casket. Even the priest worshipping it does not see this". About 150 years after the construction of the temple, Dr. Hamilton recorded the evidence regarding the Kavacha, including that reproduced in the manuscript 'Gosāni-mangal' composed about the same time to the effect that when the Mahomedans destroyed the temple, Kāmatesvari was thrown into the tank Kājalikurā. A fisherman named Bhunā threw his net in that tank and was unable to draw it up again. On that very night Maharaja Prānnarayan was advised in a dream to restore Kāmatesvari and arrange for the proper worship of the deity. Under orders of the king, a Brahmin went to the banks of the tank and lifting out Kāmateswari in the form of a Kavacha, placed it on an elephant. At the spot where the elephant stopped of its own accord Kāmateswari was taken down and a temple subsequently constructed. (12)

(12) It does not appear that Maharaja Naranarayan built the whole of the temple of Kāmākhyā; the portions constructed in brick, are his work. In the room containing movable images attached to this temple, the history of his constructing (not repairing) the temple is inscribed. In the temple of Hayagrīvamādhava of Hajo,

After Chakradhvaj, Nilāmbara became the king of Nilāmvara. Kāmatā, and reputedly extended his territories to the Matsya country. He constructed many roads, signs of which are still visible, from his capital Kāmatāpur to the borders of his kingdom. A road to the north-west was Roads. constructed to the temple of Jalpesvara in Jalpaiguri. Even now at intervals of two miles there are traces of tanks by its side. The eastern stretch of this road is known as the 'Dinhata—Mekliganj Road'. There was a road on the north passing via Kumārir Kot and Muralābās to the foot-hills. The southern portion is now the "Cooch Behar—Kakina Road". The Ghoraghat road extended to the south through the district of Rungpur, and may have extended farther to the south through Bhāsubihar and Serpur in the district of Bogra. There are vestiges of forts on this road which was connected with "Bhīmer Jāngāl" in Bogra. A road to the north of Rungpur is still known as "Nilāmvari Sarak" (the road of Nilāmvar), another named 'Darpār Mālli' took off from the Jalpesvar road near Bāgh Duār and passing Hatibandha, Ghorāmārā, Jaldhākā and Darwani in Rungpur, led to the Ganges. This road was constructed under the supervision of

there is an inscription that Raghudevanarayan, the nephew of Naranarayan constructed it. It is difficult to say whether the entire temple was built by Raghudevanarayan. This temple had been previously repaired by his uncle Naranarayan. Within Kāmatāpur, many broken stone-slabs of temples lie scattered. It is not reasonable to imagine that kings preceding Maharaja Prānnarayan were indifferent to Kāmatesvari.

In the Vamsāvali of Samudranarayan the king of Durrung, it is mentioned in connection with the capital of Visvasinha.—

"In the south-east there is Debigunj. The Goddess named Kāmatesvari is there".—Page 21.

There is a picture of Kāmatesvari on this page and under it 'Kāmatesvari' is written to explain the picture.

In the Gandharvanarayanaer Vamsāvali it is written.—

"Establishing the city, the king resided there. On the south he established the city of the goddess (Devir Nagar).”—Page 45.

a soldier named Darpa Laskar, to facilitate bathing in the holy river. Formerly, hundreds of pilgrims used the road for this purpose. Another old road, "Darpâr Mâlli", exists from Bura Bîura (the bunder of old Baura) to the banks of the present river Tistâ. ⁽¹³⁾

King Nilâmvara is accredited with constructing or repairing the temples of Siva in Baneswar (within the State of Cooch Behar) and Kotesvara (in Panga in the district of Rungpur).
Forts and temples.

He protected them with forts in Chhay Ghar (Thana Sadullapur), Manthanâ Kot (on the banks of the Ghâghat), Sât Pârâ (to the north of Ghoraghât), Hatibandha (in Pirganj Thana), Fatehpur (in the Sâriakândi Thana of the district of Bogra), on the south of Ulipur, in Ghoraghat, and other places. The ruins in Kântâduâr in Pirganj are supposed to be the palace of Nilâmvara. "Bârapaiker Garh" is also supposed to have been within his territory.

The rulers of Kâmatâ acquired control over a wide area bounded on the north by the Bhutan hills, Extension of the Kingdom. on the south by the district of Bogra, to the east by the Bara Nadi of Kâmarupa and the west by the Karatoyâ. During the reign of Ahmed Sah ruler of Guada, (1431-32 A. D.) the power of the Pathân king weakened, to the corresponding advantage of the rulers of Kâmatâ. The works of contemporary European travellers refer the kingdom of "Kâmatâ". ⁽¹⁴⁾

(13) Burâ Baura was at the trijunction of the present State of Cooch Behar, Rungpur and Jalpaiguri. These ancient relics are called by the people "Kântesvari Kirti". Kântesvara is not a name, but a title. Kâmatesvara has been vulgarised as Kâmtesvara, whence Kântesvara. Reference will be made later to the Narayana kings of Cooch Behar belonging to the gotra of Siva, who took the title of Kâmatesvara.

(14) "During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rungpore was in the hands of the Rajas of Kâmatâ, to which country, passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Comtah' or Comoty, on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (pl. IV). The town of Kamta, or Kamtapore, lay on the eastern (?) western bank of the Dharla river, which flows south-west of the town of Kuch Behar."

"The Contribution to the History and Geography of Bengal, p. 32."

Among the Mahomedan Sultans of Gauda after Muhammad Bakhtiar, who attacked the north-eastern country, Sekandar Sah conquered Kāmarupa in 759 Hijri (1357 A. D.) and struck silver coins in commemoration of the event. Other Mahomedan rulers sought to reduce the independence of the kingdom of Kāmatā. They also attempted to conquer east Bengal.

There was king Dalip Sāmanta who ruled in Jamalpur (in the district of Mymensing) from his capital in Garh Dalipā (or Garh Jaripā). About 1491 A. D.,

The invasion of Mahomedans. during the reign of Firoz Saha the Sultan of Gauda, Garh Dalipā was assaulted and king Dalip killed by Majlis Khan Humayun the general of Firoz Sah.⁽¹⁵⁾

During the reign of Barbak Sah the Sultan of Gauda, Kāmatāpura was attacked between 1460 and 1474 A. D. His general Rahamat Khan lost a battle and escaped in a boat down the river Karatoya and did not consider him safe from the pursuit of the Koch soldiers until he was within the jungles of

(15) Maimansiner Itihās, page 37.

"The ruins of an old mud-fort are still visible at the Garh Jaripa, 8 miles north-west of Sherpore. It covers about 1100 acres and was encompassed by seven successive walls A Koch temple stood near the Khirki gate. It was converted into a mosque but a fair in honour of Dalip's mother is still held here every Baishakh... the Muhammadans took possession about 1370."—The Mymensingh District Gazetteer, page 32.

According to another view, the kingdom of Dalip was conquered by Fakir Saha Soltan.—Gauder Itihās, Part II, Parisista page 40.

It is not clear whether this Saha Soltan is the same as the Sāha Soltan buried in Mahāsthāna Garh. The latter is said to be a contemporary of Hosain Sah and according to another view, flourished at the end of the 13th century. There is a grave of a Saha Soltan in Madanpur in Mymensing. It is written in the Tarikh-Bāngālā' that in 439 Hijri (1047 A. D.) Narasinha (according to another view, Parasurāma) a king of the Bhoj-Gauda tribe of Mahasthānagarh was killed by Sāha Soltan Māhisoār.

Bhabânipur (in the district of Bôgra).⁽¹⁶⁾ In a Persian manuscript the 'Resâlâtôs Sohâdâ, we read that during the reign of Bârbak Sah, there was a fight between the well-known Pir Ismail Gâzi and Ismail Gazi.

Kâmesvara the king of Kâmatâpura.

It is not apparent which of these battles was earlier. According to another source, the Gâzi governed Ghorâghât up to the time of Nasrat Sâh who annexed the kingdom of a local king (minor chief?) named Nilâmvar resident in Kântâduâr. In Saka 1405 (1483 A. D.) overawed by the army of Gauda, the Kâmatâ ruler took refuge with the king of the Âhoms, leaving behind his queen Sulochanâ and son Durlabhendra. The Gauda army was repulsed by that sent by the king of the Âhoms on the banks of the Karatoyâ river. Fateh Sah was the ruler of Gauda at that time.

Hosain Sah, immediately after he assumed power, conquered Kâmatâpur in 1493 A. D. and invested himself

Hosain Sah. with the title of "Kâmatâ-vijayî" (the conqueror of Kâmatâ).⁽¹⁷⁾ In an inscription

on the door of a mosque in Gauda built in Hijri 507 (1602 A. D.), and on the door of another mosque in Kântâduâr (in the district of Rungpur), Hosain Sah's conquest of Kâmru or Kâmtâ is related. Silver coins with the name of Hosain Sah and which date from Hijri 899 to 919 (1493-1513 A. D.), bears testimony to his subjection of Kâmru Kâmtâ, Jâjnagar and Orissa.

The invading force from Gauda was divided into several contingents. An army of Bengalis operated to the north after

(16) 'Serpurer Itihas', page 52. Kântânagar (Thana Dhunat), Bhutiâpârâ (Thana Pânchbibi), Bhutiagârî (Thana Ksetlâl) and Bhutia (Thana Shivagunj) exist in the district of Bogra.

(17) The record at page 100 of the work 'Kâmrupar Buranji' is that Chandana Gazi, the general of Hosain Sah, conquered Kâmatâpur in 1411 Saka (1489 A. D.).

taking Garh Fatepur (in the district of Bogra) at the junction of the Mânasa river. A naval force proceeded from Ekdâlâ.⁽¹⁸⁾ Hosain Sah, in the course of his attacks on Kâmatâpur, routed kings Rupnarayan, Mânakumar, Laksman and Laksimîna. Dr. Hamilton in a Bengali manuscript found in Maldaha discovered the names of three rulers of Kâmatâ named Sadâlaksimîna, Mâlkunvâr and Harupnarain. He has guessed these to be alternative names of Niladhvaja, Chakradhvaja and Nilâmvara, respectively.⁽¹⁹⁾

It is recorded that the Mahomedans were not able to subdue Kâmatâpur even after a prolonged siege of twelve years. At last, by a ruse, a large body of soldiers disguised as females effected an entrance The conquest of the fort. and the fort surrendered.⁽²⁰⁾ According to another source, the king was taken prisoner and disappeared while bathing in a tank named Kâjali-kurâ. The cage in which he was confined was abandoned 7 to 8 miles to the west of Kâmatâpur at a

(18.) Mymensinher Itihâs, page 39.

".....Fort Ekdâlâ on the banks of the Bânâr river where the Sonârgâon Governors fled for refuge".—The Mymensingh District Gazetteer, page 24.

There is a difference of opinion among historians as to the location of Ekdâlâ fort. It is reasonable to regard Ekdâlâ on the Bânâr river as the destination of the soldiers who proceeded by the river Dharla.

(19.) The spelling of these names is not uniform. Rupnârâyan and his successor Laksmînâth alias Kamsanârâyan was the king of Mithilâ. Hosain Sah the ruler of Gauda and Sekendar Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi, jointly defeated him in 1496 A. D. Bângâr Itihâs, Part II, page 205.

(20.) This incident is not in manuscripts of 'Gosâni-mangal'. The story of occupying a fort or conquering an enemy by means of soldiers disguised as females, is recurrent. At the end of the 13th century Bhim Sing was rescued by this means when Alâuddin besieged Chitore. In the sixteenth century Ser khan conquered the Rohtas fort by the ruse. At the end of that century "Bhog-betâl" fort (in the district of Mymensing) belonging to Raja Nabaranga Ray was conquered by Isâ Khân by a pretence that women of the harem were being sent. Again in 1582 A. D. Isâ Khân conquered the Yosodal fort (in Kishorganj sub-division) of king Gobardhan near 'Bhog-betâl' fort in similar fashion. It is not safe therefore to accept this story in all cases as a historical truth particularly as it serves to minimise the shame of a defeat.

place still called "Pinjârir Jhâr". There are survivals of mud forts in this village and at another place "Âthârakotâ". According to Sir Edward Gait, the king escaped while he was being escorted to Gauda as a prisoner, and raising an army again fought Daniel the son of Hosain Sah and was killed in battle. The 'Gosâni-mangal' relates the king spurned flight as it would have been contrary to the code of a Ksatriya; he was therefore taken prisoner.

Hosain Sah advanced towards Assam after his victories at Kâmatâpur. The "Tarikh-i-Âsâm" recounts that he launched The return of Hosain Sah. an attack on Assam with twenty thousand infantry and cavalry in river transports, The king of Assam fled to the hills, but when the roads became impassable during the rainy season, the Assamese soldiers renewed fighting and Hosain Sah's son, whom he had left to hold the situation, was killed and his soldiers retreated to Gauda.⁽²¹⁾ In the histories of Assam, it is told that Hosain Sah attacked Assam and placed his son in Hâjo but was constrained to evacuate by the counter-attacks of the Assamese. This is corroborated by the 'Riaz-us-sâlâtin.' In the Visvakosa, Nasrat Sah escaped after being vanquished by the Koch tribe in the reign of Visvasinha and about 1513 A. D., the Mahomedan soldiers of Gauda were forced to leave Kâmatâpura.

When Kâmatâpura was taken by the Mahomedans Durlabhendra, the son of the ruler of Kâmatâ, retired to Assam. Fenguâ, his nephew, killed him Durlabhendra and Fenguâ. there and became king near Gauhati. After the death of Fenguâ, the king of the Ahoms attempted to conquer the kingdom but was frustrated.

(21) The Calcutta Review (1867) states that Giâsuddin became ruler after the death of Daniel the son of Hosain Sâh. Giásuddin was buried in Hajo. The 'Poâ-makkâ' mosque of Hajo was constructed by him. It is learnt from an inscription at the door of 'Poâ-makkâ' mosque that it was constructed in 1657 A. D.

The three battles between the Assamese and Mahomedans, between 1527 to 1532 A. D., are distinguished. In the first, the Mahomedan army was defeated and driven up to the Burâi river. The second battle took place near Timâni. In the last, the victorious Assamese soldiers pursued the Mahomedan forces to the banks of the Karatoyâ river. In the work 'Âsâmar Sanksipta Buranji' it is described how in 1506 A. D. General Tubrak Khân under orders of Nawab Khalach Khân (?) overcame the Assamese.

When Hosain Sâh invaded Kâmatâpura, Supim Fâ, the ruler of the Ahoms, was reigning in east Assam. His capital was at Bakatâ on the banks of the Dihing river. To the east of the kingdom of Kâmatâ, the power of Bisu alias Visvasinha, the son of Haridas Mandal of Chikna, was overshadowing that of his father. The Bhuiyâs reasserted themselves after the fall of Kâmatâpura and according to Dr.

Chandan and Madan.

Hamilton, two brothers Chandan and Madan, developed an effective adminis-

tration for eight years from Muralâbâs about thirty miles to the north of Kâmatâpura.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS IN KÂMARUPA.

EUROPEAN antiquarians have laboured to reconstruct the lost history of the Hindu and Buddhist eras in the history of India

from the ancient Sanskrit books (like the Rigveda) and Prâkrit works, numismatic remains, copper-plate, rock, and stone inscriptions, archæological evidence and works of art, and the traditions handed down from generation to generation. Indian scholars have also entered this field of research. Yet interpretation of this mass of literary, epigraphical, artistic and archæological material, has not succeeded in classifying the elusive geographical transitions through which the countries of ancient India passed. (Ed.). The exact geography at any particular period, of the ancient kingdom of Prâgjyotisa is still largely the effort of conjecture, and has fluctuated between a country measuring 30 Yojans broad and 100 Yojans long to the modern district with an area of only 3858 square miles.

In the map which was prepared on the basis of 'Indica' by Megasthenes, Mithila and Vaisâli (Passalæ) mark the western and the country of the Gangaridai tribe, the southern boundary of Kâmarupa. The extent of the kingdom of Sângaldeva is alleged to have been even greater. During the time of

Bhâskaravarmâ of the Bhagadatta dynasty,
The conquerors. who was a contemporary of Yuan Chwang,

Kâmarupa stretched from the Karatoyâ in the west to Chinese territory on the north-east. Haris the king of Kâmarupa in the 8th century A. D. was 'the ruler of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and

Kosala'. Naranârâyan, the son of Visvasinha, and the last of the great conquerors, flourished in the 16th century. During his life, the kingdom was bounded on the west by the Kusi (Kausiki) river, on the south by Ghorâghât and on the south-east by Chittangong coast. Roughly speaking, half of the north-eastern portion of the present district of Mymensing, Srihatta (Sylhet), Kâchhâr, Kumilla, Tripurâ, the whole of Assam and the kingdom of Bhutan acknowledged his supremacy.

Something of the earlier internal conditions of Kâmarupa can be learnt from the description of foreign travellers, many of whom were not likely to be attracted to a country which was not prosperous

Travellers.

The account attributed to Megasthenes must have been written (if at all) in the capital of Magadha. It is not free from improbabilities:—The peremiter of the kingdom of Kâmarupa (Kia-mo-lu-po) is about 10,000 Li (2000 miles) and that of the capital 30 Li (6 miles). The land is low and damp but the climate is delightful. Crops are regularly grown. Jack-fruit and cocoanuts are appreciated by the people and are produced in abundance. Water is supplied to the town from rivers and tanks. The inhabitants are simple and honest, though rough and fierce. They have perseverance and some inclination to learning. They are short in stature and of dark complexion. The difference between their language and that of the "Madhya desa", is very slight. They worship Gods and Goddesses and entertain no belief in the Buddhist religion. Since the very birth of Buddha, no monastery has been built, and those who believe in Buddha, worship in secret. Many hundreds of temples are divided between various sects, each of which numbers not less than 10,000. The reigning king, a descendant of God Nârâyana (Visnu), is a Brahmin. One of his name is Bhâskaravarman and the other Kumâra. His is the thousandth generation from the beginning of the dynasty. He and his

people have cultural aspirations, and scholars from distant countries are welcomed. Though not a Buddhist, he respects learned Sramanas, and when he learnt that a Sramana had journeyed from distant China to learn the tenets of Buddhism, he immediately sent men to invite the Sramana (Yuan Chwang). The latter after declining three times, eventually consented, at the request of Mahâpandit Silabhadra, to accept the invitation.

Hills border the east of Kâmarupa. There are no large towns. Wild tribes resembling the 'Lâo' and 'Mân' tribes live on the outskirts of the kingdom. Enquiry shows that the south-west border of the country named 'Su-chuan' can be reached after a journey of two months. Numberless hills and rivers render the road difficult and there is danger not only from poisonous gas, poisonous snakes and injurious trees and plants but wild elephants are found in large bodies in the south-eastern portion of the country and commit depredations in the villages. There is substantial advantage in catching them for use in war. This part of the country can be reached by proceeding 900 Li to the east from Pundravardhan (Pun-na-fa-tan-na) and crossing a large river (the Karatoya) en route. Samatata (San-mo-ta-ta) lies 1200 to 1300 Li to the south.⁽¹⁾

An Arabian traveller, one Suleman, came to India in the 9th century. He went to the 'Kasbin' country after visiting 'Kâmarupa'. Another traveller named Iban Batuta who was a resident of Tangier also visited Kâmarupa (1346-47 A. D.) when returning from Mâladvîpa. He set out for the hills of Kâmarupa from Châtgâo (Sadkawan). The journey occupied one month, through hills extending to China and Tibet where the musk-deer live. The tribes of these parts resembled Turks. They were hard-working and for this reason, their slaves commanded higher prices than those of other tribes.

(1) On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, pages 185-187.

There is a tradition that the people are versed in magic. Ralph Fitch, an English merchant came to Kāmarupa in 1586 A. D.

During the reign of Maharaja Laksminarayan, two Portuguese missionaries, Stephen Cacella and John Cabral, penetrated to Kāmatā (1626 A. D.). Later, in the middle of the 17th century the Frenchmen J. B. Tavernier and F. Bernier were travelling in India, and the former visited Dacca, the then capital of Bengal, and recorded impressions of Assam and Bhutan in his work. He seems to have confused Tibet (Bhot) with Bhutan. He describes the passage of three ambassadors of the Duke of Muscovoy through Bhutan to China (1653 A. D.) The king of Bhutan refused to receive them as they declined to salute him by prostrating themselves at full length on the ground in accordance with the custom of the Bhutan Durbar.⁽²⁾ Tavernier met four Armenian artisans of Patna. They fashioned images of various Gods and Goddesses worshipped by the Bhutanese.

Bernier set down part of the history of Mirjumla's invasion of Assam, yet without reference to either Kāmatā or Cooch Behar. In 1774 A. D. George Bogle, in 1776 A. D. Dr. Hamilton and in 1783 A. D. Captain Turner proceeded through Cooch Behar to Bhutan on the affairs of the East India Company, but they have left no detailed record regarding the conditions they saw. In 1779 A. D. Major Kennel drew a map of Kāmatā and the surrounding territories under the East India Company. In 1808 A. D. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton undertook an enquiry into the ancient and contemporary state of the district of Rungpur. It was at that year that he came to Kāmatāpura (Gosānimāri) in the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

(2) Travels in India, Third Book, Chapters XV and XVII.

According to the historian Bushell, the 'Tâo' doctrine of China was influenced by the Indian doctrine of renunciation which infiltrated to that country through Learning and civilisation. Kâmarupa. In India the higher knowledge of Brahma followed the Vedanta doctrine. Especially in Mithilâ, bordering on Kâmarupa, was this knowledge developed, and it is therefore unreasonable to suppose that its light was not reflected in Kâmarupa. The doctrines of the philosopher Kapila also, were not unknown in this country, and hermitage of one Kapila is even now extant near Badarpur within Kâchhâr.

Educational arrangements in Kâmarupa during the reign of the kings of Pâla dynasty, were somewhat advanced, and knowledge of the day was instilled through schools and Buddhist monasteries. Yuan Chwang wrote that there was a degree of culture even at the time of kings of the Bhagadatta dynasty, and copper-plate inscriptions confirm this. The Mahomedan historians and common tradition have emphasized that the inhabitants of Kâmarupa were experts in magic. The "Dâker Vachana" was composed in Kâmarupa in about the 9th century, and it can be presumed that several Tântrik works including the Yogini Tantra and the Kâlikâ Purâna, were the works of local Pandits. Songs like those of Gopichând, Goraksanath and Sonâray (which date from before the 12th century), were skillfully composed by village poets. The subtlety of the "Heyâli" or "Chhilkâ" (riddles) has been appreciated. Poems adapting mythological stories or the lives of men were disseminated both orally or in writing. The principles guiding both prose and verse composition seem to have been general in the various parts of ancient Bengal.

Music, again, was not a backward art. In old manuscripts the following musical instruments (the 'Beyâllis Bâjan' or forty-two musical instruments) are specified,—the Sankha,

Ghantâ, Karatâla, Dundubhi, Dhâk, Dhôl, Dagar, Nâgârâ, Râmbenâ (Vinâ), Khanjarikâ, Mohari, Dotârâ, Rabâb, Sârindâ, Bânsi, Jhilli, Jhinjiri, Kârâsi, Rudrak Tokâri, Turi, Mridanga, Mandirâ, Khôl, Dhomchi, Gogona, Mururi (Murali), Upânga, Barakânkha, Muchaya, Jampha, Joykâli, Bheri, Ramsingâ, Râmtâla, Jhonjrâ, Gomukha, Virakâli, Sinha-vâna, Tabal, Dochari, Uruli and Dholak.

In accounts of Greek merchants, dating from the first century A. D. brief reviews of trade and industry of that period have survived. The 'Tej-patra' (leaf of the laurus leassia) of the 'Kirâdiâ' country was exported to Europe from

Trade, industry and agriculture.
the port of Tâmrâlipta. At an annual fair Chinese merchants exchanged silks for Tejpatra. The historian Bushell says that there was a trade between China and India through Burma and Assam from the fifth century B. C. The entrepôt of trade between Bengal and Kâmarupa was Hâdirâ-chowki, in the present district of Goalpara, and this centre was in existence up to the advent of British rule. Among the articles available in the country, the Mahomedan historians have mentioned oranges, black-pepper, fragrant flowers, fruits not available in Western India, musk, aguru wood (a scented wood), and a sweet juice from a tree.

Tobacco was probably imported by the Portuguese in the 17th century, and it is said that the Europeans introduced potatoes, pine-apples, custard-apples, guava, papaw, chillies, kâmrângâ (averrhoea carambola) and maize. With the decline of the weaving industry, the cultivation of cotton disappeared from western but continued in eastern Kâmarupa. Yuan Chwang saw plantations of jack fruit and cocoanut trees in Kâmarupa. Dried fish was imported from east Bengal from early times. Before the policy of control was implemented by

the British Government, the poppy and ganja (*cannabis indica*) were grown. The aborigines were addicted to drink liquor. One interesting fact to be gathered from the works of Mahomedan historians is that gold dust was collected from the sand of the Brahmaputra. Salt was not readily procurable, and formerly pearl-oysters were found in the Karatoyâ river. Traces of an iron factory have been found in the Pât of Bhabachandra in the district of Rungpur. Tavernier mentioned the existence of a silver mine in Bhutan. He had also heard that about 500 years before, gun-powder and fire-arms were manufactured in Bhutan. His view was that gunpowder and fire-arms were first manufactured in Assam, distributed in Pegu and were thence exported to China.

Bhâskaravarmâ the ruler of Kâmarupa sent presents to Harshavardhana king of Thaneswar. A contemporary poet Bânabhatta (7th century) has enumerated this in his 'Harsha-charita',—an umbrella named Âbhoga obtained by his ancestor from Varuna, ornaments inherited from kings Bhagadatta etc., strings of pearls interspersed with rubies, white silk cloth, drinking vessels decorated with oysters, conches, emeralds etc., costly deer-skins fringed with gold; soft pillows covered with embroidered cloth and soft as the bark of a Bhûrja tree, beautiful yellow cane-chairs, poetical works easily legible on leaves of aguru, green and ripe betel-nuts, juicy fruit with branches attached, the juice of mangoes and oil of black Aguru; many kinds of sticks variously prepared, silk-strings to tie the gourd under the vinâ, aguru (aloe wood) of very dark colour, Go-sirsa sandal, camphor white as snow, musk, branches of kakkol with bunches of ripe fruit, labanga flowers, Jâti fruit (nut-meg), white châmara (chowrie), painting materials, a pair of Banamânuṣa with golden chains round their necks; a pair of chakoras and jalâmânuṣa, musk-deer emitting sweet scent, Chamari—birds like parrots trained to utter words, within cane-cages adorned with

gold, Chakoras in coral cages, and ivory ear-rings adorned with the pearls of sea-elephants etc. ⁽³⁾

In the Harivamsa it is recorded that cloth of fine texture and comfortable mattresses are products of Prâgjyotisa (Visnuparva, Adhyâya 64). Ralph Fitch has mentioned the industry in silk and cotton cloth, and musk. The metal industry of east Kâmarupa still maintains some signs of its former greatness. The standards of artistic skill in ancient Kâmarupa can be inferred from metal and stone image of Gods and Goddesses.

At the period when the "Heyâlis" (riddles) which are even noted current among the people, were composed, carpenters used to migrate from the south. Washermen and tailors followed their callings. With the Mahomedans, soap and paper were introduced. Previously the leaves of sâchi, palm and bhorja trees had served in place of paper.

Elephants had pride of place in the fauna and have been referred to in very ancient works. The seal of the rulers of

Kâmarupa in the copper-plate inscriptions, was surmounted with the figure of

The elephants of Kâmarupa. an elephant. The elephants employed in war by Bhagadatta were famous. In the Raghuvamsa, Raghu, after conquering Kâmarupa, took many elephants as tribute, as did the Mughul emperors at a later date. Srikrisna seized many after killing Nûraka. Yuan Chwang speaks of them in his description of Kâmarupa. The art of capturing and training wild elephant developed considerably in Kâmarupa. The sage Pâlakâpya, who has written the "Hastyâurveda", and was presumably a resident of Kâmarupa, used to train and prescribe medicine for elephants. ⁽⁴⁾ Sukumar Burkayet wrote the work

(3) Harsha-charita, Uchchhvâsa VII,

(4) A sage Pâlakâpya has been referred to in the Vîra-gâthâ of the poet Chând. He is said to have been born of an elephant and to have been proficient in the science of their treatment. He lived near 'Luhitâksa Sareobar' on the east of the

‘*Hastividyârnava*’ in 1734 A. D. under orders of Sivasinha the ruler of the Ahoms and his queen Ambikâ Devi. Its contents include the different classes of elephants, the method of training them, their diseases and treatment.⁽⁵⁾ The Râjatarangini also, makes mention of the elephants of the country. The attention of travellers was naturally attracted to these large beasts. At the end of the 18th century herds of wild elephant roamed the north and east of the present State of Cooch Behar. As late as the beginning of the 19th century, wild elephant frequented places like Pâhârganj to the north of Gosânimari. Even now they visit the reserve forests of the State on the north and east.

The well-bred horses of the country, alluded to by the Mahomedan historians, originated from Bhutan or Tibet. A manuscript of a work entitled ‘*Ghorâ-nidâna*’, describing the methods of treating diseases of horses, was composed in Kâmarupa, and has been published by the Kâmarupa Anusandhâna Samiti.

Some of the various functions of many officers of the kings have been enumerated in copper-plate inscriptions (dated the 7th, 9th, 11th and 12th century A. D.)

Administration and officers of the rulers

Bhâskaravarmâ, Harjar, Balavarmâ, Ratnapîla, Indrapâla and Dharmapâla. They were Âjnâprâpanakâri (carriers of orders), Sîmâpradânakâri (those who fixed boundaries), Nyâyakaranika, Vyavahâri, officers in charge of Bhândâras (stores), makers of inscription, writers, utkhetayitâ, Sekyakâra, Mahâsâmanta, Rânaka, Râja-ballava, female guards of the Harem, Officers in

Anga country. Mallinâth has mentioned Pâlakâpya the elephant physician in his commentary on *Raghuvansa* (VI. 27). In the *Agni Purâna* (Adhyâya 287) the different marks and the treatment of elephants have been reported after the words ‘Pâlakâpya says’.

(5) The author saw this in 1915 A. D. among manuscripts collected by the Assam Government. So scientific a work regarding the treatment of elephants could not but have represented the observations and experiments of many generations.

charge of elephants and horses, searchers after stolen goods, Dandakâri (those who punished), Dandadâtâ (those who ordered punishment), Mahâsainyapati (the Commander-in-chief), Mahâdvârâdhîpatya, Mahâpratihâra, Mahâmâtya (the Prime Minister), and Brâhmanâdhikâra (the Officer in charge of Brahmanas). The nature of these offices affords some side-light on the administration in ancient Kâmarupa. The office of 'Mahâsândhi-vigrahika' is not included in these copper-plate inscriptions, and is also not in the inscriptions of Dharmapâla and Devapâla the rulers of Gauda in the 9th century A. D., but it is found in those of Nârâyanpâla (10th century), Mahîpâla I. and Vigrahapâla III. (11th century), Madanapâla, Baliâlasena and Laksmana-sena (12th century).

In very ancient times, revenue was realised in fractions of the crops grown. Thus we hear in the song of Manikchand,—

The manner of collecting
revenue & of punishment.

" $1\frac{1}{2}$ buri of cowries is realised as the monthly revenue of one plough".

Even up to the middle of the last century, cowries were current as money. There is a tradition that king Kântesvara (Nilâmvara) caused an inscription to be engraved on a stone advising his successors to realise only a very few cowries as revenue for each plough.⁽⁶⁾ Mahomedan historians have mentioned the gold and silver coins minted in the country. There were the Nârayani coins of the kings of Cooch Behar. The kings of the Âhoms also struck coins, and earlier coins than these have not yet been discovered.

It is written in the Riaz-us-sâlâtin that the rulers of Assam collected no revenue; instead, one out of every three subjects performed such work as ordered by the king and infringement of the order, was punished with death. During the reigns of the Nârayan kings of Kâmarupa, political offenders were killed by strangulation. Under he kings of

(6) No inscription of Nilâmvara or his predecessors has yet been discovered.

the Âhoms mutilation of hands and legs, or nose and ears, according to the status of the offender was a common form of punishment, and the sentence of death was inflicted either with weapons or by drowning.

In the Shâstras, it is clearly enjoined that the Hindu king should always arrive at just decisions. Actually, during Hindu and Budhist supremacy, the administration was in the hands of various classes of Sâmanta, Bhuiyâ or subordinate officers. During their regime the practice had already been established in Kâmarupa of measuring land and locating and determining the boundaries. The area, the nature and the boundaries of lands were inscribed on old copper-plate inscriptions. A general settlement of lands was directed during the reign of emperor Alauddin. Sekandar Sah the Sultan of Bengal had a settlement made and he fixed revenue accordingly. Sultan Ser Sah, his successer, also ordered a settlement of Bengal. Todarmal, the minister of Akbar, prepared the famous settlement records known as the 'Âsal jamâ tumâr', which were compiled from the Daftar (office) of the Pathan ruler Daud Khan.

In the Mahâbhârata, we have a clear indication of the wealth of Bhagadatta, the ruler of Prâgjyotisa. In the

Wealth and Customs. Harivamsa (Visnuparva) Chapter 64 and Kalikâpurâna Chapter 40, it is recorded

that after killing Naraka, Srikrisna removed a large quantity of money and jewellery from the treasury to his own country, and that the famous Pâncchajanya Sankha (conch-shell) of Srikrisna was acquired. Perhaps the condition of a country can hardly be inferred from the wealth of the king. Again, there may be some exaggeration in the constant references to gold and silver bedsteads, and in the descriptions of the palace and the court of the king, but it can certainly be deduced that the rich men of the

country at the time lived in state. On the other hand the common people had not the means to purchase metal utensils. They used plates and jars made from dried gourd, earthen vessels with covers, and plates, pitchers and jugs made from hollow bamboos ('Thuri'). Gold ornaments were rarely to be seen among them. The women of poor class adorned themselves with bracelets of nickel and necklaces of coral; women of the middle class with silver ornaments.

Women normally wore one cloth (Bukbandhâ). Some wore two pieces (the Agran) covering the upper and the other (the Fotâ) covering the lower portion of the body. Ordinarily, poor men wore the 'Lengti' and those of better class Dhutis down to their knees. The scarf of Endi was used by men of status as were blankets, shawls, and silken cloths. The latter we know were imported.

The basic food of the people was rice prepared from paddy, and in its absence, rice from Kaon and Cheena and barley powder ('Pairâr Gurâ'). Poor people ate powdered fried rice. When salt was not easily available, 'Ksâra' was its substitute. Chirâ and curd as light refreshments were very old, and more common than milk.

Slavery had a long vogue in Kâmarupa, the slaves being sent for sale to Bhot, eastern Assam and southern Bengal. When people were in distress, they sold their children and even themselves. In some cases slaves were kidnapped. The fear of 'Chhele-dharâ' (stealers of boys) prevalent in these parts, is not therefore historically groundless. The tradition is that boys were kidnapped to be offered as human sacrifice.

We find in the songs of Goraksanath and Sonârâi that the navel-cord of newly-born infants was severed by Binnâ-pâtâ. Oil-cake and Ksâra were used to clean the body. The old riddles (Heyâlis) refer to chewing 'Majâ guâ' (rotten betel-nuts) and wearing Jâmâ. From the manuscripts is obtained a

description of the use of betel, betel-nut and cardamom in the 8th and 9th centuries. In the copper-plate inscription of Vanamâla we find mention of Nata, Nati (actor and actress) and courtesans. In the older manuscripts reference to courtesans is ubiquitous.

In ancient times, life for the common people was simply organised. The young men passed their days till they were 17 or 18 years old playing games like Lukochuri (Hide and seek), Chilâchilâ, Gutugutu, Hatukdug, Chengupâit, Bhetâpâit, Dândâpâit, Tepâitâ, Mogul Pathân etc. The women folk reared Endi worms and prepared the threads, from cocoons and especially in Eastern Kâmarupa were very proficient in weaving, and the skill survives in those parts. In western Kâmarupa, the men wove cloth, and according to their religion, Hindu or Mahomedan, were respectively known as Tânti and Jolâ. They did not, however, constitute a special caste. Unfortunately the art of weaving has been largely lost in western Kâmarupa.

There was anciently a fear of spirits—Bhuts, Dâinis (witches) etc. In every village there were ill-famed haunts of evil spirits. If anyone fell ill, it was believed that an evil spirit has taken possession of him ('Deo-dharâ'), and recourse was had to the incantations of Ojhâs. More reliance was set on the curative power of incantations than upon medicine. The inspired Mantras were well-preserved orally and sometimes reduced to manuscript, some of which is still extant. From ancient times there had been practice of quasi-vaccination to check the spread of small-pox. After such vaccination, eruptions of small-pox appeared on the person vaccinated who also developed a fever. The local Vaidyas professed skill in the treatment of small-pox, and to-day their advice is still availed of in the villages. The Mahomedan historians have noted that Vaidyas of the country were also efficient in treating ulcers;—their knowledge has been handed down to their modern prototypes.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGIOUS REFORMERS.

Guru Goraksanâtha, founder or reformer of the religion of the Nâthas, is addressed in the old manuscripts of the sect as "Anantakutisiddhâr Guru". Opinion differs as to whether this sect follows the Vedas or not. According to the older adherents, only "Alekh Nirajan" exists after universal destruction and the Nâtha Gurus who have attained perfection are to be deemed counterparts of Nirajan. There was no separate corporate existence of the Nâtha religion in Kâmarupa. The surname Nâtha survives of course, but the caste has become merged into Hindu society. Many Nâthas (of the Yogi caste) live near the Maynamati hills in modern Tripura. In western Kâmarupa there are two classes who call themselves Nâthas and prepare lime, and trade in conch-shells. In lower Assam also men of Yogi caste calling themselves Nath are numerous. Throughout northern Bengal and western Kâmarupa evidence reminiscent of Guru Goraksanâtha remains, in the temple of Goraksanâtha in Bogra; Goraksamandapa in Rungpur; Yogi-ghopâ in Goalpara; the temple of Goraksanâtha near Rânisankal in Dinajpur, and Goraksa-Kui in Nekmardan etc.

In the local song current in northern Bengal, the birthplace of Goraksanâtha is reputed to be near Jalpesh and Mech-parâ (in the district of Goâlpârâ). According to

the view of Dr. Grierson, Goraksanâtha was a Nepalese Buddhist Yogi; and indeed his connection is borne out by ancient coins of Nepal inscribed,—“Sri Sri Sri Goraksanâtha”. The old manuscript ‘Gorkhavijaya’ of eastern Bengal tells that Gorkhanâth married Birahini the princess of Garves, and a son named Sri Khoâj was born of the marriage. In the same manuscript the visit of Gorkhanâth to Vijayanagar, is mentioned. In this connection the names of the Yogis ‘Kân fâ’ and ‘Hâri pâ,’ are recorded.

Goraksanâtha is a well-known name in other parts of India. There is a tradition that in the 15th century one Goraksanâtha was associated with Kabir, and again in the 16th century another Goraksanâtha met Guru Nânaka. The Goraksanâtha whose sandals, umbrella and a staff are preserved in Gorakhpur flourished in the 15th century or before. A Goraksanâtha lived in the Punjab in the 14th century. The Goraksanâtha hills are a place of pilgrimage for the sect of ‘Kanfâtâ’ Yogis who worship Siva. The sect was founded by Guru Goraksanâtha.

The ‘Jnâneswari’ written in the Marathi language, refers to a Yogi Goraksanâtha of the 12th century. There is a tradition that the Goraksanâtha who was the Guru of Jalandharinâtha, belonged to the period between the 8th and the 10th century. The Bharthari (Bhartrihari) cave near Ujjain, has a picture of Goraksanâtha and it is said that this Goraksanâtha was the Guru of Bhartrihari, the elder brother of Vikramâditya, who promulgated the Samvat era. In the Maharastra country the name of Jalandhara, the Guru of ‘Mainamati,’ is also legendary. It is probable that he was a distinct Goraksanâtha, his other name being “Hâri Pâ”. Images of Goraksanâtha are found in the place of pilgrimage at Tryamvak near Nâsik and near Gangâdvâra. The Hindi work ‘Goraksanâthki Gosthi’, has it

that Goraksanâtha was the grandson of Âdinâtha and the son of Lokesvara Padmapâni Matsyendranâtha. According to Mr. Wilson, Padmapâni hailed from the country to the north-east of Bengal but in the view of the late Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, M. A., C. I. E., Matsyendranâtha (Matsyântradanâtha) was a resident of the modern district of Barisal and a Kaivarta by caste. From these varying accounts, it is reasonable to assume perhaps that Goraksanâtha was not so much the name of a particular person as the title of a Guru or particular class of Yogis belonging to the sect who accepted the doctrines of the Nâthas.

Before or at the time of the Mahomedan rule, two religious reformers, Sonâ Rây and Rupâ Rây, appeared in Kâmarupa, but their real history has become obscured in stories of transcendental incidents. It

Sonâ Rây and Rupâ Rây. may be concluded, however, that the songs still current in the country concerning Sonâ Rây, Rupâ Rây and Goraksanâtha, and containing references to Mahomedans, were composed after the advent of the Mahomedans. There is one story of a battle between Sonâ Rây and the Mahomedan soldiers; and today the Garh or Pât of Sonâ Rây the deity of tigers, exists among the ruins of Gauda. Sonâ Rây was a worshipper of Buddha in the form of Dharma. The story of his birth is similar to that of Srikrisna.

Guru Nanak, the celebrated founder of the Sikh religion, came to Kâmarupa in the beginning of the 16th century. There is a tradition that on his way to Kâmakhya Guru Nanak and Teg Bahadur. he resided for some days in Dhubri. Guru Teg Bahadur accompanied Râmsinha the ruler of Amber to Kâmarupa in 1666 A. D., or according to another view in 1668 A. D. The 'Sikh tolâ' established by him is still in existence at Dhubri. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Nânak Prakâsa, Part II, page 39.

It is said that Chaitanyaadeva who preached Vaisnavism also came to Kāmarupa at a time when Sankaradeva was preaching the doctrines of Vaisnavism there and Sankaradeva.

Buddhist customs were still in vogue in the country. Sankaradeva who was a Kāyastha by caste is said to have met Chaitanyaadeva. He was born in 1449 A. D. in the village Baradoyâ (in the modern district of Naogaon). As he began to preach doctrines which were contrary to the worship of Sakti, the Brahmins became angry and preferred a complaint against him to the Āhom king. After the conquest of Assam by king Naranārāyan, Sankaradeva left Assam for the kingdom of Kāmatâ. There he became intimate

Among the improbable stories in Sikh history regarding the visit of Guru Nānak to Kāmarupa, we find the following regarding Teg Bahadur,—

"He (the Guru) and Raja (Ram Singh) marched through Mungher, Rajmahal and Maldaha. Their next halt was at Dhaka. The Guru and Raja then set out for the city of Rangamati on the right bank of the Brahmaputra.....At Dhubari, the capital of Kāmrup, the Guru informed Raja Ram Singh's officers that Guru Nānak had visited the place and rendered it holy by his footsteps. The Guru then requested that each soldier should bring five shields of earth to raise, in memory of the founder of the Sikh religion, a mound which could be seen at a great distance. The Guru then had a pavilion erected at the top. Some of the Guru's followers remained in Kāmarupa and their descendants are now found in Dhubri and Chaotala (Sikhtola?). Great honour and reverence was shown to the Guru, and hearing this Raja Ram of Assam.....came to do him homage. The Raja had no offspring and desired a son. He brought his two wives who made obeisance to the Guru".—Translation of Guru Teg Bahadur's life mentioned in Vol. IV, pages 348—358—By M. Macauliffe.

"When the Rajas of Assam were defeated, Ram Rai, the Raja of Gauhipore, concluded peace through the intercession of the Guru and submitted. The Guru pointed out a place where Guru Nānak had once been, and raised a high platform called Damdama which exists to this day. The sacred Granth opens there and a village is assigned in Jagir for its maintenance. From the spoils the Imperial Army had gained, large offerings were made to the Guru,and reached Patna on the 7th Jaith, Sambat 1724....."—Translation of the Sikh History, Part I, page 151 by Khazan Sing.

with Sukladhvaja (Chilâ Rây) the brother of the ruler. Under the order of Sukladhvaja, Sankaradeva wrote the drama 'Sîtâsvayamvara' and organized the acting (Bhâvanâ) of it. Kanthabhûsan the Guru of the king and other Brahmins combined against him ⁽²⁾, and attributed the following faults to him in complaints preferred before the king :—

"The Kaivartas, Koltâs, Koches and Brahmins are made to sit together to eat milk Chirâ and plantain. Cooked rice has become Prasâda of Jagannâth and is distributed in the villages. He has presumed to be the Guru even of Brahmins and to give them religious instructions. He accepts all gifts like bedsfeads, etc."

The Brahmins brought forth the images of Kâli immersed in water from the riverbed, and lodged a complaint before the the king against Sankaradeva that he had destroyed images of the deities. ⁽³⁾ Two of his disciples were arrested and brought before King Naranârayân. "The King said,-‘ Bow down to Durgâ,’ but they replied, ‘ We cannot do this.’ At this the king ordered them to be punished and as they would give no information regarding their Guru, an order that they be killed by being torn to pieces by dogs, was passed. ⁽⁴⁾ According to another version the Hâjârikâs (a class of State officers) sold Sankaradeva to the Bhutias to realise money due to the State, and also placed his disciples in their hands. Sukladhvaja, however, concealed Sankaradeva in ‘ Fulbari’. ⁽⁵⁾ At last, the king released

(2). “ Sree Sankar Deva ” page 185.

(3) Sankara- charita, page 262.

(4) “ Jhapanu hengâl duiko kâmuria khâuk ”. (“ Let leaping dogs eat them ”—
Sree Sankaradeva, page I94.

(5) Thâkur Âtâ, I40, I50 pages,

Sankaradeva lived in the village Kâgajkutâ when he came to Behar (The Vamsâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 45.) Sankaradeva ‘ lived for some time in the town of Behar ’ (Sree Sankaradeva, page 222.) He lived happily in Bhela (Bheladângar) opening a Satra’. According to another view he ‘ remained in great delight in Baikunthapur, opening a Satra’ Sree SreeDeb Dâmodara Charitra, page 115.

Sankaradeva as Haripâglâ ("frenzied in the name of Hari") but later, appreciating the pure character, self-sacrifice and the religious doctrines of Sankaradeva through the good offices of Sukladhvaja the king respected him.—Krisna Bhârati has written in the manuscript 'Santh Nirnaya' that Sankaradeva while imprisoned under the orders of the king, composed the work 'Guptachintâmani' and presented it to the king, thereby gaining his freedom. The king then offered the management of the Barapetâ Mehal to Sankaradeva but he was unwilling to accept it. Sankaradeva had a piece of cloth named "Brindâbani Bastra", 120 cubits long and 60 cubits broad, manufactured by the weavers of Barapetâ, and various pictures illustrative of events in the life of Krisna were painted on it. This he presented to the king and as a reward, was allowed to relinquish the management of the Mehal. Afterwards Ram Rây, a relative of Sankaradeva, took over this charge.

Sankaradeva refused to become the Guru of the king⁽⁶⁾, and in the Sankara racharita it is recorded that when the king pressed him again and again to allow him to take his 'Saran' (initiation), Sankaradeva gave up his life to avoid fulfilling the request. According to another view, he died in Saka 1490 (1568 A. D.) of an ulcerous disease.⁽⁷⁾ He stayed in the

(6) "I never become Guru of kings, women and Brahmins who follow Karma Kânda.—Sankara Charita, page 295.

According to a different account :

"The king took initiation from the Mahâpurusa (the great man).”—Sree Sree Sankaradeva, page 221.

(7) Sankara-charita, page 295.

Mahapurusa Sankaradeva O Mâdhavadevar Jîvancharitra, pages 187 and 354.

"Afterwards Sankara crossed the 'Manâha' and went to the Ghat of Kâgajkutâ. Sankar died in Kâgajkutâ Ghat".—Satsampradâyer Kathâ, pages 44, 45.

The Gods rained flowers on the Kâgajkutâ Ghat of the Torsa river when the body of Sankaradeva was cremated, and so the river was named 'Puspakânti'. That place has become a dried-up bed of the river or a Bil (large tank).—Sankaracharita, pages 274 and 301.—Kâgajkutâ cannot now be identified in Cooch Behar.

kingdom of Kāmatâ for two and a half years. Sukladhwaj married Kamalâpriyâ (or according to another authority Bhagnesvari) the daughter of Râm Rây a relative of Sankaradeva ⁽⁸⁾

Mâdhavadeva the disciple of Sankaradeva was also imprisoned for six months, having incurred the displeasure of Mâdhavadeva.

of the Âhom king. Thereafter he came to Barapetâ and began to preach in the name of Srikrisna. Also a Kâyastha, his doctrines are known as those of the Mahâpurusiyâs. At this time Raghudev Narayan, the son of Sukladhwaja, and king of Barapetâ (eastern Kâmarupa), was instigated by Brahmins to pass orders against Mâdhavadeva who, with his devotees, was produced in the royal court as prisoner, but when the anger of Raghudev was mitigated by some means, Mâdhava deva proceeded to western Kâmarupa and sought the protection of Laksminarayan the ruler of Kâmatâ.⁽⁹⁾ Virupâksa Karji, an officer of the king, at the instance of the Brahmins, attempted to intrigue against Mâdhavadeva but was unable to do him any real injury. Prince Viranarayan and many ladies of the royal harem, were charmed with his qualities, and became attached to Mâdhavadeva. Through his efforts "the people Koch Mech discarded all their previous habits."

(8) The Koch kings of Kamrupa page 29; Âsâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhîrâma, page 58. Thâkur Âtâ, page 134. Sankaracharita Tikâ, page 263. Visvakosh. Vol. III, page 524.

(9) Mâdhavadeva lived in the village Bheladangar.—Thâkur Atâ, page 255; Mahâpurusa Sankara O Mâdhavadevar Jiyancharitra, page 306.

According to another view:—

"Living in Madhupur, after opening a Satra there, (Mâdhava) went to heaven, departing from his mortal body".—Sree Sree Deva Damodar Charitra, page 123.

In Satsampradâyer Kathâ (pages 46, 47) the latter view has been corroborated.

Maharaja Laksminarayan himself presented gifts of money and properties to him. It was when Mâdhavadeva was very old that he had gone to wash his hands and face when a palanquin arrived to take him to the inner apartments of the king. Suddenly he collapsed in a faint from which he did not recover. (1596 A. D.). Lavish arrangements for the funeral ceremonies were ordained by the king and a bone was sent to be thrown into the Ganges. "The king said,—'All people of my kingdom should follow the tenets of Mâdhava. Give up all those previously followed by you, for I have come to know that the teachings of Mâdhava are very pure'."

Dâmodaradeva, son of Sadânanda, was born in village Nalchâ near village Bardoyâ, the birth place of Sri Sankaradeva, and the latter gave him the name 'Dâmodara'.
Dâmodaradeva.

Damodaradeva was also persecuted, and was imprisoned by officers of the Âhom king for some time. Then he came to Tarapeta and began to preach the doctrines of Vaisnavism, and being a Brahmin his sect became known as 'Bâmanîâ'. At this period, Pariksit Narayan was the King of eastern Kâmarupa, and it was to him that a Sâkta Sannyâsi named Kâmesvar Giri complained,—'Your kingdom is being ruined ' by Dâmodara. The king replied "Let him remain where he is if he worships the Devi ; otherwise bring him before me immediately." Damodara said "I shall go to the king but I will not worship (the Devi). Who is there to be worshipped by me except Hari ?" He appeared before the king and was forced to remain under surveillance for a year. In Vijaynagar the capital of Parikṣita, Kâmesvara Giri continued to prefer daily complaints before the king that Dâmodara had not thrown away the plantain leaves after meals, that he had lost his caste, etc. At last, the king in open court charged Dâmodara that "he had discarded the daily observances of a Brahmin, namely, the

repetition of Gâyatri, the performance of Sandhyâ and other rites such as the Srâdh of parents, and had been following the doctrines of Buddha." Dâmodara pleaded that ' Pilgrimages, the worship of Devi, and religious practices and sacrifices were all useless, and that for human beings "during the Kali Yuga there is no other way of salvation but through the name of Krisna". Thereafter, Dâmodar was banished from the kingdom, and following the example of Sankaradeva and Mâdhavadeva, he came to the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Maharaja Laksminarayan received him with honour and had constructed a residence for him at Baikunthapur.⁽¹⁰⁾ He became the royal Guru and advised Laksminarayan that "all the first devotees Sankara and Târvati never killed goats". In consequence, animal sacrifice was prohibited for a time. Meanwhile relations between Pariksit Narayan and Laksminarayan were further estranged. Dâmodara died⁽¹¹⁾ in 1598 A. D. when he was 110 years old after his residing in the kingdom of Kâmatâ for seven years. Before his death he chose Valadeva as his representative. Already during the time of Dâmodaradeva the followers of Chaitanya were preaching in western Kâmarupa.⁽¹²⁾ Differences of opinion had arisen between Mâdhavadeva and Dâmodaradeva in connection with the annual Srâdh of Sankaradeva and later regarding religious tenets.

(10) It is written in the work of Sree Sree Deva Dâmodara Charitra,—

"The king gave him residence with great delight and after honouring him in various ways, in Baikunthapura",—Page 133.

"Damodara stayed in Baikunthapura."—Page 161.

(11) Dâmodara died in Baikunthapura and his Srâdh was performed there after a year.—Pages 178, 180.

"All the wives and sons of Laksminarayan took shelter at the feet of Dâmodara (i. e. were initiated by him)"

Sree Sree Deva Dâmodara Charitra—page 134.

(12) Sree Sree Deva Dâmodara Charitra page 192.

Mahomedan Preachers.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the preachers of Islam first came to Kāmarupa, but we know that at about the beginning of the 13th century A. D. preaching had begun in western Kāmarupa. Thence onward many saints came, and the religious literature of the Mahomedans has preserved the names of their different sects. During the reign of emperor Akbar, his minister Sheik Abul Fazal collected information regarding Mahomedan saints and preachers. In the early period they tended to be itinerant and they were generally known as 'Pîr', 'Darbes' or 'Fakir'. They must have been untiring in their efforts for Islam which became widely disseminated in western Kāmarupa. Some of them devoted themselves to meditation, others to preaching and establishing 'Dhâm' or 'Âstânâ' in diverse places. Very few of these Pîrs, however, have been interred in the Âstânâs.

The Âstânâs are commonly known as 'Dargâs', but all Dargâs are not graves. The word 'Dargâ' is Persian and means 'Durbar, a court, or a grave'. About a hundred years ago the Dargâs in Pânjatan (in the district of Goalpara), Pandua (in the district of Maldah) and Mahâsthâna (in the district of Bogra) were still visited by poorer people who could not afford the 'haj' to Mecca. Subsequently, however, certain practices observed in these Dargâs, were discredited, and many Musalmans closed visiting them, with the result that they fell into decay and traces of them are gradually disappearing.

Many songs were composed around the lives of the Pîrs and their religious mission, the general theme being the sacrifice and pure character of the Pîrs which are extolled as ideals for the people. Printed editions of these songs are still extant. The original compositions were not, however, contemporary with the Pîrs. It is to be observed that the real meaning of the songs

was gradually changed, and they came to be regarded as more amusing than serious.

The lives of most of the Pîrs were full of extraordinary incidents, and biographical accounts have accorded little attention to the religious aspect, possibly with ulterior regard for the tastes and mental inclinations of the people. In the lives we find recorded the battles between some of the Pîrs and the local Hindu kings. Though it is against Indian sentiment to depict saints as influenced by worldly desires, yet in actual history quarrels between kings and saints, on material or personal grounds, were not rare. Indeed, Hindu and Mahomedan rulers engaged in disputes with saints of their own religion. Thus, Sankara, Mâdhava and Dîmodaradeva of Kâmarupa were oppressed by kings who were themselves Hindus; and in Bengal, Ismail Gazi was killed by Nasrat Sah, Sultan of Gauda, and Kalandar Fakir by emperor Balban. On the other hand the well-known Âstânâs of Mahomedan Pîrs in the capitals of Hindu kings, *viz.*, Kâmatâpur, Dhaliyabâri and Cooch Behar, suggest that the Pîrs resided in those places receiving honour, and practised their devotional exercises and preached their religion without fear of oppression. It is significant also that the famous temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava and the vast debutter properties of that deity, exist in the place where the Mughul Fouzdar of Hajo resided.

The Dhâm of Torsa Pîr at the outskirts of Cooch Behar town, is a well-known Dargâ. It is said that many people were attracted to Islam through the influence of this Torsa Pîr who flourished probably in the beginning of the 18th century. His real name is not known, but it is inferred that as he resided on the banks of the Torsa, he became known as the Torsa Pîr. Extraordinary stories are told regarding the king of Cooch Behar and the Pîr who was

Torsa Pîr.

accredited with living by Yogic power, under the waters of the river, so that when the king came to see him, he raised his hand through the water. Be this as it may there can be no doubt that the kings revered the Pir, since money grants were conferred over a long period for offering 'Sirni' regularly in the Dargâ, and Maharaja Harendranarayan granted seven bighas of land as 'Pirpâl' for the Dargâ.

In the ancient capital of Cooch Behar named Dhaluabari, four miles to the south east of the town of Cooch Behar, there lies the tomb of Saha Fakir. The Cooch Behar Durbar has granted 77 bighas of land as 'Pirpâl' to meet the expenses of this Dargâ.

Saha Garib Kâmâl was buried outside the fort of Kâmatâpura south-west of the Bâgh-duâr. This Pir probably lived in the 17th century. Even now tales of his Saha Garib Kâmâl. Yogic powers survive, and of his preaching. In the settlement papers of 1872 a Hindu is recorded as the sebait of this Dargâ.

Ismail Gâzi belonged the 15th century and dwelt near Kântâduar to the south of Rungpur. The 'Gâzir Dargâ' still exists, but there is a difference of opinion Ismail Gâzi. as to whether the Gâzi was actually buried in the Dargâ.

The real name and history of Pâglâ Pir remain obscure. As the name which the people gave him implies, he had personal Pâglâ Pir. peculiarities resembling those of a mad man. Rabid dogs and jackals were supposed to be quiescent in his presence. His influence has endured in the custom of erecting a bamboo in his name whenever dogs or jackals become rabid. During this ceremony a Bhowriâ (in whom the spirit of the Pir is transmitted) acts

like a madman and utters prophecies. Every year in the month of Chaitra a Mela (fair) was held in his name on the banks of the Pâglâ river (the lower portion of the Tista river) near Chilmâri within Rungpur.

The celebrated saint Giasuddin Aulia preached Islam at the beginning of the 16th century. He lies buried in Garudâchala in Hâjo in the district of Kâmarupa

Giasuddin.

where he established a Musalman colony and constructed a mosque named 'Poâ-makkâ Masjid', the floor of which is reputed to have been made of earth brought from Mecca. He was a man of great learning and of pure character. His mosque was rebuilt during the reign of Emperor Sajahan (1657 A.D.).

The "Manai Jâtrâ" or song based on the life and preaching of Pîr Sâha Soltan, reveals that "Bâdsâh Soltan had his residence

Sâha Soltan.

in the town of Balkh." The tradition is that Sâha Soltân Mâhisoâr, a prince of

Balkh, abandoned his claims to kingship and came to preach religion to western Kâmarupa, where he lived, and was buried at Mahâsthânagarh. According to Târikh-i-Bângâla Sâha Soltan resided in Mahâsthânagarh in Hijri 439 (1047 A. D.) Many extraordinary stories of him survive, including that which says that because he came to this country on the back of a fish, he was called "Mâhi-sowar." It is recorded that there was a battle between Sâha Soltan and Parasurama the then king of Mahâsthânagarh;—there are varying accounts regarding this Parasurama.

The real name of Satyapir is not known. In manuscripts and songs, his mother is Sandhyâvati, a virgin daughter of King

Satyapir.

Maidalan (Mahidalan), the latter, according to one tradition being the king of Mâlanchâ during the Pathan rule of Gauda. Mâlanchâ was

situated within the modern district of Rajsahi. The Nur river was on the west and the Kampa river on the east of Mâlanchâ. Mâlanchâ itself is ascertained to have been near Pâhârpur, four miles to the west of the present Jamalpur railway station. In a Chittah dated the 10th Baisakh 1278 B. S. and preserved in Bâdalgâchhi Cutchery in the Zemindary of Porsâ, a reference is made to "the house of King Maidalan, the land of Satya Narayan".

It may be concluded from the various manuscripts that Satyapir was originally a Hindu, but was converted to Islam and devoted his life to preaching. At first he encountered strong opposition from his maternal grandfather and others, but ultimately all, perforce adopted his teachings. He was unquestionably a religious power in northern Bengal, and even today the influence of his name, remains. The manuscripts and songs tell of Satyapir's battles. The 'Sirini' he advocated excluded all fish and meat.

The worship of Satyanarayana, one of the many names of Visnu or Nârâyana, is prevalent in Hindu society. That Satyapir was identical with Satyanarayana, is suggested in a manuscript of Satyapir,—

"He who is Satyanarayana, is also Satyapir. By his revelation worship from both sects (Hindu and Musalmans) is rendered to him".

In the Pâncâli of Satyanarayana it is written :

"The Musalmans should worship in the name of Satyapir, each according to his inclinations".

The indication of having accepted Satyapir or Satyanarayana was the 'Sirini' or 'Prasâd' which was both uncooked and prepared without injury to any animal. In the country to the west of Bengal the 'Prasâd' consists of fruits and the month of Bhâdra was considered the most suitable time to offer 'Sirini'. It is said

that Ganes the ruler of Gauda introduced the 'Sirini' with the object of effecting unity between the Hindu and Mahomedans.⁽¹³⁾ According to another view, Hosain Sah the ruler of Gauda introduced the worship.⁽¹⁴⁾—There is no tradition where the body of Satyapir has been entombed.⁽¹⁵⁾ Interpolations regarding worship of Satyanarayan in the Bhabisya Purâna and the Bengal text of Skanda Purâna (Revâ-khanda) and his temple at Benares are modern.

It is said that Ekdil Sâha was born during the 14th century A. D., his father being a merchant named Sâhanir and his mother Âsaknuri. He was educated under

Ekdil Sâha.

Mollâ Âtâ in Devakot, Dinajpur. A steady

devotee and initiated by the famous Pir Sâha Badar of Chittagong, the preaching of Islamism throughout Northern Bengal, was the chief work of his life. There is a Dargâ of one Ekdil Sâha in Kâjipârâ in Baraset sub-division in the district of 24 Pergannahs. The description of his birthplace in the manuscripts and songs is uncertain and unreasonable. The work "Ekdiler Puthi" describing his pure life, was spread by singers. Considering all the evidence, it is probable that Ekdil Sâha was born in the district of Dinajpur.⁽¹⁶⁾

(13) Gauder Itihâs, Part II, page 70.

(14) Bagurâr Itihâs, Part II, page 179.

Attempts to effect unity had occurred long before. In "Dharmamangala" of Râmâi Pandit we find,—

"Dharma assumed the shape of a Mahomedan. He wore a black cap on his head. A shield and a bow adorned his hand. He rode a good horse. The three worlds became afraid. He uttered the single name of Khodâ."

(15) Some have expressed the view that Satyapir is the same as the "Bara Pir Saheb" of Baghdad (Hazrat Abdul Kâder Jilâni) who flourished in the 18th century. (Rangpur Sâhitya Parishat Patrikâ 1322 B. S., Part X, Number 1, page 40); but this view does not appear to be worthy of support. The seat of the devotions of the Bara Pir Saheb is said to be in the Dargâ at Etah on the north of the district of Gorakhpur. No other place in India seems to have connection with the Bara Pir Saheb.

(16) The parents of Ekdil, when he was a child, saw evil omens when he was made over to his preceptor. There is a tradition that under the influence of these evil omens, Ekdil cut off all connection with his parents and became a Fakir.

The name of Gâzi Pir is well-known throughout Bengal. Gâzi is a title, meaning 'a great man of religion'. Many different

Gâzi Pir.

Mahomedan preachers held this title at different times, as did many Sultans of

Gauda. In the north-western country, the name of one Gâzi Mia, said to have been the nephew of Sultan Mahmud Guznavi, is well-known. The account of Dârâbuddin Gâzi as given in 'Gâzi Kâlu and Champâbatir Puthi' is not historical. According to this work Gâzi was the son of Sekendar Sah the ruler of the town of Bairât, and married the daughter of King Vali.⁽¹⁷⁾ In another part of the song,—

"His (Sekendar's) son is Bara Khân Gâzi, the great man with whom the people of the country are pleased and who has taken incarnation in the Kali era."

From other sources, we find that Bara Khân Gâzi was the son of Jâfar Khân Gâzi, and he died in 1313 A. D. Jâfar Khân Gâzi was also a preacher of religion and lived in Tribeni in Saptagrâm (now within the district of Hugli).

A newly initiated Mahomedan devotee named Kâlu Pir became associated with Bara Khan Gâzi who wandered everywhere accompanied by Kâlu. There are different accounts of the early life of Kâlu. One is that Kâlu Ghosh was a cowherd who was initiated by Saha Jâlâl and took the vow to preach Islam. The Dargâs of Gâzi and Kâlu survive in many places in Bengal, in eastern Bengal, the Sundarbans and Triveni. The fame of the preaching of Gâzi and Kâlu was broadcast by reciters of songs in which he is often invoked,— "Come, Come O Merciful Gâzi". Gâzi established so great a reverence among the people

(17) There are ruins of an old city in a jungly place called 'Birât' to the south of Rungpur. In the west, traces of the capital of King Vali are in evidence in Valigrama in Bogra,

that even today his glory is sung as the incarnation of the divine being in the Kali age.

The influence of the five Pirs (Pancha Pir) of Pândua (in the district of Mâldah) was profound; thus in 'Pirân Gîta',—

The five Pirs.

"Sing after making obeisance to the west
to the five Pirs of Pânduâ"

The tombs of certain of these five Pirs, survive in Pândua. Formerly, Mahomedans went in bodies to Pânduâ and made offerings in the Dargâ on the anniversary of the death of the Pirs ("Uras"), and a class of Fakirs mounted on camels and horses, calling themselves 'Fakirs of Pânduâ', wandered about realising 'Pârvani', (gifts for ceremony) from the people. It is known that Makdum Sah Jâlâl Tâbreji the Pir of the Bîra Dargâ (Bâis Hâjâri) of Pândua lived in the middle of the 14th century, that Sheikh Nur Kutub Âlam the Pir of the Chhoto Dargâ (Chhay Hâjâri) who initiated Jadu (Sultan Jelaluddin) the son of Raja Ganes into Islam died in Pandua in 1447 A. D. and that Âkhi Serajuddin, Sheikh Alâul Hak and Raja Biâbâni were among the five Pirs.

Sâha Mâdâr (also named 'Badiuddin') inaugurated the sect of Mâdâri Fakirs. A resident of Medina and a disciple of Sheik

Sâha Mâdâr.

Muhammad Tâifuri Bostâmi, Sâha Mâdâr

became a saint and devoted his life to

Islam. He witnessed Taimurlang's invasion of India (1398 A. D.), and afterwards he came to Kâmarupa. His ideal was a pure life. He lived apart from the dwellings of men. He imparted his faith every Monday through the medium of stories to the assembled people who stood behind him. One of his personal characteristics was his simple clothing.

An area of about six bighas of land near Pâhârpur within the Rajsahi district is still maintained as 'Pirottar land' in the name of Sâha Mâdâr. In Serpur in Bogra and in the village Bâstâ in

Dacca district, there is an Âstânâ of Mâdâr Fakir. In the latter place a fair is held at full moon in the month of Mâgha every year. A similar fair in the name of Mâdâr Sâha occurs in Baisakh each year on the banks of 'Hosain Dighi' in the Zemindari of Islampur in the north-east of the district of Purnea, and the practice is to throw various offerings into the tank. Sâha Mâdâr was buried in Mâkhânpur near Cawnpore. Formerly people demonstrated their respect to Pir Mâdâr by erecting bamboos in his name, and childless women wore amulets in his name, but these customs are now gradually disappearing.

The real name of Khoâj Pir or Khâje Khejar was Baliân, and his "family" name Abul Abbas. Some authorities describe

him as of Jewish extraction and a descendant of Hajrat Nuh.

His birthplace is suggested as having been near the town of Shiraj in Persia. Different views obtain as to the date of his birth. In his early manhood he was both a chemist and a merchant, and acquired a reputation for charity to the poor. Later, he became a religious devotee, and as a hermit, passed the remainder of his life in preaching religion. Khâje Khejar was a devine of high order, for he belonged to that of "Kutab" and "Âbdâl". Many became his disciples.—It is said that saint Bîhrâm Saha who is buried in Burdwan, had met him.

To Khâje Khejar were ascribed immortality and perennial youth. His name is connected with a fountain near Kâbul. The Âstânâ of Khejar was in the tomb of Mir Muhammad Bakri in the district of Sukkur. A Persian inscription on a rock near a fountain situated at the bottom of the Kâmâkhyâ hills in Assam reads, "Abe hâyât chasme Khejar." ("The fountain of water having the spiritual power of Khejar"). Formerly much reverence was paid to Khoâj Pir and in the month

of Bhâdra each year, "Beras of Khoâj" were floated in water.⁽¹⁸⁾

There are Dargâs of two Pirs—one near Boda and another in the Garh of Dharmapâla. "Kadam Rasul" (the footprint of Paygambâr) in Patgram, and "Pânjan" or "Bibi's Painti" in Goalpara, are also respected by muslims as ancient sacred places.

(18) The "Bera" is a kind of boat generally made of paper. The custom of floating Beras is gradually passing. During the time of the Nawabs (of Murshidabad), and even at the end of the last century, there were festivities in this connection in the town of Murshidabad. Decorative houses, large and small, were constructed with bamboos placed on Bhela or Mândâs (rafts) of plantain trees and decorated with gold and silver coloured paper and tinsel. These were brightly illuminated, and fitted with costly fireworks, were floated on the Ganges in front of the palace in the town of Lalbagh on a dark night in the month of Bhâdra. The "Beras" floated away to the sound of the fireworks and amidst the joyous shouts of thousands of spectators assembled on the banks and in boats. It is said that Mokram Khan, Nawab of Dacca initiated the festival, but according to another view, the floating of Beras is an ancient festival of China.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HAIHAYA DYNASTY.

EARLY HISTORY.

King Sângaldeva of Kâmarupa, to whom reference has already been made, is assumed to have flourished about the 4th or 5th century A. D. ⁽¹⁾. Some have inferred The Koch king in the fifth century. Sângaldeva to be a Koch of the Bhagadatta dynasty. ⁽²⁾ It has also been suggested that his son Rohitâsva constructed the famous fort of Rohitâsva or Rohtâs. ⁽³⁾

Bhâskaravarmâ, also of the dynasty of Bhagadatta, was king of Kâmarupa in the 7th century. The dynasty was associated with Kâmarupa over a long period. There were many branches of the family but even the main line did not rule continuously. Eventually, after Bhâskaravarmâ, a powerful king named Sâlastambha became dominant, and the original Varma dynasty was extinguished. ⁽⁴⁾.

With the passing of the Varma dynasty, minor Koch Rajas or chiefs attempted to assert themselves (10th century A. D.), though it is clear that they held tributary fiefs during the time of the Pâla kings of The Koch kingdom in the 10th century.

(1) Riaz-us-sâlâtin, Bengali translation, page 40.

(2) Uttarbangâ Sâhityasammilaner Chaturtha Adhibesaner Kâryavivaran, page 140. History of Upper Assam, page 20.

(3) According to another view, Rohitâsva was the son of the very ancient king Harischandra of the solar dynasty. The fort of Rohitâsva which was named after him, is situated at the southern extremity of the present district of Arrah. The Sâhabad District Gazetteer, page 147.

(4) The time of Sâlastambha has been adjudged to be the 7th century A. D. Kâmarupa Sâsanâvali-Râjâvali, page 19.

Gauda (from the 8th to the 12th century A. D.)⁽⁵⁾. There is evidence that a king named Bhagadattapâla ruled in Madhupur in the district of Mymensingh during the 10th or 11th century A. D., and he has been presumed to have been a Koch. Evidently his kingdom ceased to exist with the increased power of the Sena dynasty. The Koch tribe was becoming powerful during the reign of King Durlabhnarayan of Kâmatâpura, but was restrained by him.⁽⁶⁾.

When Muhammad Bakhtiar invaded Tibet (13th century A. D.) and in the ensuing period, the Koch and Mech chieftains of

The Koch and Mech chieftains of the 12th century.

northern Bengal achieved a degree of independence.⁽⁷⁾ The account of this

invasion refers to the Koch and Mech tribes in western Kâmarupa (Gâlpârâ, Rungpur and Jalpaiguri districts and the kingdom of Cooch Behar).⁽⁸⁾ They continued to be influential in western Kâmarupa during the 12th and 13th centuries A. D.

According to Buchanan Hamilton, however, the Koch, Mech and other tribes were acquiring power even during the time of the Khen kings. It has to be remembered that the invasions of western Kâmarupa by Supremacy of the Koch tribe in the 15th century. Pathan Sultans after Muhammad Bakhtiar were few, their main objective being eastern Kâmarupa

(5) Gauder Itihâs, Vol I, page 143.

"The Mechas or Miechchhas who had ruled the country of Kâmarupa for thousands of years, and been eclipsed only on account of repeated invasions by the Pala and the Sena kings of Bengal and the rule of the Soma Vamsa and Kayastha dynasties."

The Social History of Kâmarupa, Vol. II, pages 37, 38.

(6) Asâm Buranji by Rai Gunâbhîram Barua, pages 51-53. Visvakosh. part III, page 523.

(7) The Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 31.

(8) Tabkat -i-Nâseri, page 152.

"All these (unsuccessful invasions of Mohammed b. Bukhtiyar and other Mohammedans) go to prove that the Koch people were a powerful nation and well versed in the art of war of those times." The History of Upper Assam, page 24.

In the Chhutiâ and Assam Buranjis, it is recorded that during this period, a separate dynasty of kings existed in the kingdom of Kâmatâ (western Kâmarupa), and it may be inferred that this dynasty belonged to the Koch or Mech tribe.

In the 13th century A. D. the Mahomedans definitely directed their attention to eastern Kâmarupa. At that time

The Koch Kings of east Bengal. Koch and other kingdoms were strongly established in the following places in eastern Bengal, Garh Dalipâ (in the sub-division of Jamalpur), Jangalbâri (in the sub-division of Kisorganj) Madanpur (in the sub-division of Netrakonâ, Bokâinagar (in the district of Mymensing) and Kâgmâri (in Tangail sub-division).⁽⁹⁾. "Kocher Dighi", "Hâjor Dighi" etc. still survive as place-names in these areas. These rulers of the Koch dynasty maintained their importance to the end of the 15th century when their destruction began during the reign of Sultan Firoz Sâh. In 1491 A. D. the Koch King Dalip Sâmanta of Gar Dalipâ was subdued by Majlis Khan Humâyun the general of Gauda, a victory only counterbalanced at that time by the rising power of Visvasinha in the north of the present district of Goalpara.

In the Yogini Tantra, accounts of battles in Kâmarupa have been set down in the form of prophecies. In the Puranic

Historical material in the Yogini Tantra. and Tântrik works also, it is not rare to find a description of past events in this form. It is interesting to compare the style of the histories of the Âhoms and Mahomedans regarding Kâmarupa with that of the Yogini Tantra.

(9) The Mymensing District Gazetteer, pages 23, 152, 154, 169.

Maimansinher Itihas, pages 28, 33, 37 and 59.

THE HISTORIES.

Invasion of Bakhtiar Khilji in 1205 A. D.; occupation of Giasuddin in 1226 A. D.

Occupation of Ekhtiar-uddin Tugril in 1257 A. D. Afterwards he and most of his soldiers were killed.

Invasion and occupation by Magisuddin Tughril in 1278 A. D.

Battle between the kings of Ahom and Kâmatâ in 1293 A. D.

Conquest of Sekendar Sah in 1357 A. D.

Quarrel between the kings of Ahom and Kâmatâ from 1397 to 1407 A. D.

Partial conquest by Ismail Gâzi in 1460 A. D. and invasion of Rahamat Khân in 1460—74 A. D.

Conquest of Hosain Sâh in 1493 A. D.

Invasion of Tubarak Khan in 1506—1532 A. D., of Kâlâ-pâhâr in 1553 A. D. and of Soleman Kararâni in 1568—69.

Invasion by Isâ Khân in 1584 A. D., by Raja Mânsing, Fate Khan and Jujhar Khan in 1596—97 A. D.

YOGINI TANTRA.

Mahadeva said "O Paramesvari, the curse of the Brahmin will take effect from the time when the kingdom of the ruler of Kâmatâpura will be destroyed.

In 1111 Saka (1189 A. D.) great battles continuing day and night in which large forces will be engaged, will be fought in Kâmarupa Mandala between the Saumâra, Kuvâcha and Yavanas. Thereafter the Yavanas will defeat the Saumâras and a ruler, the first letter of whose name is 'M', will enjoy desired kingdom for one year only. With his help, the king of Kuvâcha will recover his kingdom. After yet another year, the king of the Saumâras will become king after defeating the Yavana ruler.

O Maheswri ! When Saka 1318 (1396 A. D.) has spent its course, there will again be war in Kâmarupa. The king of the Yavanas joining with the king of Kuvâchas will rule for 12 years in Kâmarupa. A king, the first letter of whose name will be the fifth letter of the sixth Varga, will then be born. After that the Saumâras, allied

Long and continuous war between the kings of Cooch-Behar and the Ahom king and the Mahomedans from 1609 A. D.

Continual war between the king of Cooch Behar, the Ahom king and Mahomedans from 1658 to 1664.

Invasion of Assam by Raja Ramsingh with the help of the king of Cooch Behar in 1668 A. D. and prolonged war.

Battle in the Uttarakula (Kamarupa) in 1682 A. D. between Mahomedans, the king of Cooch Behar and the Ahom king.

Attack by Bhabani Das of the Mahomedan party in 1685 A. D. and his death.

Attack by Ebâdat Khan in 1687 A. D. Afterwards, attack by Jabardast Khan and long continued war.

with Kuvâchas, will rule Kâmarupa. As long as the curse of the Brahmin rests on Kâmarupa Mandala, no tribe other than the Yavana, Plava, Kuvâcha and Saumâra shall rule in this country.

When 1600 years of the Saka era have passed, a terrible war will take place between the three Mlechchha tribes of Kuvâcha, Yavana and Chandra. The Lauhitya, the king of rivers, will surely flow full with the blood of men, of horses and specially of elephants.

After this when the Saumyas have been destroyed, the Kuvâchas will desert the Yavanas and will fight a great battle near the banks of the Karatoyâ river. (10).

(10) Yogini Tantra Purvârddha, Patala 12. Probably the word 'Saumya' in the last line should read 'Saumâra (Aindra).

The Kâchhâris also called themselves Kuvâcha. (Asâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhîram Barua, page 24). The meaning of Kâchhâri is 'belonging to the hills' (Parbatiya or Pâhâdiâ). Meaning of the word 'Kuvâcha' is 'speaker of an impure language'. But in the Yogini Tantra the location of the Kuvâcha tribe has been mentioned as being on the west of Kâmarupa, thus "On the east, Saumâra; on the west, Kuvâcha; on the south Yavana and on the north, Playa." Verse 79, Purvârddha, Patala 14.

Some of the Ahom kings have described themselves in their coins as 'Saumâresvara. It is written in the aforesaid Tantra regarding Visvasinha:—

"There were many sons by him who were kings, Kuvâchas. They were virtuous and unconquerable in battle." Verse 16, Purvârddha Patala 13.

According to Colonel Shakspeare, the writer of the "History of Upper Assam", the beginning of Koch rule can be traced from the rise of Sankaldip (Sāngaldeva) in the

Ancient account in the history of Mallomedans.

middle of the fifth century A. D. (11)

Mahammad Kajem Ferista the historian of the 16th century has given a short account of this dynasty. He writes.—"The kings of the Koch country ruled their kingdom in hereditary succession from Sankala; but on four occasions there was a change of the administration under them. On one side of this country, there is Tibet, on another, China, and on the third, Bengal. The tribe (of which the present ruler is a member) has descended from the Brahmins of the hills (Parbatiya Brahmin) but they are not much respected by Indians" (12). In the Akbarnāmā it is recorded regarding Visvasinha (Visu) that a female devotee of the Koch country worshipped Jalpesvara

(11) "This has been touched on before, so we begin the history of the great Koch tribe at the rise of one Shankaldip, a Koch chief, as we have the statements of a Hindu historian and the poet Firdusi, which give a better semblance of facts, than do the legendary ideas of Bisso, whom local tradition asserts to be the founder of this dynasty. Shankaldip rose to power in the middle of the fifth century and when Huien Tsiang visited Assam, the kingdom of Kāmarupa apparently extended from the Karatoya river, near Jalpaiguri as far as Sadiya along the north bank of the Brahmaputra, where, it seems, the Koch people lived amicably with the Chutiyas who even then may have been deteriorating from having been once a powerful community."—History of Upper Assam page 20.

(12) Tarikh-i-ferista, Part II, pages 419-420.

The work Tarikh-i-ferista was compiled in South Bijapur during the last part of the reign of Emperor Akbar. It has not been uncommon for historians to identify a particular people as Brahmins. In the 15th century Mir Khand a resident of the town of Rā in the country of Balkh in Central Asia composed a history, the Rāwajātus Sāfā. In his account of Alexander's invasion of India, Alexander is said to have met a people who lived in caves with their wives and children, ate grain and wore skins of animals. They discussed science and philosophy with Alexander, and the writer called them Brahmins. In the twelfth century A. D. Muhammad Bakhtiyar conquered 'Bihār' in Magadha. At that time it is reported the men who were found there (in Nālandā Bihār) with shaven heads (Buddhist Sramanas) were Brahmins (Tābkāt-i-Nāsiri, page 148). In the account of Megasthenes (3rd century B. C.) we find mention of naked Indian hermits who ate only fruit. The writer has called these Brahmins (Brachhmans). (Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (English Version page 120.)

(Mahadeva) and desired a son who would become a king. Through the grace of God she became pregnant and gave birth in due time to a son who was named Bisân (Bisu). Afterwards he gained control of the administration of that country.⁽¹³⁾ The Âkbarnâmâ does not say whether Bisân was the first king of this dynasty, but that the present ruling family of Cooch Behar is descended from the ancient ruling family described in Tarika-i-feristâ, is proved by the account given half a century later (1663—64 A. D.) in the 'Târikh-i-Âsâm'. Here it is written "The Zamindars of Hindustan pay great reverence to this King (the king of Cooch Behar) and the people are of opinion that this dynasty has ruled from before the preaching of Islam (in the 7th century A. D.)".⁽¹⁴⁾ Again from the conversation of the ambassador of Maharaj Naranarayan sent to conclude a treaty in the middle of the 16th century A. D. with the Âhom king, as

On the other hand Yuan Chwang has referred to Bhâskaravarmâ of the family of Bhagadatta (a grandson of God Visnu), as a Brahmin. The Gotras of some Ksatriyas are mentioned, following those of their priests or Gurus. (Udaipur Râjâkâ itihâs, pages 219-226). The royal family of Cooch Behar is known as a lunar dynasty and Ksatriya of the Siva Gotra. From this, it may not be impossible to regard them as sprung from Devatâ in other words a Brahmin, (a Brahmin being worldly Devatâ).

Tradition has it that Châbrâ Ksatriyas (the royal dynasty of Mansâ, Bârsora etc. in Mahikanta Agency) originated from Châpa (bow) and the Jât Ksatriyas (the royal family of Dholpur, Patiala etc.) sprung from the Jatâ (matted hair) of Shiva. Trilochana the second king of the Tripura Raj family is deemed in the history of their dynasty to have been a partial incarnation of Shiva (' Sivânsa-sambhuta ').

(13). Âkbarnâmâ, page 716.

" A hundred years before this, a pious woman was praying in the temple of Jalpesh which is dedicated to Mahadev and prayed for a son who should become a ruler. By God's help, she became pregnant and bore a son. He received the name of Bisa and obtained the Government of that country ". Âkbar-Nâmâh, Vol. III, page 1067, Translated by H. Beveridge.

(14) Tarikh-i-Âsâm, Introduction, page 13. The writer of this work was a companion of Mir Jumla when the latter invaded Cooch Behar,

recorded in the Âhom Buranji, it appears that long before that time the forefathers of King Naranarayan were ruling in this country.⁽¹⁵⁾

In about the 11th century A. D. a king named Narasinha or Parasurâma, a descendant of Bhoj Gauda dynasty, ruled in Mahâsthânagar in Bogra. He is said to have had some Sâmanta (tributary) kings under him.⁽¹⁶⁾ The ruler of Paundravardhana, Vardhana was his contemporary.⁽¹⁷⁾ And his sons fled and concealed themselves in fear of Parasurâma. According to another version the five sons escaped with friends and relatives from the Paundra country through fear of the son of Mahânanda,

The colony of Ksatriyas in
Ratnapitha

took shelter in Ratnapitha (western Kâmarupa) and became known as

' Râjvansi ' after discarding the sign of a Ksatriya (the sacred thread).⁽¹⁸⁾ In the Kâlikâ Purâna it is related some Ksatriyas, through the fear of Jâmadagnya (Parasurâma) assumed the garb of Mlechchhas and resided under

(15) " We are in friendly terms from a very long time. We (Âhom and Behar Rajas) are friends of long standing. We are descendants of Gods as our forefathers were children of Gods. We are living as brothers. In olden times, a girl was offered to us by the king of Assam." Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai. (English Version), MSS., Part I, page 497.

(16) Bagurâr Itihâs Vol. II page 68.

(17) Bagurâr Itihas Vol. II page 68. An account of a battle between Vardhana and Vijaysena is inscribed in the inscription of Vijaysena (the last quarter of the 11th century A. D.). There is mention of one Vardhana ' the lord of Kusambi ' one of the friendly Sâmantas of Râmpâladeva in the ' Râmacharita ' of Sandhyâkara Nandi (last quarter of the 11th century).

(18) " The five sons of Vardhana came with their friends and relations from the Paundra country through fear of the son of Nandi. They entered Ratnapitha. As time passed, they having no connection with Brahmins, abandoned Ksatriya rites and came to be known as Râjvansi. " Bhrâmari Tantra, Patala II.

The following excerpt is quoted as it is found (but there are obvious mistakes in the Sanskrit verse) from the Uttara Banga Sâhitya Samîlaner Kâryavivarani (The fourth conference, pages 189-191)

" Then from Mahânandi will be born in the womb of a Sudra woman a Nanda named Mahâpadma, very avaricious and very powerful, who will destroy all Ksatriyas like another Parasurâma " — Vishnu Purâna, Ansa IV, Adhyâya 24.

the shelter of Jalpesh Shiva (Jalpeswar in the district of Jalpaiguri which is Ratnapîtha).⁽¹⁹⁾ It appears that a confusion has arisen owing to similarity of names between Narasinha Parasurâma and Jâmädagnya Parasurâma.

The Vansâvali (history of the family) of the Durrung kings who form a branch of the kings of Cooch Behar speaks of twelve Ksatriya princes of the family of Haridas.

Sahasrârjuna (who succeeded the Haihaya of the lunar dynasty) having disguised themselves through fear of Parasurâma, living in Chiknâ Ratnapîtha and becoming known as Mechas. Sumati was the principal Ksatriya prince of that family. He begat Bhadrâjît who begat Bhadrasravâ who begat Vasudâma who begat Damambu. A son of Damambu was born of his wife Urvasi and was named Haridas *alias* Hâriâ.

It is to be understood from the different views regarding the early history of the ruling family of Cooch Behar, as mentioned above, from the old account quoted from the Târikh-i-Âsâm and the Tarikh- i-feristâ that from ancient times (4th or 5th century A. D.) the ruling family had passed through many vicissitudes and had come to its then condition after the sceptre had changed hands several times among its different branches.

(19.) "The Ksatriyas who being afraid of Jamadagnya formerly took the disguise of Mlechhas and took shelter under Jalpisha." Verse 30, Adhyâya 77.

From this 'Mlechcha' (Prâkrita : 'Mechchha,) the word "Mech" has been derived. (The Social History of Kâmarupa, Vol. II, page 107), The meaning of the word 'Mlechcha' is 'those who speak impure dialects'. In the Sabhâparva of the Mahâbhârata (Adhyâya 51), Bhagadatta the king of Kâmarupa has been referred to as the Ruler of the Mlechchhas, and in the Vanaparva (Adhyâya 251) he has been mentioned as belonging to the Ksatriya Varna. Sâlastambha the king of Kâmarupa who was later than he, has been recorded as 'ruler of Mlechchhas' in the copperplate inscription of Ratnapâla, but in the copperplate inscriptions of Vanamâla and Balavarmâ he has been described as belonging to Bhagadatta dynasty,

The origin of the Koch tribe is thus attributed. "The Ksatriyas having hidden themselves (Sankocha) through fear of Parasurama, are called Kochas."

The prophecy of the Yogini Tantra (Purva Khanda, Patala 13) suggests an explanation of these changes " When the curse of the Brahmin will cease to take effect in Kâmâkhyâ Pitha, Visvasinha will appear and rule Kâmarupa ".

During the time of Damâmbu, a king known as SAILARÂJA was ruling in the east of Bhutan (in Toyang country). SAILARÂJA was the father and MIRÂ was the mother, HIRÂ Devi.

of a girl named Hirâ. According to another view, SAILARÂJA lived in the town of Punyakhâtâ in the country of Geleng Khot. ⁽²⁰⁾ Again, in the Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali we are told—" Formerly there was a Ksatriya named Ramâ. He denied his caste through fear of Parasurâma. Both the husband and wife worshipped Gauri who was pleased to reveal Herself to them. After ten months, a daughter was born, and the joy of the parents knew no bounds. Seeing her to be exceedingly beautiful, she was named ' Hirâ ' in endearment."

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton has written that the name of the father of Hirâ was Hâjo. According to him, Hâjo was " a valiant chief " and he drove away the Mahomedans from Kâmata-pura. According to the view of Rai Ganâbhirâm Barua, the name of Hira's father was Hâjo (Hâji) or Hâkhia. Another view is that the father of Hirâ was the king of Hâjo in Gauhati. ⁽²¹⁾

Probably it is Dr. Buchanan Hamilton who first mentioned Hira's father as Hâjo. It seems that following him, Mr. Hudson in his Essay on the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal tribes has referred

(20) Samudranarayanaer Vansâvali, page 34. Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 9.

(21) The preface to Dâmodara-charita (A manuscript).

to Hajo. The name is also found in Dr. Latham's Ethnology of India, in Colonel Dalton's 'Ethnology of Bengal' and in his article entitled 'Notes on Assam Temple Ruins'.⁽²²⁾

Haridas alias Hîriâ was elected Mândal of the land bounded
on the north by the Himayâs, on the east by the Mânâs river, on
the south by the Brahmaputra river and
on the west by the Sankos river, an area
now within the district of Goalpârâ. In the Gandharbanarayaner
Vansâvali (page 30) it is said.—“ All of them brought Hâria
and made him a Mandal. From that day he became its
administrator.”

A similar account is given in the Kharganarayaner Vansâvali (page 7).—“ All came and made Hîria a Mândal of the country bounded on the east by the Mânâha, on the west by the Sankos, on the north by the Dhavalagiri (Himalayas) and on the south by the Lohita (Brahmaputra). All went away with delight after a feast of rice. From that time he became the administrator of twelve villages. He did not pay tribute to any for the land within this boundary ”.⁽²³⁾

In an old work the ‘Mânsâra’, “Mandalesa” is described as one of nine kinds of kings. He whose income was ten lacs of Kârsa (Kâhan) was called a Mândalik. The Mândâliks became kings by primogeniture though at the time of their election, the consent of the subjects had to be taken. (The phrase “Mandal pâtilâ”

(22) J. A. S. B., 1849, Vol II, page 704.

“ The other name by which the ‘hill’ is designated is Manikut. The etymon of the word ‘Hajau’ is traceable to the language of the Bows (Bodos ?) who were for a long period the masters of the valley. It is composed of ‘Ha’ a land, and ‘How, ‘high.’ —J. A. S. B., 1855, page 8.

In the Kâchhâri language also, the meaning of Hajo is ‘a hill’.

Hajo is situated 14 miles to the north-west of Gauhati. The temple of Hayagriva Madhav is there. When the Mahomedans occupied it, its name was changed to ‘Suja-abad’.

(23) This is supported by ‘Âsâm Burunji’ (page 27) written by Harakânta Barua.

seems to confirm this). In the Arthasâstra of Kautilya, Mandala is a combination of twelve kingdoms. Perhaps the meaning of the word 'Mandala' is 'a kind of king', and it can be derived from the root 'Manda' meaning 'to distribute'. In the seventh chapter of the Manusamhitâ, minor kings and chieftains are referred to as Mandala, but rulers of provinces were called Mandalas during the time of the Gupta kings. The word was in use during the reign of the Pâla kings. In the commentary on Râma-charita written by Sandhyâkar Nandi, the form is 'Mahâmândalika'. A copper-plate inscription granted by Mahâmândalika Isvara Ghosh has been preserved by the zemindari family of Maldoar, Dinajpur. It has been supposed that this plate dates from the 10th or 11th century A. D., and that Âryâvar Mandal, the ancestor of the Raj family of Vardhankot in Rangpur, was almost contemporary of Haridas Mandal. Haridas Mandal is said to have cultivated his lands. (24).

The marriage of Princess Hirâ with Haridâs took place when she was nine years old. At first the mother of Hirâ did not agree to the marriage on the grounds of her daughter's youth, but when Damâmbu promised that the bride would reside in her father's house till she attained her majority, Hirâ's mother consented to the marriage which was celebrated auspiciously. Haridas, beautifully dressed as a bridegroom, rode on a horse to the house of the bride's father, and, after marrying Hirâ according to the Shastras and customs of the family, brought her to his house. The bride returned to her father's house on the eighth day.

(24) The cultivation of cotton by Haridas is referred to in all the Vansâvalis of Durrung and some of the Burunjis. The small kings and chieftains of this country were personally engaged in trade of agriculture. Even the independent kings of the family of Haridas had 'Khâmârkhatâ', 'Golâbari' (granaries), and 'Mahisbâthân' (the place where herds of buffaloes were kept). The actual work was performed by servants known as Hâluâ, Tarai and Hâjra.

following the marriage, after such ceremonies as the *Astamangalâ*. She did not again go to her husband's house until she attained maturity. At some later date Haridas took to himself another wife named Jirâ.

Hirâ gave birth to Sisu and, some years after, to Bisu. The latter was so named because he was born on the first Bihu day
The birth of Sisu and Bisu. (the first Bihu is the *Mahâvisuva*, that is, the last day of Chaitra).⁽²⁵⁾ In the *Vansâvali* of Cooch Behar and Durrung, he was considered to have been the son of Mahadeva, and so also in the *Sankaracharita* of Ramcharan Thakur (16th century). The version of a contemporary work *Âkbarnâmâ*, was that Visvasinha was a son begotten of Mahadeva, whereas in the colophon of the manuscripts of *Bhâgavatsâra*, composed by Râjâ Râmchandra (about 18th century A. D.) who was a descendant of Narasinha the son of Visvasinha, Mahadeva himself is accredited with being born as

(25) *Samudranarayanaer Vansâvali*, page 8.

Kharganarayanaer Vansâvali, page 8.

It is written in the *Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali* that the *Garbhâdhâna* (conception) ceremony of Hira took place in Falgun and Bisu was born in Kârtik Bihu. This account is supported by *Kâmarupa Vansâvali*. Even now in Assam, the festival of Bihu is celebrated three times during the year. The *Baisakh Bihu* (*Mahâvisuva*) is celebrated on the last day of Chaitra; the *Kartik Bihu* (*Jalavisuva*) on the last day of Aswin and the *Mâgh Bihu* on the last day of Paus. Bihu is a corruption of the word *Visuva*. The equinox (when day and the night are of equal length) is known as *Visuva*. The Bihu of *Mâgh* however is celebrated in connection with the *Makarsankrânti* (the last day of *Mîgha*). *Visuva* is mentioned in a copperplate of *Valavarmâ* (10th century.).

It is recorded in the *Râjopâkhvâna* that Hirâ Devi was born in the Kali era 4581 (1481 A. D.), and her first son was born when she was fifteen years old and some years after Bisu was born. *Devakhanda*, *Adhyâya III*. It will be seen from the accounts referred to later that such dates of the birth of Hirâ Devi and her sons are fictitious.

Visu. In the Kâmarupa Burunji composed in the 17th century, it is written that owing to the curse of Vasistha, Mahadeva and Pârvati were born as Hâria and Hirâ respectively and that Visvasinha was their son.

In the Râjopâkhyâna (about 1823 A. D.) Hirâ is the mother of Sisu and Visu by Mahadeva, and Jirâ of Chandana and Madana by Haridas. ⁽²⁶⁾ Joynath Ghosh in the preface of this manuscript mentions the names of all the kings of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar, and then adds,—“I am engaging myself to write the history of the kings of the dynasty of Siva,” and “I have written in this Râj Upâkhyâna, the accounts of fifteen kings.....up to Sree Sree Maharaja Harendranarayan.” The name of Chandana does not occur in this work, but in the original manuscript there is an account of sixteen kings including Chandana. ⁽²⁷⁾

In the tenth Chapter of the Devakhanda of this manuscript, Visvasinha is said to have become king on a divine throne, an umbrella and a sceptre of divine origin being used at the investiture. After this event, there were two battles between him and

(26) In the Vansâvalis of Durrung and Kâmarupa, Sisu has been mentioned as begotten by Haridâs.

(27) All the copies of the manuscripts of Râjopâkhyâna are not the same. Joynath Ghosh says in his preface that his work contains three parts and 51 chapters. An incomplete copy of this work (1839 A. D.) is preserved in the record room of the State Council, Cooch Behar. In this the full index of the 51 Chapters and the first 17 Chapters (from the beginning to a portion of the 5th Chapter of the Narakhanda) are found. In the copy (about 1860-68 A. D.) in the Rungpur Sâhitya Parishad there are 66 chapters but no index. The Rev. Robinson translated the manuscript of 66 chapters, with an index (1874 A. D.). There is a colophon at the end of the two last mentioned copies (Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâyas 19 and 33) that the extra 15 chapters of the work are also the composition of Joynath Ghosh. Some discrepancies in incidents and differences of expressions are found in the copies. It also appears that there are interpolations in the copy preserved in the Rungpur Parishad.

Kotwal, and Madana was killed in the first battle. Ultimately Visvasinha was victorious and to please his sorrowing stepmother (Madana's mother) he made Chandana a king on another throne and "under another umbrella". There is nothing in the Rājopâkhyâna about the procedure at the installation of Chandana. In several works complied subsequent to the Rājopâkhyâna, many contradictory accounts regarding Chandana and Madana, have found place.

Three copies of the genealogical table of the royal family (written in 1839 A. D.) are preserved in the record-room of the State Council, Cooch Behar. Though these differ in minor points, they are uniform in omitting the names of Chandana and Madana. The table collected by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1808 A. D.) also excludes these names.⁽²⁸⁾ Joynath Ghosh has written in the Rājopâkhyâna (Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 18), "Maharaj Harendranarayan became exceedingly pleased on going through the whole of Rājopâkhyâna". This Maharaja however, has not mentioned Chandana and Madana in the short history of his own family in the manuscripts of the Upakathâ which he himself composed, (1803 A. D.). Nor are Chandana and Madana found in the genealogical table given in the colophon of the manuscripts of Vanaparva translated under his orders by Paramânanda Tarkâlankâra (1797 A. D.); nor are they apparent in the genealogical tables of the report of Mr. Moore the Collector of Rungpur and Political Officer of Cooch Behar (1784 A. D.) and the report of the Commissioners Mercer, and Chauvet (1788 A. D.).

The parties in the Bijni succession case (all of them claimed to be descendants of Visvasinha) filed genealogical tables in

(28) According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, Chandana and Madana resided for some time in Muralâbâs after the fall of Kâmatâpura. But he has not mentioned that they were in any way related to Visvasinha. Eastern India Vol. III, page 413.

court, but in none of these were Chandana and Madana mentioned.⁽²⁹⁾ Râja Ramchandra was the sixth generation from Narasinha the son of Visvasinha, recorded a genealogical table in the colophon of his work the Bhâgavatasâra. He also has not entered Chandana and Madana. In an adoption case concerning the family of the Raikats of Jalpaiguri, and indeed in several other sources, genealogical tables omit the names. Again, in the 'Sivavansâvali' of Bijni and in the Assam Burunjis, the names do not appear. Dr. Wade in his work "An Account of Assam" (1792-94 A. D.), has mentioned the origin of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar, but not Chandana and Madana. In the Âkbarnâmâ also, there is an account of the birth of Visvasinha, and of his son and grandson. There is, however, no reference to Chandana or Madana. Thus Sir Edward Gait has correctly concluded,— "There is not sufficient evidence for assuming that Chandan and Madan belonged to this family".⁽³⁰⁾ Chandana therefore cannot be regarded as a ruler of the royal family of Cooch Behar.

Haridas Mandal appears to have taught his sons the use of arms, but of Visu it has been specially observed that he acquired

The training of the sons of Haridas.

no knowledge of Sastras.⁽³¹⁾ The young

princes became expert and daring hunters of wild animals of various kinds, and in these expeditions Visu was always in the forefront.

The spread of the kingdom of Haridas.

When sixteen years old, he had attained great skill in wrestling and the use of arms, and he gradually developed a great desire to extend the kingdom of his father. Seeing his son's prowess and warlike eagerness, Haridas was encouraged to attempt to conquer the country of the

(29) Kamar Lalitnarayan Plaintiff versus Râni Abhayesvari, Case No 100 of 1894 in the Court of the Sub-Judge of 24 Pergannahs.

(30) The Koch Kings of Kamarupa, page 31.

(31) Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali, pages 10, 16.

neighbouring Bhaumiks. In a battle with the Bhuiyâ of Karnapura (according to another view, of Fulguri) Haridas was, however, defeated and imprisoned. Visu escaped and took shelter in a forest. The tradition is that Visu found in the forest an image of a goddess with ten arms, and that he brought it with much care to his home. At first the image was established in Manikûta, and afterwards at Kâmatâpura.⁽³²⁾ Thirteen days after the battle, the victorious Bhuiyâ released Haridas. After three days in the forest, without food Visu sheltered in the house of a Mechni, and eating rice there, followed her advice and killed the Bhuiyâ of Karnapur in a sudden attack on the festival day of Baisakh Bihu, and occupied his kingdom.⁽³³⁾ Kâlaketu and Dhumâ Sardar the officers of Narayana Bhuiyâ betrayed their master and helped Visu in this battle.

(32) The description of the image may be compared with the celebrated Dhyâna of the Goddess in the Purânas.

"There are ten arms and one face. There are there beautiful eyes. The dress is that of a young female. Ornaments glitter. The right leg is on a lion, the left leg on the back of a buffalo. In the severed neck of the buffalo, a human being has been born whose hair is held in the clenched fist, and whose breast is pierced by a trident held in the right hand. A tiger is biting the left arm of this Astura. The wicked is dying and is baring his teeth. His eyes protrude and blood covers his body. Ten weapons are held in the ten hands. In the right side the Sula, Kharga (sword), Sara (arrow), Sakti, Chakra (discus) and in those of the left side Pâsa (noose), Khetak Dhanu (bow), Parasu (axe) and Ankus.—Seeing this the son of Mahadeva was greatly delighted".

Gandharvanaryaner Vansâvali, pages 43—45.

(33) It is said that this Mechni was the Goddess Bhagavati herself in disguise.

"After wandering for three days without food, he met the Devi (Goddess) there in the disguise of a Mechni....The Goddess cooked rice after killing a cock, and placed the same before Visu to eat. The (Goddess) disguised as Mechni said : Hear attentively. I can tell you how and by what means (your enemy) will be defeated".

Samudranarayaner Vansâvali, page 11.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAHARAJA VISVASINHA.

Râjasaka-24; Sakâbda 1418-1455;

Bangâbda—903-904,—1496—1533 A. D.

While the kingdoms of the Bhuiyâs or Bhaumiks on the north of the Brahmaputra were being subjugated one after another by Visu, the attention of Su-Sen-Fâ the

Enmity with Âhom Raj.

Âhom Raja was attracted and in Saka 1405 (1483 A. D.) he sent his

General Chan-Khâm Gobâin to fight Visu. As his power was not consolidated, the clever Visu temporised with various presents to the General and concluded a treaty through him admitting fealty to the Âhom Raja.⁽¹⁾ At this time the king of Kâmatâpura in western Kâmarupa was disturbed by the attacks of Pathan rulers of Gauda and had no leisure to notice the activities of his vassals or neighbours. Visu waited on the result of the struggle already begun between the rulers of Kâmatâ and Gauda. In 1493 A. D. the kingdom of Kâmatâ was conquered by Hosain Sah the Sultan of Gauda, who not content with occupying Kâmatâpura, gradually pressed on eastwards into the kingdom of Assam or eastern Kâmarupa. The Âhom Râjâ fled in fear and took shelter in the hills. And when about this time (1496 A.D.) the Bhuiyâ or Bhaumik kings took up arms against the Mahomedan army, Visu seized the opportunity

(1) Rudrasinher Burunji, page 17. The Burunji, of Khun-long Khun-lai describes a meeting between Visvasinha and the Âhom Râjâ and says that the former's acknowledgment of the latter's supremacy took place in 1537 A. D., but actually this transpired a long time before, in 1497 A. D.

to fulfil a cherished desire and took the title of "Kâmater-vara" (lord of Kâmatâ) and declared himself king of Kâmatâ or western Kâmarupa. Kâmatervara Visvasinha.

He was duly installed on the throne according to the Shâstric rites and during this installation, the Brahmins following ancient custom gave him the name of "Visvasinha" as befitting a king. Water from various sacred places of pilgrimage was brought for the Abhiseka (sprinkling with sacred water) and Visvasinha was acknowledged as king by his subjects of the four Varnas,—(Brahmin, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra) and the rituals were performed according to Vedic rites. During installation, all the royal insignia, *viz.*, the umbrella, sceptre, the white Châmar (Chowrie), the flag etc. were displayed, and Sisu, renamed Sisyasinha or Sisvasinha, held the umbrella over the head of the king. ⁽²⁾ But a little after this assumption of independence by Maharaja Visvasinha, his grand-father Damâmbu and his grand-mother Urvasi died.

At first Visvasinha followed a policy of appeasement towards the Pathan Sultans of Gauda and when expedient admitted their

Treaty with the Ahom king. he met the Ahom King Su-hung-mmung and concluded a treaty, ⁽³⁾ and exchanged presents. Probably the main object of this treaty was a mutual pact to destroy the Mahomedan power in Kâmarupa Mandala.

End of Mahomedan domination. Meanwhile the son of Hosain Sah was defeated or killed in Hâjo or Garudâchala in Kâmarupa ⁽⁴⁾ and Visvasinha had occupied the whole of the kingdom of

(2) According to another view Sisyasinha was made Yuvaraja (crown-prince) at this time. Samudranarayanaer Vansâvali, page 17.

(3) Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 26. Âsâmbanti (a journal) dated 27th June 1901 A. D.

(4) Tarikh-i-Âsâm, page 59; Riaz-us-Sâlâtin, Bengali Translation, page 126.

Kâmatâ⁽⁵⁾. About 1505 A. D. there was another battle between Visvasinha and Tubarak (Turukâ Kotwal ?) the Pathan representative of Âtgâon in Kâmarupa.⁽⁶⁾

The small kingdoms within Kâmatâ and Kâmarupa named Ugâri, Lukibakâi, Pântân, Bako, Bholâgâon, Fulguri, Bijni, Beltalâ, Mairâpur, Râni, Bangâo, Karâibâri, Atiâbâri, Kâmatâbâri, Balarampur, Pându, Jhârgâon, Dighlâ, Khutâghât, Karnapur, Behar, Râusiâ, Dhakuâr, Chhai-gâo, Baranagar, Durrung etc., and the Bhuiyâs,—Bara Bhuiyâ, Saru Bhuiyâ, Âguri Bhuiyâ, Chhuti

Conquest of the Bhuiyâs. Bhuiyâ, Kusum Bhuiyâ, Keleyâ Bhuiyâ etc., gradually admitted subjugation by Visvasinha.⁽⁷⁾ Visvasinha suddenly attacked and killed Svetadhân the brother of Pratâp Bhuiyâ of Pându while he was bathing in the Brahma-

putra. Again, from the Râjopâkhyâna Conquest of Bhutân. it is learnt that when Maharaja Visvasinha attacked Bhutan, the ruler of Bhutan was defeated and concluded a treaty promising to pay tribute. Visvasinha also advanced up to Singri by the river with

(5) Âsâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhîram Baruâ, page 55. Bagurâr Itihâs, Part II page 88.

(6) After about 1513 A. D. the Mahomedan rule ended in Kâmatâpura. According to the Râjopâkhyâna there was a battle between Visvasinha and Turkâ Kotwal for offering a human sacrifice and the latter was killed. (Devakhanda, Adhyâya 10). Turkâ Kotwal is said to have lived at 'Astagrâm,' and Rev. Robinson has translated this name as "Eight villages," (page 18). A part of the town of Gauhati is still known as Astagrâm. It is written in the Kâmarupa Vansâvali,—"At that time (15th century A. D.) the Bângâl (foreigner) resided in Âtgâo." During the Mogul supremacy, their officers resided in Gauhati and in Pându on the near west of it. Most of the kingdoms of Sâmantas were situated on all sides of the aforesaid Âtgrâm. Such places as "Chhai-gâo," "Sât-gâo" and "Nao-gâon" still exist.

(7) Kharganarayaner Vansâvali, pages 10, 12; Gandharvanarayaner Vansâvali, pages 43, 44; Samudranarayaner Vansâvali, pages 10, 11; Kâmarupa Vansâvali, pages 19, 20; Sankara Charita, pages 185, 198. Pûrva-vanga O Âsâm, Part II, page 18.

the object of attacking Assam but his progress was hampered by lack of funds, the common practice of looting an invaded country being deemed improper by him. He therefore returned determining to return after collecting sufficient war material.

The Mahomedans raided Assam several times (1527-1532 A. D.) during the reign of Maharaja Visvasinha.

The attack by Mahomedans. In 1532 A. D. Tubrak Khan attacked

The conquest of Gauda. Assam but was repulsed. In Saka 1455 (1533 A. D.) the army of the Ahom king defeated and pursued the army of Gauda to the banks of the Karatoyâ.⁽⁸⁾ At that time Nasarat Sah was the ruler of Guada. The Visvakosh tells that Nasarat Sih was defeated by Visvasinha and fled. In the Râjopâkhyâna it is written that during the time of Eslam Sâh the Emperor of Delhi (1545-1552 A. D.) Gauda was conquered by Visvasinha,⁽⁹⁾ but no mention of this is found in the works of Mahomedan historians.

Haridas Mandal the father of Visvasinha, had his capital at Chikinâ. The tradition is that while out hunting Visu planted a Chikni (branch) of bamboo upside down and worshipped the same as Bhagavati, and thereafter the place became known as Chiknâ⁽¹⁰⁾. According to another view, it was Haridas

(8) Purani Asama Burunji, page 61.

(9) In the Yogini Tantra we find an account of the conquest of Kâmatâ, Saumâra (Upper Assam) and Gauda, e. g.—

"Ekena jitavân Kâmân Saumârân Gaudapanchamân," (Prathamârdha, Patala XIII), i. e. he alone conquered Kâmas, Saumâras and five Gaudas.

In 1533 A. D. the king of Gargao (the Ahom king) helped the ruler of Kâmatâ. When he attack Visvasinha, the latter acknowledged his supremacy. (Assam Burunji, Manuscript Book VIII, pages 27-30). It is difficult to indentify this king of Kâmatâ.

(10) According to another view Visu worshipped the Goddess in a piece of Madan or Moynâ wood. From that time, a piece of Moynâ wood has been used as 'establishing Sakti' (Sakti Gonj) in the capital of Cooch Behar (every year) during the Devi Puja—Râjopâkhyâna, Devakhanda, Adhyâya 9.

Mandal who established Chiknâ. The ruins of the city of Chiknâ still exist between the rivers Saralbhângâ and Champâmati in the district of Goalpârâ 50 or 60 miles to the north of Dhubri. There are also signs of forts in the vicinity, at Sonâbâri, Mahâdev, Bâmankillâ, Bânsbâri, Sikârpur and Nayâgarh. In Bhutan, 10 or 12 miles to the north of Chiknâ, are the ruins of "Killâ Bisensing", a fort of Visvasinha. After his return from Assam, Maharaja Visvasinha removed his capital to Kâmatâpur.⁽¹¹⁾ Thus, Durgadas has written in Hara-bhakti-taranga : "The king has constructed a palace within the city of Kâmatâ. He is like Indra descended in this world".

The Vansâvali of Sûmudranarayan records that after Visvasinha's attack on Assam, "all came to Pângâ saying 'let this happen' and remained with delight in the town named Kânta".

The same Vansâvali says of the capital of Visvasinha :—

"Deviganj is to the south-west where there is the Goddess Kâmateswari. To the north there is Siva named Bânesvar, to worship whom is to obtain the four objects Dharma, Artha, Kâma and Moksa".

The undermentioned works by Pitambar, written under the orders of Sukladhvaja the son of Visvasinha, contain three references.—

"Maharaj Visvasinha (was the ruler) in the city of Kâmatâ. Even Indra is not comparable in enjoyments to his son".—Mârkandeya Purâna, page 1.

"In the city of Kâmatâ, King Visvasinha is a great power. In enjoyments, he is like Indra".—Mârkandeya Purâna page 35.

(11) It is written in the Râjopâkhyâna that Visvasinha under orders of his mother removed his capital from Chiknâ to the plains (Hingulâbâs)—Deevakhandâ, Adhyâya 11. The ruins of Hingulâbâs or Hingulâkot are extant near Mahâkâlguri in the sub-division of Alipur Duar 20 miles to the north-east of the present capital of Cooch Behar. In the Kâmarup Vansâvali, it is mentioned that Visvasinha established his capital in Chandikâbâha (Chândikâ Bihâr) near Bhramarâ Kundâ.

"The city of Kâmatâ is very like the city of the Suras.
King Visvasinha resides there".—*Bhâgavata, 10th Skandha, page 78.*

The marriages of Visvasinha were performed according to the Gândharva ceremony. Difference of opinion prevails as to the number of his queens. Eighteen (or according to another view, nineteen) sons were born to him. The names of his queens and the sons born to them are thus set down in the Durrung Vansâvali :—

The country of the fathers of the queen.	Name of queen.	Name of son.
1. Nepal	Ratnakânti	Narasinha.
2. Gauda	Hemaprabhâ	Naranârâyan.
3. ,,	Padmâvati	Sukladhvaja.
4. Kâmarupa	Chandrakânti	Kamalanarayan.
5. ,,	Purnakânti	Madana or Maidan.
6. ,,	Hemakânti	Râmachandra.
7. ,,	Rati	Surasinha.
8. Kashmir	Tilottamâ	Mânasinha.
9. Kâsi	Chandrâ	Mechâ.
10. ,	Chandrânânâ	Brisaketu or Brisâsu.
11. ,	Jayâ	Ramnârâyan.
12. ,	Vijayâ	Ananta.
13. ,	Jayanti	Dîpasinha.
14. Sonitapur	Lalitâ	Hemadhara.
15. ,	Lâvanyavati	Meghnarayan.
16. ,	Padmamâlâ	Jagat.
17. Mithila	Satarupâ	Rupchand.
18. ,	Kâñchanamâlîka	Surya.
19. (Unknown)	(Unknown)	Harisinha.

The Vansâvali of Gandharvanarayan mentions that queen Prabhâti gave birth to Narasinha and queen Sudâmni to Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja. According to Ripunjaya, there were two queens named Madhumati and Sudâmni and a "Kanyâ-pâtri"⁽¹²⁾ named Lilâvati who gave birth to Narasinha, Madhumati bearing eighteen sons. The names of eighteen sons of Visvasinha are given in the Kâmarupa Vansâvali, but that of Narasinha does not appear among them. The history of the queens also is not mentioned in this text. In the Vansâvali of Kharganârâyan the number of princes is eighteen, but the names of only Narasinha, Malladeva (Naranârâyan), Sukladhvaja and Gohâi Kamala (Kamalanarayan) are given and there is no reference to their mothers' names. In the Kâvya entitled 'Visvasinhacharitam' the poet Srînâth (17th centnry) alludes to the "many brothers" of Malladeva (Naranârâyan). Durgâdâs has written that two sons of Visvasinha named Malladeva and Sukladhvaja were born of the queen Visvadhâtri. According to the view of Jaynath Ghose Turkâ Kotwal the ruler of Astagrâma, originally a Hindu but subsequently a Mahomedan, married his daughter born while he was a Hindu to Visvasinha and she gave birth to three sons Narasinha, Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja.

Among the sons of Maharaja Visvasinha, Narasinha, Naranârâyan (Malladeva), Sukladhvaja (Chilâ Râi), Kamal-

The education of Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja.

nârâyan (Gohâi Kamal), Gohâi Madana, Gohâi Surya, Râmachandra, Hemadhabra and Dîpasinha are famous, especially the first four. It is said that Maharaja Visvasinha determined the

(12). At the time of the marriage of kings or persons of royal family, one or more virgins were given as companions to the bride, and as dower by the guardian of the bride. Such a virgin was known as a 'Kanyâ-pâtri'. In Title Suit No. 112 of 1840 (Parbatnarin Konwar Plaintiff *versus* Karindranarayan and others Defendants) regarding the zamindary of Pângâ (in the district of Rungpur), Sarvadeva Raikat of Jalpaiguri filed a statement referring to the custom. In addition, he mentioned that the son of such a companion could become king if there were no male issue from the married wife.

future careers of his sons by 'Gulibânt' (lottery). Narasinha drew gold and was destined to be a king in a foreign country. Naranârâyan having drawn earth was to be the king of his own country. Sukladhvaja drew iron and was ordered to follow the practices of war. Narasinha, it appears, was deeply religious and so great a favourite of the king his father that Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja left the country out of jealousy and went to Banares where they acquired education in the hermitage of a saint named Brahmânanda Svâmi. They became proficient in grammar, literature, astronomy, the Vedas, the Smritis, Nyâya, Mimâmsâ and Purânas.⁽¹³⁾

Sisyasinha or Sivasinha, the brother of Maharaja Visvasinha constructed a house in 'Siliaguri, or Raikat Sisyasinha. Silikhâguri'. His descendants (with the surname of Raikat) moved subsequently to Vaikunthapur, and now reside in Jalpaiguri.

Maharaja Visvasinha created many posts for the better management of his kingdom. He made Sisyasinha 'Raikat' (Rai Kot=chieftain of the fortress) and Commander-in-Chief. The manner of administration. Twelve capable men of his own family became 'Kârjis' (officers). Barihanâ was appointed minister for war and foreign affairs Baisâgu the supreme Judicial authority as he was well-versed in the legal Shâstras, Juddhâvara a General. A Pundit with the title 'Sârvabhauma,' an astrologer named Srîvara and a well-trained Vaidya (physician) were also present in the royal court. There were apparently gradations of rank among the officers of Maharaja Visvasinha. The leader of twenty men was called 'Thâkuriâ'; of a hundred men 'Saikiâ'; of a thousand

(13). This account is common to all the Vansâvalis of Durrung.

'Hâjârikâ' ; of above three thousand 'Umra'. The commanders of twelve Umrâs was called a 'Nabâb'.⁽¹⁴⁾ The king maintained many elephants, horses, donkeys, buffaloes and camels. Powerful men with the title of 'Laskar', 'Bhuiyâ', 'Baruâ' etc. were located at the extremities of his kingdom to keep the peace of the border. The royal revenue consisted of a proportion of the produce of the land.

Maharaja Visvasinha revived the Kâmâkhyâ Pitha in the

The revival of Kâmâkhyâ Pitha. Nilâchala near Gauhâti and erected a temple there. "The Kâmâkhyâ temple

is said to have been first erected by Naraka".⁽¹⁵⁾ But afterwards it had fallen into decay and had almost disappeared under a mound of earth which local people supposed to be the abode of a deity and where they sacrificed birds and animals including pigs and fowls. The legend is that during a night march, Visvasinna and Sisyasinha lost contact with their soldiers and in their wanderings reached Nilâchala. There they learnt from an old woman seated under a tree near the mound that it was the seat of the deity worshipped by local people. The king made Mânat (a vow) and prayed to be reunited with his army. When his prayer was almost immediately fulfilled, he realized the sanctity of the place, and came to know through the Pandits and reading the Shâstras that it was the site of the Mahâpith of Kâmâkhyâ. He vowed to build a golden temple of the Goddess on this Pitha if his kingdom was delivered of its enemies. When his wishes were fulfilled and the mound was excavated, the ruins of the lower part of an ancient stone temple and the

(14). This arrangement is analogous to the ancient custom (Mahâbhârat, Adiparva, Adhyâya II). There is some similarity between these posts and the titles of 'Mansab' etc. of the Mughul emperors.

(15). The Kamarupa District Gazetteer, page 91.

main Pîtha were revealed. The king erected a new temple of brick on the ruins and gave a Rati of gold on each brick.⁽¹⁶⁾

Maharaja Visvasinha worshipped Siva and Durgâ and had been initiated into the Sîva tenets by a Brahmin named Kâlicandra Bhattacharya.⁽¹⁷⁾ He imported a large number of Brahmins from Kanouj, Benares and other places. He engaged Ballavâchârya the son of a Kanouj Brahmin named Vâsudeva Âcharya as the priest of Kâmâkhyâ Devi, bringing him from Sriksetra (Puri).⁽¹⁸⁾

The religion of Visvasinha.

Some Western scholars have opined that Maharaja Visvasinha embraced Hinduism after he became king and many later historians have supported this view, though none have been able to produce adequate proof that this was so. The historian Abul Fazal on the other hand a contemporary of the son of Visvasinha wrote in the Âkbarnâmâ that the mother of Visvasinha begot him after worshipping the Jalpeswar Siva. This would clearly establish that the parents of Visvasinha were Hindus.

(16) Âssâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhîrâma Barua, pages 55-56. Prabandhâstaka, page 99. 'He (Bisva Sing) revived the worship of Kâmâkhyâ, rebuilt her temple on the Nilâchal hill near Gauhatti, and imported numerous Brahmanas from Kanauj, Benares and other centres of learning.'—History of Assam, page 49.

The Yogini Tantra says, "Whenever the curse of the Brahmana will fall on Kâmâkhyâ, Visvasinha will protect Kâmarupa." Pûrvâ-khanda, Patala 13. The temple of Kâmâkhyâ extends lengthwise from east to west, and is divided into four parts. The Garbhagriha or main temple is on the east; the rooms of Bhog-mûrti or Chalanta Mûrti and Pancharatna being situated one after another. The stone portion in these rooms is (including the Garbhagriha) 26 feet, 12½ feet and 12 feet in height respectively. It has been ascertained that the room to the extreme west was subsequently constructed with bricks by the Âhom kings.

(17) "A Bhattacharya named Kâlicandra was brought. He gave the initiation of Siva with delight." Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, page 52.

(18) The Vansâvali written by Ripunjaya.—There was a Brahmin named Ballava Bhatta who resided in Sriksetra and who was a contemporary of Sree Chaitanya Deva (Sri-Chaitanya-charitâmrîta, Antyallî, Parichcheda 7).

Sir William Hunter in 1876 A. D. held that the Brahminic religion was first introduced among the Koch tribe during the time of Visu the grandson of Hâjo, and Visu and his officers and leading subjects, embraced Hinduism. He has written of Sisyasinha Raikat, the brother of Visvasinha, that after Visu embraced Hinduism, Sisu took the title 'Sivakumâra'. According to Dr. Campbell (1848 A. D.) though the king (the then Raikat) was desirous to profess Hinduism, he cannot be deemed a real Hindu. And in an adoption case in the family of the Raikats of Baikunthapur in the district of Jalpaiguri, their Lordships of the Privy Council quoted these opinions and held that whatever Hindu customs might have been adopted by the royal family of Baikunthapur, it was certain that the custom of succession through an adopted son had never been introduced in the family.⁽¹⁹⁾

According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1808 A. D.) no trace of Brahmins is found in Kâmarupa before king Niladhvaja. This view is not sustainable.

It is very difficult—even impossible—to decide that a particular group of persons or tribe is Hindu or non-Hindu by merely adopting as a criterion the customs followed or not followed by them, for the Hindu faith is so widely spread that, naturally, variation in religious beliefs and customs have been evolved in different regions and been adopted by different sects. There are not only distinctions in doctrine, but in law. Thus succession may be determined by sons in some cases and by daughters in others. Nor is the criterion of food and drink a test of a Hindu or a non-Hindu. The pure Kastriyas of Rajputana eat the flesh of wild boars without hesitation. In the Jogini Tantra and other authoritative Shâstras,

(19.) I. L. R. Cal, XI (P. C.) pages 472, 477, 482.

The aforesaid view would seem to imply that although Visvasinha with his courtiers and principal subjects were professed Hindus, his brother and highest officer merely assumed the name, 'Sivakumâra'. This does not appear to be reasonable.

eating the flesh of tortoise and wild boars is valid according to the Shâstras. In the fifth Adhyâya of Manusamhitâ, even for the three twice-born castes (not to speak of Sudras) tortoise, wild boars, rhinoceros and wild birds and beasts in general, are edible.

It has already been stated that in the age of the Purânas, Naraka expelled the Kirâta tribe from Kâmarupa and settled the higher castes *e. g.*, the Brahmins etc. there. It was long afterwards, when the traveller Yuan Chwang was visiting Kâmarupa, that he wrote (7th century) of the people of the country who worshipped Gods and Goddesses and offered sacrifices of the birds and beasts. He also observed several hundreds of temples but no Buddhist monasteries.—The people, he noticed, inclined to learning and he remarked on a resemblance between their language and the language of Central India.

All the copperplate inscriptions dating from the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A. D. which have hitherto been described are records of grants of lands for Brahmins or establishment of temples. The grantors were all kings devoted to Hindu religion. Yuan Chwang has given an account of the highly developed condition of certain contemporary residents of Kâmarupa. For a thousand years preceding the birth of Visvasinha, the country of Kâmarupa, like Bengal, was under the influence of the Buddhist religion, an influence which only waned in Kâmarupa after a very long lime.—Even today traces of Buddhist customs are apparent in the social observances of the area corresponding to old Kâmarupa.

Maharaja Visvasinha is reputed to have constructed a long earthen wall from the Karatoyâ to the banks of the Brahmaputra to strengthen the southern defences of his kingdom. A portion of this wall

Arrangement for protection of his kingdom.
extending east to west from the banks of the Karatoyâ to the banks of the Ghâghat, is still extant in a

comparatively well-preserved condition near Kundî (some miles to the south of the railway station Badarganj) in the district of Rungpur. Ruins of the wall are seen up to Sâdullapur on the west of the Ghâghat. From the north of Gaibandha the wall extended eastwards to Baritalâ (on the banks of Brahmaputra), and across the Ghâghat, and a branch of it ran from east to west to the Brahmaputra, six miles to the south of Ulipur. Later historians have opined that this wall determined the southern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the 16th century.⁽²⁰⁾ Some have inferred that rulers of Kâmatâ preceding Visvasinha were responsible for the construction,—but their kingdom extended far south of the wall. Some again have expressed the view that it dates from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century and is attributable to Maharaja Naranarayan or some king subsequent to him.⁽²¹⁾ Dr. Buchanan Hamilton heard a tradition ascribing it to Maharaja Modnarayan (1665—80 A. D.) or Upendranarayan (1714—63 A. D.). In fact, any connection of Upendranarayan with the wall may be discounted, and at the utmost it can be said that Modnarayan had it repaired. During the attack on Cooch Behar (1661 A. D.), Subedar Mir Jumla considered it a serious barrier to an invasion, for, on the inside there was a deep ditch and the whole was covered by thorn jungle. After conquering Cooch Behar, Mir Jumla destroyed many portions of it.⁽²²⁾

(20) A Statistical Account of Rungpore, page 315; The Rungpore Report, page 11; The Rungpore District Gazetteer, pages 26, 32.

"The Kâmatâ family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty.....the new Rajas secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation."

The Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 32.

'And thus (a line of fortifications) completed the defence of the northern parts of Kamrup from the Brahmaputra to the Karatoya. There can be little doubt, that, these works were constructed by the Koches as a defence against the Moslems, but for an additional strength to their lines they may have taken advantage of an old fort built by Nilambar'.—The Eastern India, Vol. III, page 465.

(21) The Rungpore District Gazetteer, page 26.

(22) Alamgirnama, page 692.

It is recorded in the history of the Sikh religion that in the beginning of the 16th century (during the reign of Maharaja Visvasinha) Baba Nanak, the first Guru of the Sikhs visited Kâmarupa.⁽²³⁾

Maharaja Visvasinha promulgated an era from the time of declaring his independence. This is still followed in Cooch Behar and is known as the Râja Saka.

The beginning of the Râja Saka is counted from 1510 A. D. It will be shown, however, in another place that the reign of Visvasinha actually began at least 13 or 14 years before.

The following account of the death of Maharaja Visvasinha is mentioned in all the Durrung Vansâvalis.—A distinguished

Death of Visvasinha. Brahmin named Bhavânanda visited

Maharaja Visvasinha in his capital Sonitapura, and the king asked him the reason for the efficacy of the water with which the feet of a Brahmin is washed. Bhavânanda replied that it was considered as sacred as the water from places of pilgrimage, as Brahmateja of white colour always flows in the toe of a Brahmin. Curious to see blood of white colour, the king immediately ordered the toe of Bhavânanda to be cut with a chisel. The order fulfilled, red blood poured out in profusion, and unfortunately the Brahmin died, but not before he had pronounced a curse upon the king in his last moments.—“You will also die from a bleeding disease”.

Last advice of Visvasinha. Although the king was repentant, he was attacked after a week with Bara Khasu (small-pox) (or according to another view with a carbuncle), and

(23) “Guru Nanak and Mardana went to Kamrup, a country whose women were famous for their skill in incantation and magic. It was governed by a queen called Nurshah in the Sikh Chronicles. She, with her several females went to the Guru and tried to obtain influence over him.....It is said that they became followers of Guru Nanak and thus secured salvation.....The Guru returned

died. He left the advice to his descendants that they should never ill-treat any Brahmin.

Maharaja Visvasinha died about Saka 1455 (1533 A. D.), queen Sudāmni mounting the funeral pyre.⁽²⁴⁾ The Vansāvali of Gandharvanarayan tells that at the news of the death of Visvasinha his old father Haridas Mandal died of grief and his mother Hirā Devi mounted the funeral pyre with her husband's body. The funeral ceremonies of the father and the son were performed at the same time.⁽²⁵⁾

MAHARAJA NARASINHA.

Rājsaka 24 ; Sakāda 1455 ; 940 B. S. ; 1533 A. D.

Kumar Narasinha ascended the throne about 1533 A. D., the princes Naranarayan and Sukladhvaja being still at Benares.

Coronation. Their nurse (Dhāi Mā) who lived in the inner apartments of the king and was called Ratni Dhāi by the people, sent the news of the installation by a letter through a Sannyasi named Nāgabhoga to the princes Naranarayan and Sukladhvaja. The brothers left Benares and reaching the capital of the kingdom, objected to Narasinha

from Kamrup by the great river Brahmaputra, and then made a coasting voyage to Puri on the Bay of Bengal."

Extract from Chapter VI of the Sikh Religion by Macanliffe, Vol. I, page 73.

(24) The above account regarding the death of Visvasinha is mentioned in all the Durruṇg Vansāvalis. According to the Rājopākhyāna he "went up to the hills to practise Yoga in 961 B. S. (1554 A. D.)." According to the Kāmarup Vansāvali, Visvasinha made over the throne to Naranarayan and went to 'Bhitā' (the inner apartments for religious solitude?). There is no mention of retiring to the forest in the Vansāvali written by Ripunjaya. According to Durgadas, Naranarayan became king after the Kalpāntar of Visvasinha.

(25) The Vansāvali of Durgadas has it that Hirā Devi died during the year in which Visvasinha was enthroned.

being king by their father's arrangement. The other brothers joined issue with them, and Narasinha having no alternative, escaped to the Morang kingdom with his son and four adherants, taking with him the image of Dasabhujā and the 'Hanuman Danda'. Subsequently he was pursued by Naranaryan (now the king) and forced to take shelter in Nepal. The king of Morang who assisted Narasinha, is reported to have been defeated in battle and compelled to surrender some of his subjects to Naranarayan under conditions of treaty. The descendants of these men are still living in Cooch Behar and are known as Morangia or Murungia. The image of the Goddess and the Hanuman-Danda were restored to Naranârâyan. Narasinha went to Kashmir and thence he and his son took refuge in the country of 'Geleng' Bhot.⁽²⁶⁾

In the Vansâvali of Durrung we find that a year after Narasinha left his country, he became known in Bhutân as Dharmarâja.⁽²⁷⁾ During the reign of Lakshminarayan the son of Naranarayan (1627 A. D.) Stephen Cacella, a Christian missionary, journeyed

(26) It is said that Narasinha became king where there was Pât of Sailerâja in the town of Pûrnakhâtâ (Punâkhâ) between the Hingâlâ and Sankha (Pânchu and Mâchu ?). Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 34. The city of Punyakhâtâ, Pûrnakhâtâ, Purnâkhyâ or Punâkhâ is between the rivers Pânchu and Mâchu.—Bhutan and Story of Dooar War, page 138.

(27) It is written in the Râjopâkhyâna that when the newly-married bride of prince Naranarayan made obeisance to the eldest prince Narasinha, he blessed her saying 'Be a queen'. When the time came for Narasinha to be a king, the wife of Naranarayan reminded him of that blessing and Narasinha who loved truth, made his blessing true by making Naranarayan a king and he received the Panga Pergana (in the district of Rungpur).

According to the Ripunjaya, Vrisaketu the step-brother of Narasinha was the first ruler of the Panga dynasty and was the General of the southern portion of the kingdom. But this is not true. In the Bâhâristân Ghaibi, Jesketu (Vrisaketu) the father of Madhusudan has been mentioned as the brother of Laksmnarayan. In the colophon of the Bhâgavatasara written by Raja Ramchandra of the sixth generation of Narasinha, the son of Narasinha has been recorded as Vyâsaketu.

to Bhutan through the kingdom of Kâmatâ. He has written that several years before the uncle of king Lakshminarayan travelled to the hilly country of Bhutan. He was arrested there and made to plough land and king Laksminarayan was so angry on learning this news that he ordered all the Bhutiya subjects of his kingdom to be imprisoned. These reprisals continued until the Bhutiyâs released his uncle.



CHAPTER IX.

MAHARAJA NARANÂRÂYAN.

*Râjsaka 24—78 ; Sakâbda 1455—1509 : 940—994 B. S ;
1533—34—1587 A. D.*

In Saka 1455, Maharaja Naranârâyan ascended the throne of the kingdoms of Kâmarupa and Kâmatâ. At the installation,
Installation. Raikat Sisyasinha held the royal umbrella over the head of the king. The tributary chiefs tendered tribute and presents to him, and acknowledged fealty.

The new king struck coins in his own name.⁽¹⁾ A 'Chhâp' or seal was prepared with the name of the king inscribed thereon, and also another seal with the figure of a lion. The latter was called the 'Sinhachâp' (the lion seal), and was used on special royal mandates.⁽²⁾

When Svetadhâna, the brother of Pratâp Ray the Bhuiyâ of Pându, was killed by Maharaja Visvasinha, Pratap took
Marriage. refuge in eastern Assam with his family.

He had a daughter Bhânumati and a niece (the daughter of Svetadhâna) Chandrapravâ, and both these girls eminently marriageable as they were, were exceedingly

(1) Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali, page 20. Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 55 Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya I. At this time Sukladhvaja was made the Commander-in-Chief.—History of Assam, page 51.

(2) In addition to the manuscripts of the Vansâvalis, the Sinhachâp seal is alluded to in the Sankaracharita, page 226.

beautiful and cultured. Accordingly, an ambassador was sent by Pratap to Maharaja Naranârâyan proposing a marriage of the Maharaja with Bhânumati and of Prince Sukladhvaja with Chandraprabhâ. The Maharaja agreed, and his marriage with Bhânumati, and the marriage of prince Sukladhvaja with Chandraprabhâ, were duly celebrated.⁽³⁾

After the death of Nasrat Sah, his son Firoz Sah had become Sultan of Gauda (1532 A. D.), but Mahmud Sâha killed him and assumed the Sultanate. He in his turn was ousted by Sher Khan (1538 A.D.) who occupied Gauda. In fact, the rule

Extension of kingdom.

of the Pâthân Sultans of Gauda was on the wane, and realising his opportunity, Maharaja Naranârâyan resolved to extend his kingdom to the south and the west.

The ill-feeling between the Âhom king and Maharaja Visvâ-sînha during the last part of the latter's reign, now manifested itself in an open quarrel. The Kâmatâ guards on the 'Assam' frontier were repulsed to a place named 'Holâ' (1543 A. D.) by the son of the Âhom king. The brothers of Maharaja Naranârâyan,—Kumar Dîpsinha, Kumar Hemadhara and Kumar Ramchandra—who held different outposts on the east of the kingdom, became involved. When the princes were bathing on a pilgrimage in the Bhramarâ-kunda some of their soldiers seized a boat belonging to Bara Saïndik, an Âhom officer. Thereupon, the son of the Âhom king attacked Dîpasinha and his men, with the eventual result that Dîpasinha himself was killed with a large part of his force. (Saka 1468=1546 A. D.). His daughter and fourteen elephants

(3) Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, page 66; Sankara Charita, page 198.

The Bhuiyâ Pratap Rai was a Kâyastha. His descendants still live in Gauripur in Assam, in Chenga near Barapeta and in village "Bâlikariâ" near Nalbâri. The name of another father-in-law of the king, Govinda Garmahali, occurs in Thakur Âta, page 114. In the Sankara Charita (page 275) Bhubanesvarî, a queen of Maharaja Naranârâyan, is mentioned.

were taken by the Âhoms, and when Hemadhara and Râmchandra showed fight, they also were killed. In this engagement, the Âhoms killed Manu Giri the son-in-law of Sree Sankaradeva and an officer (residing in 'Kâhinagar') of the king of Kâmatâ. Later, a new Kâmatâ force arrived and attacked the Âhoms simultaneously on land and by river. On the banks of the Dikrâi river, the Âhoms were dispersed with heavy losses, and fled either to the jungles or to Kaliâvara. The Kâmatâ army followed them up to 'Sâol' where a severe battle was fought. A large army of Âhoms led by famous generals defeated the Kâmatâ army which retired towards the Brahmaputra and constructed a fort in Narayanpur (in the district of Laksmpur) (1547 A. D.), whence they attacked the Pichillâ fort of the Âhoms. The brother of the Âhom king personally engaged in this battle and attacking the Kâmatâ forces on land and water, destroyed them completely.⁽⁴⁾ It was estimated that in one of these battles the heads of five thousand Kâmatâ soldiers were stacked in one place, and for this reason the place became known as "Mathâdâng" (in the district of Sibasagar). In the month of Mâgha, Saka 1470 (1549 A. D.) the army of the Kâmatâ kingdom was thoroughly routed in the east.⁽⁵⁾

Some writers entertain the view that the well-known Kâlâpâhâr attacked Kâmarupa in 1553 A. D. and destroyed the famous temples and images at Hîjo and
 The attack of Kâmarupa by Kâmâksyâ. It does not appear that any
 Kâlâpâhâr.
 resistance was offered to Kâlâpâhâr on behalf of Maharaja Naranârâyan, who probably was fully occupied at the time with the war in east Assam.⁽⁶⁾

(4) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Manuscripts Vol. I, page 488 (English Version).

(5) Burunjee of Rudrasinha, page 52. The word 'Mathâdâng' is Assamese. Its meaning is: Mathâ=head; Dâng=Dângâ or heap; a heap of heads.

(6) Koch kings of Kâmarupa, page 34; Âsâm Pradeser Visesa Vivarana, page 11.

After the conquest of Kâmatâpura by Hossain Sah, Durlabhendra, the son of the Kâmatâ ruler proceeded to establish

Suchâruchand and Hanumânadanda.

a small kingdom in the east. Suchâruchand the son of Durlabhendra subse-

quently received assistance from the king of Ahoms. Some time after 1525 A. D. the Âhom king "delivered" the kingdom of Behar (?) to Suchâruchand according to the advice of the ruler of Gauda. But Maharaja Naranârâyan drove out Suchâruchand (1555 A. D.), and it was at that time that he acquired the Hanumânadanda and umbrella.⁽⁷⁾

It was now also that the struggle between Maharaja Naranârâyan and the Âhom king reached a climax. A tributary chief of the Kâmatâ kingdom revolted and took shelter with Sukleng-mung the Âhom king who took up his cause and again renewed the war with Kâmatâ.⁽⁸⁾

In the month of Asar in Saka 1477 (1555 A. D.) Maharaja Naranârâyan despatched Satânanda Karmí, Râmesvara Sarmâ,

Mission to Assam.

Kâlaketu Sardar, Dhumâ Sardar, Udbhânda Châonia and Syâmrây Châonia

as ambassadors to Assam. Twelve 'Dhekari' kings accompanied them. The deputation reached 'Gargân' the capital of the Ahoms, and in interview with the Âhom king, presented the gifts and a letter sent by the king of Kâmatâ. They referred to the "friendly relationship subsisting between Assam and Behar from the time when, during the reign of the father of the present king, such relationship had been established in presence of the ruler of Gauda." They remonstrated to the

(7) Burunji of Rudrasinha, page 38; Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 55;

It is written in the Durrung Vansâvali and the Râjopâkhyâna that it was Visvasinha who through divine grace obtained the Hanumânadanda and the white umbrella.

(8) History of Assam, page 49.

Ahom king that their three princes had been killed in unfair fighting.

Traditionally, the letter was written with liquid from the bodies of leeches instead of with ink ; so no one was able to read it. An officer named Durgâcharan Barakâkati,

The 'Behar' letter.

however, managed to read it "in the darkness of the night", and the Âhom king was exceedingly pleased with him and generously awarded him. He also ordered that the descendants of the officer would be immune from the sentence of death, whatever offence they might commit. The letter ran,—

"Let there be auspiciousness to Maharaja Sree Sree Svarganârâyan of great prowess, whose virtues are sung by nymphs in all the universe; who is an ocean of learning, of fortitude and glory; whose pure body is sanctified by the waters of the heavenly river of the Gods; whose fame is spotless like snow, the necklace of Siva, laughter*, Kâsa† and Kailâsa‡ and which fame is spread by wind fanned by the ears of all Dik elephants.

So be it written. I am well and I always wish you welfare. The seed of good feeling between us will germinate if pleasing letters be now exchanged between us, and under our efforts friendship will blossom and bear fruit. I am prepared to do my part and you should do yours. You know the result if you do not do so. There is nothing more to write. I am sending Satânanda Karmi, Ramesvara Sarmâ, Kâlaketu, Dhumâ Sardâr, Udbhânda Châuniâ and Syâm Ray. Hear all news from them and send them back without delay.

* Laughter is described in Sanskrit Kâvya literature as white. "Yasasi dhavalatâ varnyate hâsa-kîrtyoh" (Sâhitya Darpana).—Trans.

† Kâsa is a kind of white flower.—Trans.

‡ Kailâsa is white being covered with snow.—Trans.

Further, these things have been sent with the Ukil.—two ghuris (a kind of cloth or petticoat), one bow, a pair of cheng fish; one pillow, one jakâi⁽⁹⁾; five sâris (cloths worn by females). Reply orally understanding my message. And presents for you (are sent).—one gom-cheng (a cloth of Chinese silk), five chhits (a kind of cloth), ten ghâgris (wearing apparel), 20 black Chowries and 10 white Chowries.—*The month of Asâr Saka 1477.*

The Bara Gohâin the Minister of the Âhom king thought the presents insulting.—“I have heard that in the country of the Koches, men lie on gârus⁽¹⁰⁾ made of the entrails of human beings. It may be for this reason that pillows made of entrails of human beings have been sent;—but in our country only crows and vultures are associated with corpses.⁽¹¹⁾ The fish which has been brought is not used by the people of this country. Its taste is appreciated only by eaters of impure things like the Koches. And the Sâris which have been sent are worn by courtezans of our country.⁽¹²⁾ A jakâi has been sent, with three corners. The earth also has three corners, but this is of use only where water can be waded; if it be used in deep water, one will have to die by drowning.”

Replying to the remonstrance of the ambassadors, Bara Gohâin said that the death of the princes was due to an accident. “The death of Ksatriyas normally takes place in being cut off in this manner”, there could be no change in the former relations between the two kings for this.

An unfriendly reply, full of insinuations, was sent to the king of Kâmatâ.

(9) A fishing implement made of bamboos.

(10) Gâru=a pillow.

(11) Kâuri (in the original)=a crow. ‘Sa’ (in the original)=a corpse.

(12) Khârchâi (in the original)=a courtezan.

"Let there be auspiciousness to king Sree Mallanarayana of generous character who shines as the sun causing the lotus of his family to unfold its petals, whose fame is white as the waves of the river of snow, who is the ocean of honour, gifts, prowess, fortitude, gravity and generosity, who is like a bee drinking the honey from the golden leaves of the feet of the destroyer of Tripura (Mahâdeva)."

The Reply of the Âhom king.

"This is written.—All is well here. I am greatly delighted to learn of your welfare. You have written that the tree of good feeling will grow and blossom and bear fruit to our delight, but you know the basis of our amity. If that remains, the tree may blossom and bear fruit. I am as before."

"However, the things which you have sent through your Ukil, are not fit to be shown in a (royal) court. Such things would (naturally) appear proper to those who are accustomed to them. You yourself best understand what you meant by sending these things by messengers. My Ukils Sri Chandîvar and Sri Dâmodar Sârma are returning with your Ukil. You will learn all news from them. These presents are sent for you,—two pieces of Narâ cloth, four elephant tusks, two gânthian (fragrant roots of a tree).—10th Ahâr ⁽¹³⁾ Saka 1478."

The mission returned from Assam, and when he had received their detailed report and read the letter of the Âhom king,

Attempt to attack Assam. Maharaja Naranârâyan proceeded to prepare for war and the conquest of Assam. Communication towards eastern Assam was very difficult, and he therefore entrusted Gohâi Kamal, one of his younger brothers, with the task of constructing a road for the passage of troops and munitions. A broad road was driven

(13) Ahâr=Asar, Âsambanti Patrikâ, 27th June 1901.

between the Bhutan hills and the Brahmaputra as far as Parasukunda.⁽¹⁴⁾ Many tanks were exca-

The road of Gohâi Kamal. vated at equal distances by the side of the road which is still known as the 'Gohâi Kamal Âli'.⁽¹⁵⁾ The road is connected with the 'Kavirâ Âli' in the district of Tejpur and with Rajgarh (Dâflagarh) to its east.⁽¹⁶⁾ When it was completed,

Expedition of Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja.

the Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja set out (1562 A. D.) with sixty thousand soldiers of the Koch, Dom and Kâvi

(Keot ?) tribes. At this time the Âhom troops were engaged in looting beyond the borders of their country.

Sukladhvaja planned to attack Assam simultaneously by land and river. A large flotilla of boats under the naval

The naval Commander.

Commander Bhaktamâla (Buktumlung)

and Tepu proceeded by river, and a force of fifty two thousand men by the land route under Generals Bhîmvala and Vâhuvala Pâtra. Enroute, Sukladhvaja found and established an image of a deity at a place called 'Sri Sûrya'.⁽¹⁷⁾

(14) According to another view, the road extended to Narayanpur within the district of Laksmitipur.

(15) During the Âhom regime in Assam, 'Gohâi' signified a high officer of State. The Kumaras of the Visvasinha dynasty were also called 'Gohâi' (Gosâin?). In the Akbarnâmâ, we find the names "Mâl Gosâi" and "Sukal Gosâi" and in the Bâhâristân Ghâibi the name "Sûrya Gosâi".

(16) Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam, page 17. In the beginning of the 18th Century the Âhom king Rudrasinha repaired Daflâgarh to prevent depredation by the Daflâ tribe.

(17) The 'Sri Sûrya hills' are situated in the Howrâghat Pergannah within Goalpârâ. There is an inscribed representation of an astronomical figure on a circular stone at this place. It is said that Sukladhvaja had 'Dhaval Suchi' (Leucoderma) all over his body, but after establishing this image, the colour of his body became almost natural. Only a small portion near the navel remained white. On this account, he was known as Sukla-dhvaja, (the Burunji of Rudrasinha, pages 64, 66). According to another view, because he took a white elephant from the Âhom king as a condition of a treaty, he was named Sukla-dhvaja. The Âsâm Burunji by Rai Gunâbhîram Barua, page 104.

Maharaja Naranârâyan with his queen Bhânumati joined the expedition and followed the soldiers. He pitched his first camp on the banks of the Sankos. The king with his queen joined the expedition. Thence he proceeded to Tâmtumâni where twelve bodies of his subjects paid him "nazar". For this reason, the name of this place has become "Bâradalâ".

From Bâradalâ the king went to Chandikâbehâr near Bhramarâkunda and camped for several days between Trîsûladevi and Dhanasûri.⁽¹⁸⁾ In accordance with his Promulgation of royal order. order, a hilly fortress and a Math named 'Nalkhâmâr', were constructed there. An image of a Goddess was set up in this Math and a Kâchhâri was engaged as Deori. The Bhutiyâs of Sât Duar (Dvâr), the Bhuiyâs and principal subjects of Bijni and Fulguri were summoned and the following order was promulgated :—

"Gohâi Kamal Âli will be the boundary in the middle. Under my orders, Koch and Mech as well as the Kachharis who live on the northern side of this (road) will worship in all the temples situated in this division. The Brahmins will worship in the southern division. Religious practices should be regulated under this rule."—*Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali*, page 41.

At the same time the Bhutiyâs were directed to pay tribute in musk, chowries, horses, and gold and brocades. They also joined the king's campaign.⁽¹⁹⁾

(18) Bhramarâ-kunda or Bhairab Kunda is within Mouza Sonâigao within the sub-division of Mangaldai. It is immediately north of Odlâguri.

(19) *Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali*, pages 68—69. Rudrasinher Burunji, page 66.

From Chandikâ Behâr the next halt was called at Singri. All the Vansâvalis of Durrung recount 'Chila Râî' or Sukladhvaja. how the Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvja crossed the Bharli river by jumping over it on a horse. This incident led to his becoming known as 'Chilâ Râî'.⁽²⁰⁾

At this time the descendants of the Chhutiyâ kings, dethroned and driven out by the Âhom king, took the protection of Maharaja Naranârâyan. He gave them

Brahmin Bhuiya and Daflâ tribe.

land in Bânsbâri (in the Durrung district).

Gradually also, the Bhuiyâs who were opposed to the Âhom king joined Maharaja Naranârâyan. They included a Brahmin Bhuiyâ who became a friend of Sukladhvaja after presenting an elephant to him. The Daflâ hill-men also allied themselves with Maharaja Naranârâyan in the war and the king fixed the boundary of the lands to be occupied by them.

Close fighting between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ began in Saka 1484 (1562 A.D.). The naval commanders

Battles on land and river.

Tepu and Bhaktamâla, sailed up the

Brahmaputra, and conquering Seola and

Mâkâlang, advanced up the Diksu river. When the naval force of the Âhoms advanced against them, a cannonade was exchanged and a sharp fight developed between the two flotilla at the mouth of the Hâriyâ river. In this battle, the Âhoms were defeated. Some of their generals were killed, and one was captured. In January 1563 A. D. Sukladhvaja the Kâmatâ Commander-in-Chief advanced by river and constructing a fort at the mouth of

(20) According to the another view, he suddenly attacked the enemy as a kite pounces upon its prey and for this he was named 'Chilâ Râî'. Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 36.

'Riding a horse, he pounces like a kite into the battle; so everyone in the kingdom calls him Chilâ Râî.'

Sree Sree Sankara Deva, page 184.

the Diksú river, halted there. In April he plundered the Morangi territory. The Âhoms took up a position on the Sisâ river after fortifying the other side of the river to obstruct Sukladhvaja's advance. Then three distinguished representatives of the Âhoms came to Maharaja Naranarayan with proposals for a treaty, and the Maharaja sent Ratikânta as an ambassador to the Âhom king with instructions. Ratikânta told the Âhom king,— “There has been friendship between both parties for a long time. The ancestors of both were sons of Gods.⁽²¹⁾; so both belong to a divine dynasty. You have been living from generation to generation as brothers, and in ancient times one of your ancestors gave a daughter to an ancestor of our king. This friendship should remain, and it is not fitting that the conflict between you should continue. You should enter engagements to secure that the happiness and prosperity of both these countries may become permanent”.

When Ratikânta returned the conditions of a treaty were determined, and there was an exchange of presents between the

Defeat of the Âhom king. parties; but the war persisted. In May,

the naval commander Tepu with a fort as his base on the banks of the Dihing river, began to plunder enemy country. The Âhom soldiers were defeated, and their king, seeing no other alternative, escaped to the Nâgâ hills. At this time Maharaja Naranârâyan had halted at Mâujuli.⁽²²⁾

(21) In Yogini Tantra, the Âhom kings have been mentioned as the Saumâra of the dynasty of Indra. Prathamârddha, Patala 14.

(22) The places where quarters for soldiers were constructed by Sukladhvaja during the expedition came to be known afterwards as 'Mechâghar'.—Rudrasinher Burunji, page 68.

To allay the attack of Sukladhvaja, the Âhom general is said to have sent Sudras with sacred thread on their necks and mounted on cows. At first Sukladhvaja hesitated to fight them, but afterwards, realizing the cunning device of the Âhom General, he attacked them and routed them. (Âsâm

When Gargâo, the Capital of the Âhoms, was occupied, he advanced to it. There he received a distinguished person on behalf of the king of Âhoms who presented Maharaja Nara-nârâyan with two golden and two silver drinking cups and a large silver vessel.

The Maharaja consented to a treaty but informed the representative of the Âhom king that the sons of Thâo-mang-lâng, Seng-dâng and Khâm-seng should be sent to him with the Âhom prince. Thereafter, he would leave the country.

Subjugation of the Âhom king and treaty.

Accordingly, in July 1563 A. D. the Âhom king dispatched Âhu the son of his own courtier Lâng-lau and four nobles to Maharaja Naranarayan and paid tribute to him and acknowledged his supremacy.⁽²³⁾ It is related that the Âhom king also presented to Maharaja Naranarayan as a condition of treaty ;—a large store of gold, silver, cloth, sixty elephants, sixty beautiful maidens, three hundred men and a red royal umbrella. Thus the whole of the country to the north of the Brahmaputra passed under the rule of Maharaja Naranarayan. Kumar Kamal Narayan was appointed Uparâj or representative of the king in Morangi country (in the district of Laksmpur).

Burunji by Rai Gunâbhirâm Baruâ, pages 61, 103 ; Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 56). It is written in the Vansâvali of Durgadas that the descendants of these Kâchhâris disguised as Brahmins and mounted on cows, were subsequently known as 'Bongânyâ Brahmins' (page 22). Later, as the descendants of these false Brahmins became engaged in impure practices, Pratâpasinha, an Âhom king stripped all of them of their sacred threads except eight families and ended their pretence to being Brahmins.—Assam Burunji by Rai Gunâbhirâm Baruâ, page 109.

(23) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Manuscript, Vol. I, page 496—502 (English Version).

The version has been given in Durrung Vansâvall, Sankara Charita, Gurulilâ, Kachhârer Itihâs and in all the Burunjis of Assam whether printed or in manuscript.

Maharaja Naranarayan conquered Kâchhâr after conquering Assam. Sukladhvaja accompanied by General Kavîndra,

Conquest of Kâchhâr.

Rajendra Pâtra, Dâmodar Kârji and

Meghâ Makdum and only twenty cavalry,

suddenly appeared in Mâibang the capital of the Kâchhâr kingdom. The Kâchhâr king (probably Meghnarayan) was thoroughly alarmed and presented Sukladhvaja with many valuables and twenty-eight elephants. He acknowledged fealty to Maharaja Naranarayan and promised to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 silver coins, one thousand gold coins and 60 elephants. Sukladhvaja established a colony in Kâchhâr, and the settlers being of the same caste as Dewan Chilâ Râi were known as Dewan or 'Dheyans' (by corruption). Under the Kâchhâr kings, these Dheyans received special favour and respect in the royal court.⁽²⁴⁾

In the Napoleonic advance of Sukladhvaja, the next victim was Manipur.

Conquest of Manipur.

The king of Manipur was not inclined to fight, and concluded a treaty whereby he

undertook to pay an annual tribute of

20,000 silver coins, three hundred gold coins and ten elephants.

Conquest of Jayantia.

Insatiable, Sukladhvaja attacked Jayantia.

The Jayantia king was killed in battle by Sukladhvaja, and by the order of Maharaja Naranarayan his son was given his father's kingdom, the annual tribute being fixed at 10,000 silver coins, 70 horses and three hundred 'Nâkai Dâo' (a kind of weapon). The Jayantia king was prohibited from striking coins in his name, and proofs have been found to indicate that this order was properly obeyed until 1730 A. D. We find in coins of the Jayantia kings inscriptions (similar to the Narayani coins),— "Sree Sree Siva-charana-kamala-madhukarasya" on one side

(24) Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 38.

and on the reverse, instead of the name of the king, "Sree Sree Jayantâpurapurandarasya Sâke 1592".⁽²⁵⁾

To enforce him to admit fealty, an ambassador was sent by Sukladhvaja to the Âmil of Srihatta; but the Âmil rejected the proposal.

Conquest of Srihatta.

Hostilities ensued. The Âmil was attacked, and after incessant fighting

lasting for two days, Sukladhvaja himself entered the fray, sword in hand. Eventually he personally reached the Âmil and cut off his head with his sword;—whereupon the Âmil's soldiers dispersed. The brother of the Âmil was brought before Maharaja Naranarayan and invested as Âmil, and on his promising to pay an annual tribute of 100 elephants, three lacs of silver coins, 10,000 gold coins and two hundred horses, the kingdom of Srihatta was returned to him.⁽²⁶⁾

Under orders of Maharaja Naranarayan, Sukladhvaja now launched an attack on the kingdom of Tripura which at this

Conquest of the kingdom of Tripurâ. time included the plains of Kâchhâr. A fierce battle was fought at Lankhâi between Sukladhvaja and the king of Tripurâ. General Bhimvala with one-third of the army (of Sukladhvaja) and on the other side, the king of Tripura with eighteen thousand soldiers, perished. Sukladhvaja symbolized the victory by driving into the ground an inverted sword (a Lankhâi) and a bamboo.⁽²⁷⁾ The heir-apparent

25. J. A. S. B, Vol. VI, No. 4, page 159.

26. Srîhatter Itivritta, Bhâga II, Khanda II, page 62. At this time the rule of the Mahomedans was established in Srihatta, but Mahomedan historians are silent about it. It is written in Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali:

"There is a king on the north-west of Jayantâ. He is the Bâdsah of the Chirâta (Srihatta) country".

27. Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 37.

This incident recurs in almost all the manuscripts of the Durrung Vansâvalis. More than a hundred years before the Vansâvalis, the "Purani Asama Burunjee" was compiled (1695 A. D.). In that book also we find mention of the conquest of Tripura

of Tripura (or according to another view, a brother of the king) sued for a peace, and offered presents of 10,000 silver coins, 100 gold coins and 30 horses. The annual tribute of the kingdom was fixed at 9,000 rupees, and the dominion of the king of Tripura over the kingdom of Kâchhâr was ended.

At this time the northern half of Chittagong also was ruled by the king of Tripura. Maharaja Naranarayan maintained Placing of soldiers in Khâspur. a body of soldiers in Brahmapur to preserve his authority in the newly conquered country. Subsequently Brahmapur came to be known as Kochpur, and now it is Khâspur.⁽²⁸⁾

The king of Khyrum observing the miserable plight of the neighbouring kings, acknowledged fealty to Maharaja Nararayan of his own accord. Fealty of the Khyrum king. The annual tribute payable by him was 15,000 silver coins, 900 gold coins, fifty horses and thirty elephants. A prohibitory order against coins being struck by the ruler of Khyrum, was later on withdrawn at the request of queen Bhânumati and he was permitted to strike coins in the name of Maharaja Naranarayan.

by Naranarayan, page 66. Regarding the expedition of Maharaja Naranarayan and his brother Sukladhvaja to conquer the kingdoms of Jayantia, Kâchhâr, Tripura and Khâirâm, Dr. Wade has written in his "An Account of Assam" (1792-94 A.D.)—“The brothers (Naranarayan and Sukladhvaja) proceeded to the conquest of Zewointia (Jayantia), Cosari (Cachar), Tepoora (Teppera) and Kuiramee (Khyrum)”, page 251.

In the history of Cooch Behar entitled the *Rajopâkhyâna* and in the history of Tripura—the ‘Râjamâlâ’ (compiled by Kailas Chandra Sinha)—there is no account of this battle and the defeat of the king of Tripura. There is only a record of the conquest of Assam in the *Rajopâkhyâna*, which as has already been stated, is an incomplete work, as is also the Râjamâlâ. Further it has been admitted in the Râjamâlâ (pages 49, 52 and 85) that the shame of defeats had been hidden, and real events changed.

28. Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 38. Srihatter Itivritta, Upasanâhâr, page 101.

Pântesvar the king of Dimruâ acknowledged fealty to Maharaja Naranarayan in the hope of being saved from attacks by the Kâchhâris.

Fealty of the Dimruâ king.

According to another view, the king of Dimruâ was defeated and made a prisoner by Maharaja Naranarayan. Afterwards, pursuant to the orders of Maharaja Naranarayan, Pântesvar was appointed to superintend eighteen small kingdoms situated on the outskirts of the Jaintia kingdom. The boundaries of the kingdoms of the Sâmanta kings in the countries to the south of the Brahmaputra river were now fixed. Later, Chakradhvaja the son of Pântesvar having refused to pay tribute, was imprisoned, but Raghudevnarayan, the son of Sukladhvaja revolted and released him.⁽²⁹⁾

At this period the main stream of the Brahmaputra flowed via the "Khârubhânj" (a circuitous channel shaped like a bangle)

Change of course of the near Hâjo.⁽³⁰⁾ On his way back from Brahmaputra. Assam, Maharaja Naranarayan excavated a canal to cause the river to flow straight (from the Râksashi hills to the mouth of Baraliyâ river) to the west. When in time this became silted up, the Âhom king re-excavated it. Thence onward, the Brahmaputra has flowed by this channel.

(29) History of Assam, page 109. Posâl Sinha the son of Chakradhvaja and his son Prabhâkara paid tribute to Pariksit, the son of Raghudevanarayana. In 1616 A.D. the kingdom of Dimruâ came under the Âhom king. Rudrasinher Burunji, page 94.

(30) "Lathitya sprung from the fire of Brahmâ flows between the hills Manikûta and Gandhamâdanaka". Kalikâ purâna, Adhyâya 78, Verse 76. Manikûta is known as Hâjo. Gandhamâdana alias Gândmore is situated to its south. This old channel of the Brahmaputra is now known as 'Hâjor Sotâ' or 'Burâ Lohita'. It is mentioned in Yogini Tantra that at some time the channel of the Brahmaputra became narrow.—

"O supreme Goddess, the (raised land like the back of a) tortoise at Kâmakhya being broken, the Brahmaputra met with the Urvasi and its channel was narrow". Prathamârddha, Patala XII.

At one time the river Urvasi flowed near Gauhâti,

The attack on Gauda by Maharaja Naranarayan after the conquest of Assam (1563 A.D.) and before the construction of the temple of Kâmakhyâ (1565 A.D.), is given in almost all the Vansâvalis and Assam Burunjees. There had been continual changes of rulers in Gauda. After the death of Bâhâdur Sâh (1561 A.D.), his brother Jalaluddin ruled for a time and then died (1563 A.D.). His son became ruler, but was killed by Giasuddin who occupied the throne. He too was soon killed, by Tâj Khân (1563-64 A.D.). It is suggested that Maharaja Naranarayan attacked Gauda in retaliation for Kâlâpâhâr's destruction of the temple of Kâmakhyâ⁽³¹⁾, but this view is not shared by any Mahomedan history.

Even if it be accepted that Maharaja Naranarayan attacked Gauda, the enterprise was not victorious. His soldiers were

defeated in battle, the Commander-in-
Attack of Gauda. Defeat.
Sukladhvaja made a captive.

Chief Sukladhvaja was made captive, and

the remnants of the force which escaped

destruction, were driven back as far as Tejpur. The king himself escaped with great difficulty. There is a legend that during his escape, the hungry king asked food from a house and revealed his identity. The householder however showed him no respect, and gave him only one 'Kâthâ' of rice. The king was mortified at this behaviour and left the place without accepting the rice. Nor, it is said, did he eat rice until Sukladhvaja was released. He subsisted on milk only and was continually engaged in various kinds of propitious ceremonies.⁽³²⁾ The Durrung Vansâvali has it that the mother of the ruler of Gauda

(31) "Âsâmer Vises Vivaran", page 11. Ripunjaya has written that Kumâra Vrisaketu the General of Maharaja Naranarayana conquered Gauda and brought back insignia as mementos, and the king took the epithet of 'Raja Bâdsâh'.

(32) Khargrnarayana Vansâvali, page 37; Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 21. "He (Chilârâi or Sukladhvaja) was thrown into prison and confined in irons for twelve months". Dr. Wade's 'An Account of Assam', page 204.

was bitten by a snake and was saved from poisoning by the treatment of Sukladhvaja. As a reward for this, the mother of the ruler called Sukladhvaja 'son', and releasing him from captivity arranged his marriage with five girls of high family. The Perganas of Bâhârband, Bhitarband, Goybâri, Serpur and Daskâhania were presented to him as a dower. According to another view, the entire tract to the east of the river Karatoyâ was offered to Sukladhvaja as a dower, and was given a valuable horse and a sword valued one thousand eight hundred rupees. At this time he brought two famous Pandits with the titles of

Bringing of Pandits from Gauda.

Vidyâvâgisa (Purusottama) and Siddhântavâgisa (Pitâmvara) to his country. They were Sabhâ Pandits (Pandits of the royal court) of the ruler of Gauda. During the captivity of Sukladhvaja, Siddhântavâgisa had supplied water to him.⁽³³⁾

The sun of glory of Maharaja Naranarayan passed its meridian when he was defeated by the ruler of Gauda, and thereafter he kept his influence undiminished by recourse to shrewd policy rather than prowess of arms. After his defeat in Gauda some of his adherents were severely punished by the Âhom king, and he was forced to release distinguished Âhom hostages to save them.

It is traditional that Sukladhvaja secretly sent to the king from Gauda the proposal to release the hostages of the Âhom

Returning the hostages of the Âhom king.

king, but the king thought that it would not be good policy to do this openly. He therefore engaged in a game of dice with one of the hostages (Sundar Gohâi), staking the liberty of the

(33) At first, the Pandits did not agree to come to Kâmarupa. But when the king promised to make excellent arrangements for their livelihood and a grant of Rs. 100 a day, they agreed.

Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali, pages 16, 83.

According to another view, Siddhântavâgisa was the Guru of Pratâp Bhuiyâ, Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 66.

hostages. The king intentionally lost (1564 A.D.) and released them in fulfilment of his promise. On this occasion, Gajasinha and Pātālasinha Karji were sent as ambassadors to the Āhom king and were accompanied by a beautiful princess. After this, the Āhom king sent his own ambassador Ratnasinha Kandaliā to Maharaja Naranarayan. The shrewd policy of Maharaja Naranarayan however did not realize any advantage in this direction. On the contrary, the Āhom king attempted to free himself from subordination, and in October 1566, when the naval leader Tepu again attacked Assam, he was forced to return after many of his soldiers had been killed and his Captain, Mohan, made a prisoner by the attacking flotilla of the Āhom king. At the end of 1571 A. D. Tepu and Bhitrual again led an invasion against the Āhoms. There was a fight between them and the naval forces of the Āhoms at the mouth of the Nāmtimā river, and they were again defeated. Many of their soldiers were killed, and many boats and guns fell into the hands of the enemy. Tepu and Bhitrual were compelled to flee. Thus Durgadas has written in the Vansāvali composed by himself that in 1493 Saka (1571 A.D.) the Āhom king succeeded in regaining his independence.

The Āhom hostages returned to Assam and revealed to the Āhom king the various customs and practices of the kingdom

The worship of Durga in Assam. of Kāmatā. Hearing of the manner of worship of the ten-armed image of Durgā in Kāmatāpura, the Āhom king introduced this worship in his own kingdom.

On the 17th Falgun in Saka 1488 (1567 A. D.) Mahārāni Bhānumati bore a son to Māhāraja Naranārāyana. He was named Laksminārāyana. Raghudeva-nārāyana, the son of Sukladhvaja, was older than Kumar Laksminārāyana. ⁽³⁴⁾

(34) Gandharvanārāyaner Vansāvali, Part II, pages 39-41.

According to another view, Raghudeva was born in Saka 1492 (Khargarnārāyaner Vansavali, page 42), but this view cannot be supported. Raghudeva after declaring

After the conquest of Assam by Maharaja Naranarayana,
 Coming of Sri Sankara Sri Sankaradeva the celebrated Vaisnava
 Deva. reformer came to the kingdom of Kāmatâ and lived there for the remainder of his life.

In 1568-1569 A.D. the kingdom of Kāmatâ was attacked by Sultan Soleman Kararani the Ruler of Gauda, and an account of this is given in the Visvasinha-charita. The Ākbarnâmâ says that Soleman returned unsuccessful. According to another view the king was defeated in battle and the capital besieged by the Mahomedan soldiers, but learning news of a rebellion in Orissa the Sultan left the kingdom of Kāmatâ. (35).

The Pâthân rulers of Gauda awarded jaigirs to Pâthân Sardars in Ghorâghât with the object of protecting the outskirts of their own kingdom from the king of Kāmatâ. Attack of Dinajpur.

A Kâyasth named Danujâri Ghosh living to the north of the present town of Dinajpur, and having landed property in that place, was plundered by soldiers sent by the king of Kāmatâ. As the Pâthân rule weakened, the Jaigirdârs of Ghorâghât joined with the ruler of Kāmatâ (Naranârâyan) and took up arms against the Mughuls. The Âin-i-Âkbari records that when Ghorâghât was attacked by Mujnân Khân Kânsâl under the Mughul general Monâyen Khân (after Hijri 982 or 1574 A. D.), the Pâthân chieftain Bâbâ

Giving shelter to the Pathâns. Mânkali and the well-known Kâlâpâhâr took shelter in the Koch (Kâmatâ) kingdom, and sons of Jâlâluddin Sur a descendant of Ser Sâh joined with them and drove out Kânsâl

This independence caused inscriptions to be written on the doors of the temple of Hayagriva in Hajo in Saka 1505 and the temple of Pândunâth in Saka 1507,

(35) Riaz-us-sâlatîn, Bengali Translation, page 143.

from Ghorâghât. In 1578 A. D. amity between Akbar the Emperor of Delhi and Maharaja Naranârâyan was established, and the latter sent presents to the Durbar at Delhi. (36)

Mâsum Khân Kâbuli was one of the Jaigirdârs and Mughul officers who revolted against Muzaffar Khan the Subedar of Bengal. In Hijri 988 (1580 A. D) the rebel party became powerful and killed Muzaffar Khan and occupied the capital Tândâ (near Gauda). At first Mâsum Khan and Maharaja Naranârâyan were not friendly disposed to each other but subsequently they allied and together attacked Gauda. (37) Raja Todarmalla who was sent against them, failed to gain any success. Then Mirza Aziz Koka came to Bengal as Subedar, but he left again before the Pâthâns were checked, and his assistant

Amity with the Emperor
of Delhi.

Friendship with Mâsum
Khân.

(36). It is written in the Akbar Nâmâ that Nazar was sent to Emperor Akbar through Subedar Khân Jehan by "Koch-râja Mal Gosain" (Malladeva or Naranârâyan).

In the Ain-i-Âkbari also the sending of fiftyfour elephants as Nazar to Delhi through this Subedar in Hijri 984 is mentioned, 'Nazar' is an Arabic word meaning 'present'. In practice, it means whatever is given as a present in acknowledgment of obedience to the king or ministers. On the basis of this meaning, some historians have thought that at that time the kingdom of Kâmâtâ (Cooch Behar) was under the Emperor of Delhi (History of Bengal, page 188). The Mughul Emperors did not readily acknowledge the independence of any king in India. On the other hand, it was unnatural that a king like Naranârâyan should admit subordination to any one without showing fight. Considering all the circumstances, it is inferred that the friendly presents sent by the king of Kâmâtâ were interpreted as 'Nazar' by the historian of the Delhi Durbar. It is clearly written in the Bâhâristân Ghâibi (page 140 kha) which was composed later on in 1624 A. D. that the kingdom had been independent for a hundred years. Probably the number of elephants sent as presents has also been exaggerated.

(37). The Mahomedan historians have given an account of the attack on Tândâ but there is no reference to Maharaja Naranârâyan in this connection. It is written in the Gandharbanârâyaner Vansâvali:

"The king made friendship with Mâsum Khân and met the zemindars of Bârabânglâ. Mâsum Khân went with the zemindars and took them to Gauda showing them the way." Page 74.

Sâhabaj Khân was appointed Subedar (1584 A. D.). In 1583 A.D. Jâberi the son of Muznân Khân retired to the Koch (Kâmatâ)

Giving shelter to Jâberi.

kingdom in fear of the Mughuls, and from there he attempted to attack Tândâ.

The "Ain-i-Âkbarî" states that Jâberi, after occupying Tâjpur (within Dinâjpur) and Purnea, advanced gradually towards the capital Tândâ. (38)

Maharaja Naranârâyana delegated his authority over the kingdoms of chieftains situated on the east of the Sankos and

Brahmaputra river to Sukladhvaja.

Different duties given to the king's brothers.
Kumar Kamalnârâyan (Gohâi Kamal) was governor of the newly conquered Dibrû in the east and was afterwards transferred to Kâchhâr. The other brothers of the Mahârâja were invested with duties of State. The Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja was however

The Vansâvali written by Ripunjaya says that Kumâr Vrisaketu was the leader of the soldiers who conquered Gauda.

An army of Maharaja Naranârâyana consisting of Bengali Bhutiyâ, Râjput, Mughul and Pâthân soldiers conquered Ghorâghat and Gauda. Aniruddha was appointed ruler of Gauda, and many grants of Erahmottar land were made there, "Even now (1823 A. D.) some of these Wâqqâs (deeds of gift) are in existence" (Rajopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya II); but up to the present, no such deed of gift has been found.

There is an old temple of Jambulesvara Siva in village Mirzâpur situated three miles to the south of Birâmpur within Dinajpur. There is a generally accepted tradition that this temple was constructed by an ancient king of Cooch Behar and the Sivottar land of the temple was granted by him.

Chaklajat Settlement Report, 54, 55.

(38) It is written in the Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali that when the mother of the ruler of Gauda who called Sukladhvaja her son, died, Maharaja Naranârâyana and Akbar Saha the Emperor of Delhi jointly defeated the ruler of Gauda and divided his kingdom between themselves (pages 71, 74.) This rendering is not supported and it cannot be said to be worthy of support. On the other hand, Maharaja Naranârâyana may be regarded as the ally of the Pâthâns. He died in 1587 A. D. In 1576 A. D. with the passing of the Pâthân ruler Dâud Khan, the kingdom of Bengal

the Maharaja's right hand man and a great favourite. He was called 'Yuvarâja'. Possessed of deep learning, unusual personality, natural disinterestedness, and a firm love for his brother, he was the great political leader in the eastern India of that time. (39). The vast country bounded on the west by the country of Mithila, on the east by the extreme frontier of Assam, on the north by the lordly Himâlayas and on the south (near Chittagong) by the shores of the Bay of Bengal, was conquered by his prowess. The ruins of his fort "Chilârâyer Kot" still exist in Tufanganj in the State of Cooch Behar.

Nearby, there are signs of a fort in village Jâldhoâ, known to have been built by Sukladhvaja. The Bara Mahâdeva in the village of Bârakodâli and the Chhota Mahâdeva in the village of Nâk-kâtigâchh, both established by Sukladhvaja, are still regularly worshipped.

There is a difference of opinion as to the time of the death of Sukladhvaja. The view is that he died of small-pox on

Time of death of Sukla-
dhvaja. the banks of the Ganges in Chaitra Saka 1492 (1571 A. D.) when he attacked Gauda for the second time.

The colophon of Mârkandeya Purâna written by Pitâmbara Siddhântabâgisa, a contemporary of Sukladhvaja recounts.— "Maharaja Visvasinha (lives) in the city of Kâmatâ. His son is not less endowed than Indra. (Page 1)*** One day the Yuvarâja sitting in court, considered a project for a great work.

came under the Mughal rule only in name. The Bhuiyâ kings and the Pâthân Sirdars did not easily acknowledge obedience to the Mughuls. Orissa and the country of Ghorâghât was devastated by the quarrels between Mughuls and Pâthâns; hence it is said, the game of 'Mogul Pâthân'.

(39) The king installed Sukladhvaja as Yuvarâja and bestowed on him the title of Sangrâmasinha. (Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 38). Only installation as a Yuvaraja is mentioned in Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali (page 64). In Rudrasinher Burunjee (page 76) it is written that Sukladhvaja came to be known as Sangrâmasinha for showing valour in attacking Gauda.

* * * The matters which are hidden in Shâstras like the Purâñas are understood only by Pundits and not by common people. For this reason, translate (them) into the language in use in our country in Payâr (verse) from the Slokas (Sanskrit verses) so that all may understand them. (Accordingly) the work began in Saka 1524 on all the subjects mentioned by Mârkandeya (in the Mârkandeya Purâna)." (Page 2).

The work began in Saka 1524 (1602 A. D.), but Sukladhvaja was not alive at that time. It was started after his death.

Pitâmbara has also written in a later part of the work.—

"(There was) King Visvasinha in the city of Kâmatâ, of great prowess and endowed like Indra. Following the orders (of the Yuvaraja) Pitâmbara having little knowledge writes in Payâr (verse) his (Visvasinha's) history of great sanctity." (Page 35).

Again.—

"(There was) King Visvasinha in the city of Kâmatâ. The king had great power and was like Indra. His son has all the qualities, like an ocean containing jewels. He is the greatest of the great in bestowing gifts like Karna. Following the orders of Kumâra Samarasinha, Pitâmbara is writing (this), touching the Nârâyana." (Page 48)

In 1586 A. D. Ralph Fitch an English merchant has referred to Sukladhvaja (Suckel Counse) as " Râja ", but this cannot be accepted as true. A foreign traveller might well have thought him to be a king.

Raghudevanârâyana the son of Sukladhvaja rebelled against his uncle after the death of his father. He

constructed the temple of Hâjo in 1583 A. D. and that of Pândunâth in 1585 A. D. Inscriptions on the doors of these temples are still in existence. There cannot be any doubt therefore that Sukladhvaja died long before 1586 A. D.

It is written in the 'Sankara Charita' that after the death of Sankara Deva (1568 A. D.), his daughter-in-law lived with other relations in the village of Pâtbausi near Bara Petâ. Bangayâ Giri the brother of Sri Sankara Deva made over the girl to the king who, coming to know her real status through the efforts of her relations, released her. This king appears to be Raghudevanârâyana and the year of Sukladhvaja's death is inferred to be latter than 1568 A. D. (or approximating to 1571 A. D. the date of the second attack on Guada).

Maharaja Naranârâyana loved Raghudevanârâyana the son of his younger brother Sukladhvaja like a son and sometimes sat on the throne with him on his lap.

Yuvaraja Raghudeva-nârâyana.

As no son had been born to the king

before his old age, there was a chance of Raghudeva's becoming king. The king even invested him as Yuvarâja (crown prince) and he was called 'Pâtkumar' (Yuvarajâ), (40), but when prince Laksminârâyan was born, Raghudeva was greatly mortified.

After the death of Sukladhvaja, his elephant, horse and other effects were brought to the capital under orders of the king. Kavindra Pâtra, Gadâdhâr Châoniâ, Purandar Laskar, Judhisthir Bhândâr Kâyasth, Srirâma Laskar, Karnapur Giri, Sonâvar, Rupâvar Sardar, Kaviraj Gopal Châoniâ, Gadai Barkâyastha and other officers were devoted to Sukla-dhvaja, and

Displeasure of Raghudeva. they endeavoured to incite Raghudeva against his uncle. In course of time, the advice of these evil counsellors succeeded in influencing the

(40) Akbar-nâmâ, page 716 Kamarupa, Vansâvali, page 21.

mind of Raghudevanârâyan who, disregarding the good advice and the wishes of his uncle, left the capital and began to live with his family in a fort he had constructed near Baranagar on the banks of the Manâs river. Raghudeva raised another fort in Ghilâvijayapura on the banks of the Galâdhâr.

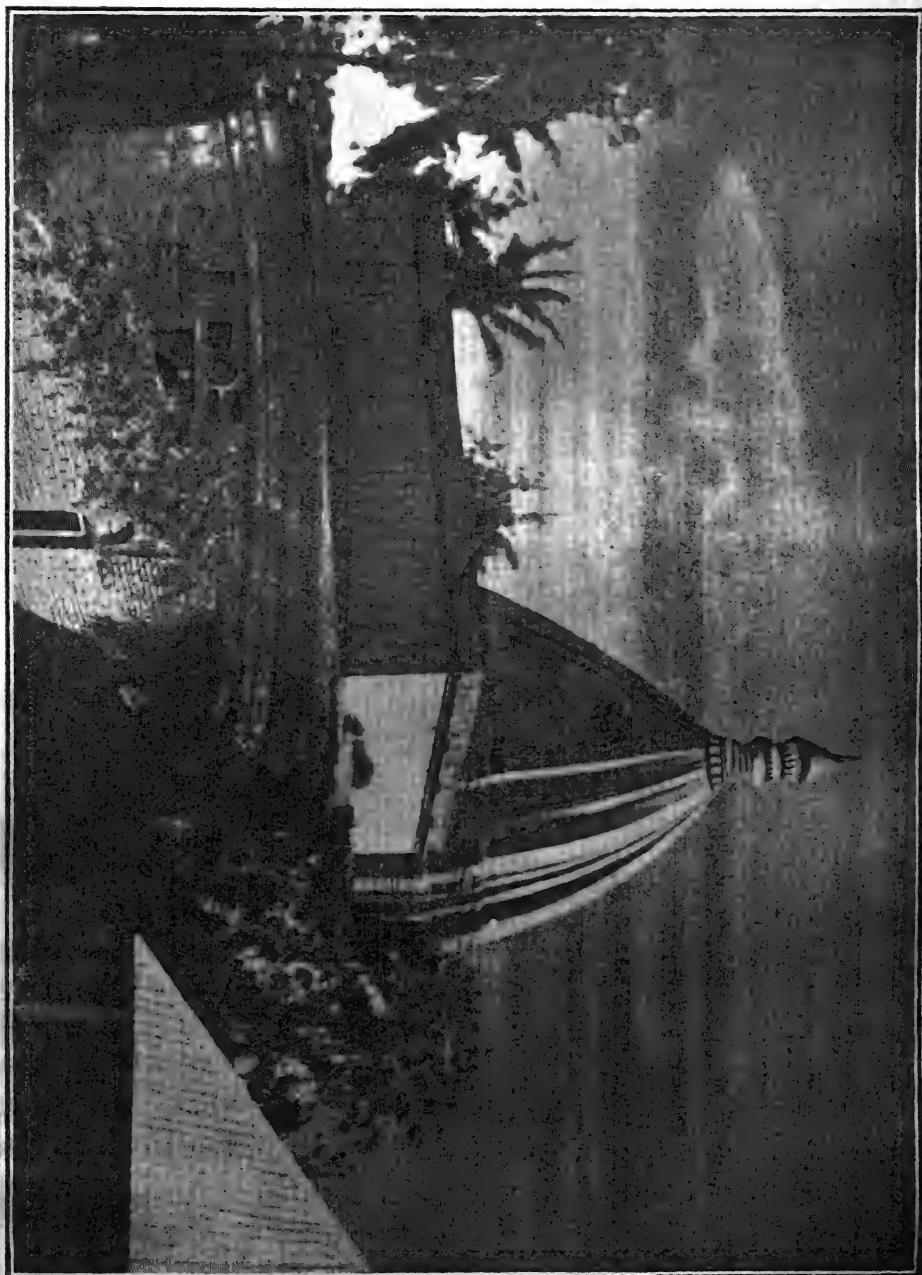
The custom of appropriating all the properties left by relatives, Mansabdârs and Omrâhs (even when they had heirs) who were recently dead, was prevalent in the contemporary Mughul Durbar. Raghudevanârâyan however, not content with

merely doing this, influenced Râmgovinda
The revolt of Rag' udeva.

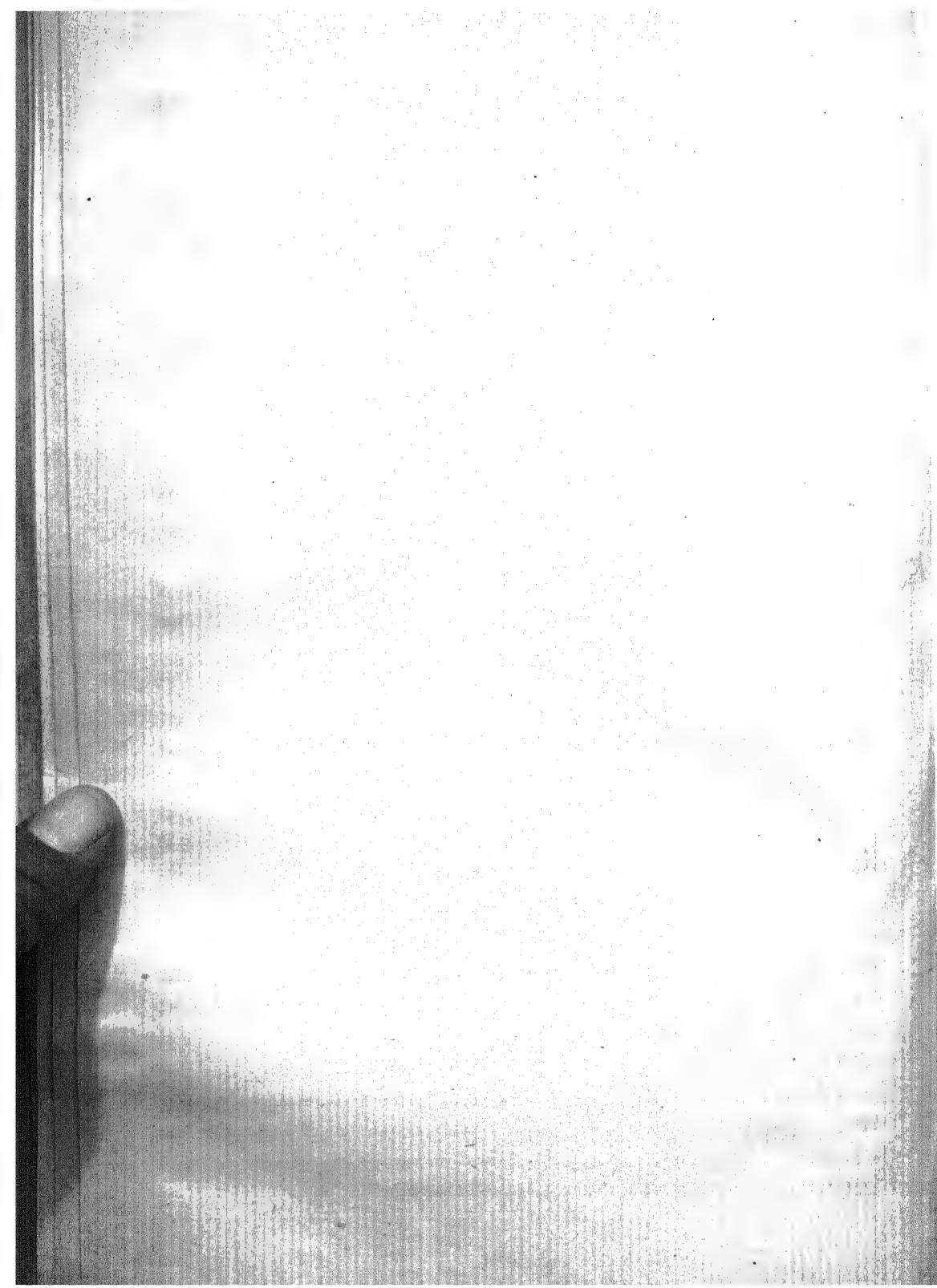
of Daksinkûla and looted the province of Bâhârband (in Rungpur district) in the kingdom of his uncle. Maharaja Naranârâyan sent Virupâksa Kârji to pacify his nephew, but Karji was imprisoned by Raghudeva. Then the king sent Gohâi Madan and personally took military measures. Whereupon Raghudeva, instead of fighting fairly, dressed his one hundred and twenty wives as soldiers and sent them to oppose his uncle. At first, the king expressed wonder at the appearance of so young soldiers and without moustaches, but when he came to know the real facts, he was filled with shame and immediately left the battlefield with his army. As there was no other means left to the king, he made over to Raghudeva the country to the east of the Sankos river, and Raghudeva was called "Chhoto Râjâ". As a mark of fealty, some gold, several horses and Baranagar cloths were fixed as the annual tribute to be paid by him and he was prohibited from striking coins in his own name. According to another view, Raghudeva agreed to strike the name of Naranârâyan on his own coins (41).—According to the Mahomedan historians, this partition of the kingdom took place in 1581 A. D.

(41) Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 56.

"Provided he agreed to stamp the name of Nurnarain on his coins", Dr. Wade's An Account of Assam, page 210.



The Temple of Hayagrivamādhava (Hajø). To face Page 152



After the fall of Dâud Khân the ruler of Gauda, Isâ Khân of Khejerpur (in the district of Dacca) became the head of the Pâthâns and attacked the south-eastern border of the kingdom of Kâmatâ (1584 A. D.). At that time, this country was under Raghudeva, and Laksmana Hâjârâ or Hâjârikâ was the

Attack of Isâ Khân.

"Ragoodeo received also the title of lesser Rajah, but it was stipulated that the latter should transmit the horses and gold which Nurnarain formerly received from Buxadwar (Buxa Dodar) and the cloths (Pat Kapor) from Bayghar (Baranagar?) in the usual manner to Bayhar (Behar, i. e. Cooch Behar)".
Ibid, page 210.

There is nothing in the Vansâvalis of Kharganârâyana and Samudranârâyana about the tribute payable by Raghudeva. It appears from inscriptions in the temple of Hayagriva and Pândunâth constructed under his orders that Raghudeva regarded himself as an independent king. Thus it is written in the inscription (dated Saka 1505, 1583 A. D.) on the door of the temple of Hayagriva Mâdhava in Hâjo.

"Sree Sree Visvasinha was the ruler of the earth. King Sree Malladeva was his son. His fame was well known. He had great intellect, He conquered all his enemies. He was sanctified by religious works and his great fame was based on serenity, generosity and prowess. His brother was born named Sukladhvaja the whole country was under whose control.

The son of Sukladhvaja was King Sree Raghudeva who was like Râma himself and whose fame spread in all countries, who was the ruler of Kâmarupa and who was like a rain-cloud to extinguish the fire of grief in all men.

That king who gave gladness to all people and who worshipped the feet of Sri krisha attained age and constructed this jewel of temples with the help of Gadâdhara dedicating it to the enemy of Asura Haya on the hill named Mani in Saka 1505.

The temple of Pândunâtha was built on the Pândunâtha hill to the west of the Kamâkhyâ temple (Saka 1507; 1585 A. D.). When in time it fell into decay, a tin shed was erected there. The old inscription on the door of the temple reads as follows,—

"When the son of accomplished Sukladhvaja (who was the brother of Sree Malla King) named Raghudeva, possessed of power and adorning his dynasty, the seat of arts, who was beautified with all good qualities, was ruling the earth through the boon granted by Goddess Durgâ, through the great help and affection of his Minister Gadâdhara, the beautiful temple of Sree Pândunâtha Hari was constructed in stone by Payonidhi who was always devoted to the feet of Visuu in Saka 1507."

immediate ruler. (42).—Unsuccessful against Isâ Khân Raghudeva retreated to the fort of Jangalbâri (in the district of Mymensing) and afterwards saved himself by escaping from the fort by a secret passage. Then the victorious Isâ Khân moved his base to Jangalbâri, (43), where even now, the site of the demolished fort of Laksmana Hâjârikâ is discernible. With the enhanced power of Isâ Khân, that of Madana Koch of Madanpur, Bokâ Koch of Bokâinagar and Horâ Râjâ of Kâgmâri, disappeared. (44).

Mahârâja Naranârâyana established himself as the supreme overlord of a vast tract of territory in the north-east of India, and about fifty rulers recognised their subordination to him. At its fullest development, this kingdom extended to the east to the wild tribes near the borders of Burma, to the north to Tibet,

(42). Maimansinher Itihâs, page 55; The Mymensingh District Gazetteer page 25,

(43). There is a ditch named Raghukhâli near Jangalbâri. It is said that this ditch was named Raghu Khâli as Raghudeva escaped by it in a boat, but the name of Raghunath the king of Susang is also connected. The descendants of Isâ Khân with the title of 'Dewan', are still living in Jangalbâri.

There is a village named Raghukoch (Mouza No. 240) on the banks of the Dhaleswari river in the Ghior Thana, Dacca. Some people known as Râjbansis live there.

(44). There is a tradition that the kingdoms of Bhabânanda Koch of Jangalbâri, Madan Koch of Madanpur, and Dalipa Sâmanta of Gar Dalipâ were conquered and occupied by Sâha Soltan, a Fakir. If these kingdoms were occupied by Sâha Soltan of Mahâsthânagarh (in the district of Bogra), it is possible that the name of the same king changed at different times. Bhabânanda was probably the king of Jangalbâri before Laksman Hâjârikâ.

"There is a tradition that the very first Mahomedan settlement in Mymensing was at Madanpore near Netrokonâ, where their leader, a saint called Shah Sultan, lies buried."

".....Shah Sultan who came from Turkey and settled at the site now known as the 'Darga Madan'; the Koch King of the village tried to poison him, but, being convinced of his saintly character, accepted Islâm." The Mymensingh District Gazetteer, pages 23, 152,

to the west to the borders of Mithilâ or Tîrabhukti (Tirhut) and to the south to Ghorâghât. The boundary of this vast kingdom met the shores of the Bay of Bengal near Chittagong.

His contemporary Mâdhavadeva wrote of Mahârâja Naranârâyan in the colophon to Âdikânda of Râmâyana.—

“Victory to Naranârâyana the crested jewel of all kings whose great prowess has covered this world.....

* * * *

May he live long to enjoy a kingdom extending to the sea, looking after his subjects and disseminating devotion to Krishna” Page 63.

According to one modern writer, the extent of the kingdom of Mahârâja Naranârâyana as estimated by Srijukta Harendranârâyan Chaudhuri following the view of Sir Edward Gait, is full of exaggeration. This writer has argued that the invasions of the time were made with the object of looting and for the fame of conquest ; that as a result of this, the occupation of the conquered areas was not permanent, and that these accounts have been compiled from the manuscripts of the Vansâvalis and Purani Asam Burunjee which are not corroborated by other sources.⁽⁴⁵⁾ It is a historical truth that the vast kingdom of Naranârâyan did not constitute a permanent dominion but that however ephemeral it may have been, there can be no doubt that the conquered kings promised fealty and regular payment of annual tribute to Naranârâyana, for this is proved by the many Burunjees of Assam and by the Purani Asama Burunjee written as far back as 1695 A. D. Nor is there reason or proof for disbelief of accounts written at different times by historians under rival royal patronage.

(45) A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy, pages 96, 97.

Gohâi Kamal the brother of Naranârâyana had formerly been a subordinate king at Khâspur in Kâchhâr but became independent. Proof is available that his descendants ruled there until the beginning of the 18th century. To the time of Parîksit the grandson of Sukladhvaja, the king of Dimruâ (in the district of Nâogâon) was a chieftain under him and the kings of Jaintia struck coin under orders of Naranârâyana until the 18th century. These facts have not been derived merely from the manuscripts of the Vansâvalis or Burunjees. The southern and western boundaries of the kingdom of Mahârâja Naranârâyana as defined by the famous historian Âbul Fazal, have been endorsed by later historical works. In the Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi it is found that at the beginning of the 17th century, the Koch kingdom extended to Ghorâghât (to the south of Rangpur) and at that time embraced the two large Perganas Bâhârband and Bhitarband. In the Târikh-i-Assam written about half a century afterwards, the kingdom of Cooch Behar is given as extending to the Garh near Bâgduâr to the south of Runçpur. The boundaries mentioned by Abul Fazal are roughly repeated. In the Târikh-i-Âssâm, Bhâtgâon near the Morang country has been estimated as the western boundary of Cooch Behar. This place is to the east of Tirhut and to the north of Furnea. The mordern writer already referred to, has fallen into the error of confusing Bhâtgâon with Pâtgram (Patgong) mentioned by Major Rennel. In his map, the location of Pâtgram has been shown correctly on the banks of the Dharla, but this is very far from Bhâtgâo. Bhâtgâo and Patgram are very different places and the boundary of the State of Cooch Behar even now extends twenty to twentyfive miles to the west of Pâtgram. In the first quarter of the 18th century, the boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar was far to the west of this, on the banks of the Mahânanda river, and included territory today included in the State zemindary.

Various factors limited the dominion of Maharaja Naranarayana towards the end of his life, the absence of Sukladhvaja, the revolt of Raghudeva and the establishment of the Mughul power. His large army and fleet were supplemented at that time by regular levies from chieftains and Jaigirdârs. Instead of paying the soldiers, a Jaigir consisting of three Purâs (about 12 bighas) was fixed as remuneration for each soldier. For purposes

Census.

of census, Maharaja Naranarayana introduced the 'Poâ Pâik' enumeration (a rule counting four men as one Poâ Pâik). By this calculation, the population of his kingdom was estimated at 17 lacs. (46).

In different Vansâvalis, we find record of the establishment of temporary capitals by Maharaja Naranarayana. Gohâin

Capitals and roads.

Kamal Âli (the road of Gohâin Kamal) is

one of the great public works of the Maharaja. Besides this celebrated road, he also constructed other roads and caused tress to be planted on both sides of them. He built many temples and excavated many tanks. The ancient

The temple of Hayagrîva
Mâdhava.

temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava of Hâjo which had become deserted and full of jungle, was repaired and he granted

landed properties as Debutter for the worship of Mâdhava. (47).

(46) Vansâvali written by Ripunjaya. Probably the number of subjects of the Sâmanta (feudatory) kings were not included within the 17 lacs.

(47) J. A. S. B., 1855, page 10.

The Debutter land of Hayagrîva Mâdhava existed during the supremacy of king Raghudevanârayana, the Mughul emperor and the Âhom king. Even during the time of the East India Company these lands (measuring 18000 bighas of rent-free land and 16300 bighas of land at half rates) were accepted as Debutter. The temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava constructed by Raghudeva in 1583 A. D. on the Manikuta hill, still exists.

With the help of Sukladhvaj, Maharaja Naranârâyan renovated the temple of Kâmâkhyâ which was almost in ruin.

The work was first entrusted to an officer
The temple of Kâmâkhyâ. name Mahatrâm Vaisya, but when he
was found guilty of misappropriation,

General Meghâ Makdum was employed and finished the work properly. After the completion of the temple and during its consecration, Maharaja Naranârâyan with Maharani Bhânumati, and Sukladhvaja with his wife Chandraprabhâ and the ladies married in Gauda, went in state to Nilâchala. (48).

At the first great worship of the goddess, many offerings were made, servants and sebaits were engaged and the various landed properties dedicated. (49). In the chamber adjoining the temple, where the moveable images were kept, the stone images of Mahârâja Naranârâyan and Sukladhvaja still stand.

(48) In the Sankara Charita Sukladhvaja is credited with one hundred wives. page 286.

(49) Sir Edward Gait has concluded that on this occasion 140 men were offered as human sacrifices ("including 140 men whose heads he offered to the goddess on copper plates." The Koch Kings of Kamrupa, page 28). Most probably, he derived this interpretation from the following.—

"Tin laksa hom dilâ ek laksa bali.
Sât Kuri paik dilâ kari tâmrafaли."

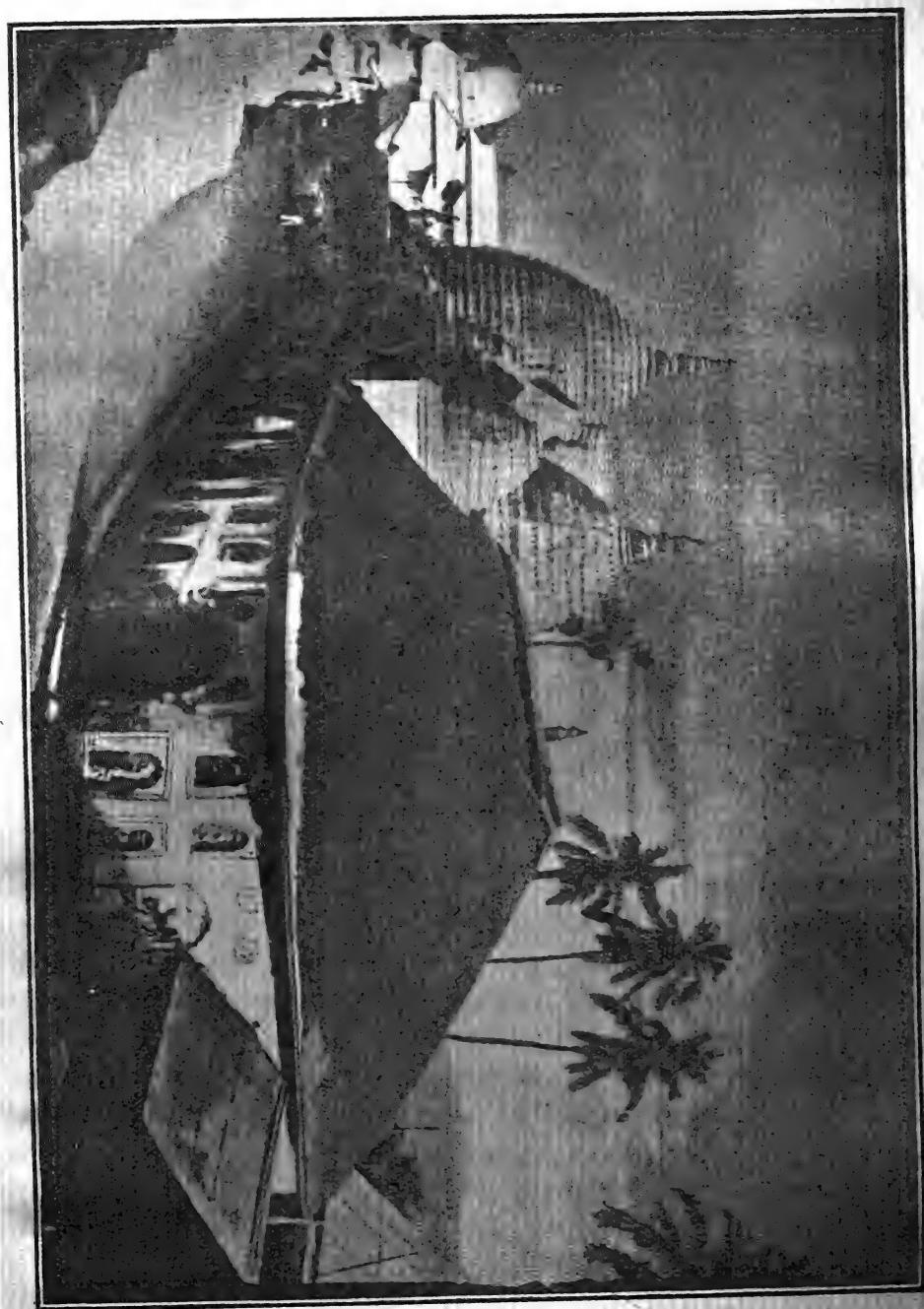
Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 68. The real meaning of the verse is,— "140 Paiks were given to help in the worship of the goddess and this fact was recorded on Tâmrafaли (copperplates)." In Assam, the servants employed in temples of Gods and Goddesses and whose caste befit them for drawing water for worship, are called 'Paiks'. The lines following the above verse giving different castes employed in the service of the temple) are these.—

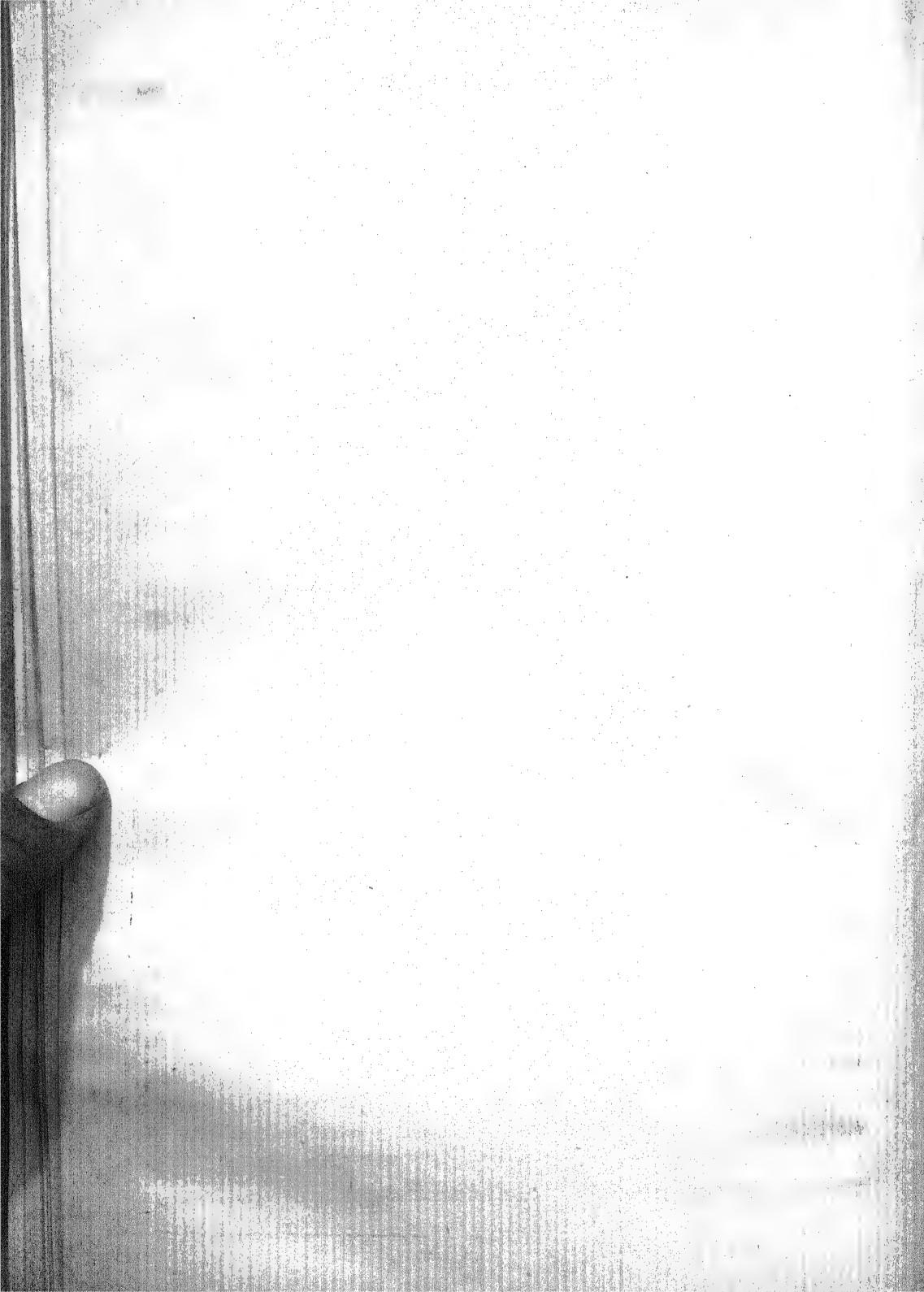
"Brâhma Daivajna Nata Bhâti Tânti Mâli.
Kamâra Kanhâr Bârhâi Dhobâ Sâlei Teli.
Sonâri Kumâr Hirâ Kaivarta Chamâr.
Muchiâr Hâri âdi dilâ nirantar."

The meaning of the word "Dilâ" in both places is 'employed' and not 'killed as sacrifice'.

It has been written in the Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali regarding this matter.—

"Brâhmanak âdi kari devân taniyâ dhari Bahu nara uchargeâ 'dilâ'." Page 38.
. e. "many men, Brahmins etc, were employed in presence of the Dewan."





An account of the construction of the temple is inscribed in the following verses on the left side of the entrance of the main temple (Saka 1487 or 1565 A. D.).—

"Victory to king Sree Malla Deva who lavishes favours on the people through compassion, who is like Arjuna in archery, like Dadhichi and Karna in bestowing gifts, who is like the ocean in glory, whose conduct is concerned with the discussions of various Shâstras, whose radiant beauty is like that of Kandarpa, and who worships the feet of Kâmâkhyâ."

His younger brother Sree Sukladeva constructed with stone this edifice in Sâka 1487 on the beautiful Nila hill, in devotion to the lotus feet of the daughter of the mountain (*i. e.*, the goddess Umâ or Durgâ)."

Under this inscription, the following is inscribed in a separate slab of stone in smaller characters.

"His dear brother Sree Sukladhvaja whose fame is great, who transcends all heroes, who is like the Kalpataru (the tree fulfilling all desires) to people seeking his shelter and who is the greatest of all devotees to the goddess, constructed with stones this temple like a beautiful jewel on the Nilâchala in Saka 1487."

The king brought Brahmins from Bengal for the worship of the goddess Kâmâkhyâ and granted them Brahmottar lands,

If 'Ucharga' and 'Dilâ' be interpreted as 'killed in sacrifice', Brahmins are included among the sacrificed people which would have been impossible. Sir Edward Gait has also referred to seven hundred human sacrifices to Hayagriva Mâdhava of Hâjo, depending on the line "Tâmrafaли kari dilâ pâik saptasata" similar to the above verse in the account given of the consecrating of the temple of Hayagriva Mâdhava by Raghudevanârâyan in another part of Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali. (The Koch Kings of Kâmarupa, page 30), It is needless to say that this allegation of human sacrifices in the worship of Mâdhava or Nârâyan, cannot at all be accepted.

He also made a grant of sufficient Debutter land to meet the expenses of the temple, and for the maintenance of the servants.⁽⁵⁰⁾. Even now after the special worship of the goddess during the Ambuvâchi and the autumn season, Nirmâlya is regularly sent to Cooch Behar.

There is a tradition that when music was played in the evening on the occasion of Ârati, Kâmâkhyâ Devi herself appeared naked and danced, and once Maharaja Naranârâyan, with the connivance of a Brahmin priest named Kendu Kalâi, saw the dancing goddess from a hiding place. The goddess

The curse of Kâmâkhyâ.

came to know this and was highly displeased and pronounced a curse that thenceforth it was forbidden to the kings of Cooch Behar to see the image of Kâmâkhyâ and other naked images of deities. The priest died instantly. In the Kâmrupa Vansâvali the rendering is that king Dharmapâla who came from Gauda saw the goddess in the same manner and was cursed and left the country, the priest Kendu Kalâi dying. In the Sankara Charita also there is an account of king Dharmapâla being cursed by goddess Kâmâkhyâ. Dharmapâla lived about the 12th century. In the Sankara Charita he has been described as a "Belgiâ" (living in separate mess) brother of Durlabhanârâyan. The celebrated Pâla king Dharmapâla of Gauda ruled during the last quarter of the 8th century A. D.

There is a tradition based on a similar reason for forbidding the kings of Cooch Behar from seeing Kâmâkhyâ, that they are also forbidden to see Kâmatesvari in Gosânimâri (Kâmatâ-pura). It is said that a priest of Kâmatesvari (a Brahmin of

(50). The Debutter property of the Goddess Kâmâkhyâ measuring 23,685 Bighas of rent-free land is still in existence. In 1897 there was great damage to the temple of Kâmâkhyâ owing to the earthquake. The Durbar of Cooch Behar sanctioned Rs. 3,200 as a contribution for its repair.

Mithilâ) and Mahârâjâ Prânnârâyana incurred this anathema. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton refers to this tradition (1808 A. D.). In the local history 'Râjopâkhyâna' and in the manuscripts of Gosânimangal, there is no such legend, and the editor of the 'Gosânimangal' printed in 1899 has remarked on this in the Appendix to the work.

Ripunjaya Das has observed in the Vansâvali composed by him that Maharaja Naranârâyana established Bânesvar Siva (in

Establishment of images of deities.

the kingdom of Cooch Behar) and gave the name 'Gerd Sândârâ' to that part of the country. According to another view

the Asura Bâna, well-known in the Purânas, established this Siva in his own name and king Nilâmbar constructed the temple. In the Yogini Tantra there is mention of a Siva named Bânesvara, but it is inferred that that Siva was established near Manikûta (Hâjo).⁽⁵¹⁾ There are temples of Bânesvara Siva in Bara Bhogiâ Mouza in the district of Durrung in Assam and in Uttara Saru Bangasar Mouza, in the district of Kâmarupa. Durgadas Mazumdar says that Maharaja Naranârâyana established an image of Visnu under the advice of Sankara Deva, and entrusted Ananta Kandali with its worship. He gives the name of this image as Laksminârâyan or Madanmohan. According to the cult of the Vaisnavas who follow the doctrines of Sankaradeva, Laksmi or Râdhâ is not worshipped with Nârâyana as Sakti. The image of Modanmohan in Cooch Behar also, is being worshipped alone. In the Alamgir-nâmâ composed in the 17th century and in Stewart's history, the presiding deity of Cooch Behar has been deemed Nârâyana. Perhaps Visnu as established by Maharaja Naranârâyana according to the doctrines of the Mahâpurusâ sect of Vaisnavas, came to be known as 'Nârâyana' and later

(51) Uttara Khanda, Navama Patala, 101.

on, as a result of the attack of Nawab Mir Zumla this image or probably a substitute for it, came to be accepted as Madanmohan. (52).

According to the Rājopākhyāna Mahārāja Naranārāyana founded the worship of Durga with ten arms. To the present time the worship of Durga continues in Devibāri a part of the capital town of Cooch Behar, in a separate building every autumn. The worship of Durga.

The peculiarity of this image Durga is that the images of Laksmi, Sarasvati, Kārtik and Ganes are neither constructed nor worshipped with it. The Rājopākhyāna tells that Sukladhvaja the brother of the king became overweening in his pride and had conceived the evil desire of occupying the throne. Once he went to the royal court with the intention of killing the king, but reaching the royal presence he saw that the goddess Durgā herself was protecting the king with her ten arms. At this supernatural sight, Sukladhvaja was filled with fear and shame and openly asked forgiveness from his brother. Different feelings filled the mind of the king. He thought Sukladhvaja

(52) Considering the circumstances, it is more probable that the name of the image established by Mahārāja Naranārāyana was 'Laksminārāyana' and it is also natural that it came to be called 'Nārāyana' by the people. As a part of the Maharaja's own name was Nārāvana, the ancient custom of keeping one's name identical with that of one's favourite deity, was adhered to, and when in his old age a son was born to him, he gave the auspicious name of the presiding deity of his kingdom who was worshipped by him, to his dearest son and called him 'Laksminārāyan'. The account of the destruction of the image of Nārāyana when the capital (Kāmatāpura) was occupied by Nawab Mir Zumla, is given in the history of Mahomedans (and also, in the work of Mr. Stewart).

It is written in the Rājopākhyāna (Narakhanda Adhyāya 11) by Jaynath Ghose that Mahārāja Rūpnārāyan (1704-1714 A. D.) "Apārva Mūrti Sree Sree Madanmohan prakas kariyā sevār yathestha vāhulya kariyā dilen" ("revealed the wonderful image of Sree Sree Madanmohan and arranged for its worship in lavish style"). In this context, there is no mention of the 'Pratisthā' (establishment or consecration) of Madanmohan. In "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements" by Sj. Harendranarain Chaudhuri, it has been said in one place (page 242) that this image was established by King Rūpnārāyan, but in another (page 698) by King Prān-nārāyan (1632-1665 A. D.).

more fortunate than himself and began to live in solitude and to fast, because he had not seen the goddess. On the third night, she appeared to him in a dream. The king promulgated the worship of the goddess he had seen in his dream, and this continues today⁽⁵³⁾. Previous reference has been made to Maharaja Visvasinha finding an image of ten armed Durgâ in a forest and bringing it home. There appears to be no difference in the form of this image as described in the manuscripts of Vansâvalis from that of the image of Durgâ as worshipped in Cooch Behar.

While living at Mandalâbâs, Maharaja Naranârâyana once went to bathe in the Ganges. He brought Brahmin Pandits

Importation of Brahmins and education. from places like Mithilâ and Gauda and settled them in his own country and made large grants of Brahmottar lands to

them. His court was always adorned with Pundits, and in his time Sanskrit learning was greatly extended in the country. Bhûsan a Brahmin was the court poet. Conversation was conducted in the court in Sanskrit, and appointment of uneducated men as officers was prohibited⁽⁵⁴⁾. During the reign a Pundit who had wandered in various countries and defeated adversaries in argument, came from the west to the capital and was thoroughly nonplussed in discussion with the Pundits of the royal court.

Under orders of the king and the queen, Pundit Purushottam Vidyâbhâgisha composed the celebrated Sanskrit grammar, 'Prayoga-ratnamâlâ' in Saka 1490 (1568 A. D.)⁽⁵⁵⁾.

(53) Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya, II.

(54) "No one spoke any language but Sanskrit. Even ordinary conversation was carried out in Sanskrit". Mahâpurusha Sankaradeva O Mâdhavadevar Jibancharitra, Page 168.

(55) It is a written in the Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali.

"Bhânu Pâtesvari (the queen Bhaumati) who was the dearest (of all the

Raghudevanârâyan is supposed to have been educated through the help of this grammar. Under orders of the king also, Pundits Aniruddha and Râma
The Pandits and literature.

Saraswati translated into verse the Râmâyana, the Mahâbhârata and the eighteen Purânas. Sribar Daivajna (the astrologer) wrote a work 'Jyotis', and Bakul Kâyastha composed 'Bhûmi Parimân' and translated 'Lilâvati'. The latter also wrote 'Ankar Puthi' (a treatise on Mathematics in verse)⁽⁵⁶⁾. Pitambara Siddhântabâgisa was celebrated under the cognomen 'Jagadguru' and the king engaged him to give legal and religious opinions in his court. He wrote many treatises on Smriti entitled 'Kaumudi' and translated many Sanskrit works into Bengali. Ananta Kandali another courtier of the king also composed a large number of works.

queens) to the king spoke to Bhattachârya respectfully ' Do not write the order of the letters according to Pânini, but follow the order as given in Kalâpa (Vyâkaran by Mahes. ' ' Page 93.

The introduction to Ratnamâlâ.— " According to the order of Sree Malladeva who is the Indra on earth and who is the only receptacle of good qualities like an ocean, Sree Purusottama is composing with care the Prayogottama ratnamâlâ ".

Jibeswara and Jaykrisha the Pandits of Kâmarupa have composed separate commentaries on the Prayoga ratnamâlâ. Mahâmahâdhyâpak Pandit Siddhanâth Vidyâbâgisa (who is now dead) who lived in Khâgrâbâri Cooch Behar, published an excellent edition of this work under State patronage with his own commentary 'Gôdhâ prakâsikâ ' and the two old commentaries. In the introduction to this work he claims Purusottama Vidyâbâgisa as a resident of Khâgrâbâri. Khagrabari is now on the out-skirts of the present capital (Cooch Behar). Long after the time of Purushottama, at the beginning of the 18th century, Brahmins have lived here.. Râjopâkhyâna Narakhana, Adhyâya II.

The Tagore zemindars of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta rate themselves the descendants of Pundit Purushottama.

(56) A manuscript of a treatise on Mathematics, the Kitâbat Manjari, (in the Assamese language) compiled by one Vakula Kâyastha in 1434 A. D., has been discovered. Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts, page 94.

(57) Suryadeva a descendant of Pundit Pitambara composed the 'Gandharya-nârâyaner Vansâvall ' in the middle of the 19th century. His descendants are still living in village Sarâbâri in Mangaldai subdivision in Assam. A Brahmin Pundit

Sree Sankaradeva, living under the protection of Maharaja Naranârâyana, used to preach in the name of Krishna. He wrote a drama the Sîtâ-svayambâra, and the Krisnagunamâlâ and many works of Vaisnava doctrine including a translation in verse of Srimad Bhâgavata⁽⁵⁸⁾. Among the ancient manuscripts collected recently by the Government of Assam, there are many written under the orders or with the encouragement of Maharaja Naranârâyana. The patronage of Maharaja Naranârâyana is acknowledged in the colophons of many of these works. Very few however of the manuscripts written by the Pundits of his court have been preserved in the State library of Cooch Behar. Even among those preserved there, some are incomplete and many appear to be copies of the original⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Because of the renaissance of learning he inspired, Maharaja Naranârâyana is even now called 'the Vikramâditya of Kâmarupa'⁽⁶⁰⁾. The people called him Dharmarâja. His character and the fame of his enlightenment were conveyed

The Vikramâditya of Kâmarupa.
to the Durbar at Delhi of the time. The Âkbarnâmâ declares

Gopalchandra Tarkasmriti vyâkarana tirtha who lives in the district of Kâmarupa has recently printed and published, after great research and labour, two of the Kaumudi treatises of Siddhântabâgisa the 'Preta-kaumudi' and 'Sankrantikaumudi' with his own commentary.

(58) 'Âssâm Sâhityasabha' has discovered no less than 30 works composed by Sree Sankaradeva.

(59) The manuscripts preserved in the Cooch Behar State library are.—

'Râjsuya', written by Ananta Kandali and the 10th Skandha of Bhâgavat translated by him.

Mârkandeya Purâna, the first and tenth Skandha of Bhâgavat translated by Pitâmbara Siddhântabâgisa.

Prayoga-ratna-mâlâ by Purushottama Vidyâbâgisa (incomplete), Bhâgavater Kirtan, Rukmini-haran, Gopi-Uddhava-sambâd and Bhaktipradîpa by Sree Sankara Deva and his translation of the first eighth and eleventh Skandha of Bhâgavât.

(60) "King Naranârâyana gave encouragement to learning. He was really the Vikramâditya of Assam". Assam Sâhitya-sabhâr Navam Adhibesaner Sabhâ-patir Abhibhâsana, page 40.

that Mâl Gosâin (Malladeva or Naranârâyana) was full of wisdom and adorned with the highest qualities. Hearing of the

glory of the emperor through psychic
Praise of the Durbar at Delhi. media, he wrote a book of praise for the emperor and sent it to Delhi with many presents.⁽⁶¹⁾ As he was expert in wrestling, he was called Malladeva⁽⁶²⁾. We hear of a dictionary composed by him, the 'Malladevî Abhidhâñ', but this has not upto the present been discovered. Sometimes Maharaja Naranârâyana competed with the Pundits in discussion about Shâstras. Once during such a discussion Sankaradeva composed seven pairs and the king eight pairs of extempore verses⁽⁶³⁾. A Pundit with the title of 'Kantha-bhûsana' was the Guru of the king.

Learning of Naranârâyana. During the time of Maharaja Naranârâyana, a Brahmin was the Nazir and a Kayastha Dewan. According to another view,

Nazir, Dewan and officers. a Kârji was the Dewan. We know that during his time there were various classes of officers known as Karmi, Sûrdâr, Pâtra, Kâyastha, Biswâs, Kandali, Makaddam, Gurmali, Châonia, Deuri, Chomdâr, Kotwâl, Âhudi etc.⁽⁶⁴⁾ A person named Nayanânanda was the Royal Kotwal.

".....and it would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole of the ancient literature of Assam is full of appreciative references to the benevolent Koch rulers of the past. It is hoped that the publication of this book will awaken an interest in the minds of our educated young men in the historical literature of our country, and will serve also to help in restoring the old happy relations that existed between Cooch Behar and Assam."

The work of the Kâmarupa Anusandhâna Samiti, 1920, page 87.

(61) Âkbarnâma, page 716.

(62) Kâchhârer Itihâs, page 35.

(63) Mahâpurusa Sankar Deva O Mâdhava Devar Jibancharitra page 162.

(64) The Kâyasthas also obtained the post of Kârji (Gandharvanârâyanei Vansâvali, Khanda II, page 29). The meaning of the word 'Kârji' is 'one who works' or 'an officer'. Kâmarupa Vansâvali, page 54.

"These twelve persons were brought and at an auspicious time they were engaged as Kârji and informed of their orders".

Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 18,

The people were habituated to trade during the reign of of Mahârâja Naranârâyana and the various merchandise of the Trade and commerce. kingdom was exchanged with other parts of Bengal *via* the Brahmaputra river.

There was a terrible earthquake during his reign, (1548 A.D.)

Earthquake.

As a result the ground opened up, and water, sand, ashes and stones were thrown

out. (65) In the travels of the English merchant Ralph Fitch

Visit of Ralph Fitch.

(1586 A. D.) the name of the king Sukhladhvaja has been rendered "Suckel

Counse" and the name of the kingdom as "Couche". He came in 25 days from Tândâ (Gauda) to the Koch country. He has recorded that the Koch country extended at that time up to the Cochin China (?) and musk, silk and cotton cloth were found there. The people worshipped Gods and Goddesses. His account contains much that is improoble (66).

(65) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, manuscript Vol. I, page 489 (English Version).

We also learn that there was a terrible earthquake in Bengal after the death of Nityânanda the desciple of Sree Chaitanyadeva. Gauder Itihâs, Khanda II, page 216.

(66) "I went From Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25 days journey Northwards from Tanda. The King is a Gentle, his name is Suckel Counse his country is great, and lieth not far from Couchin China (sic.!) for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the country is set with Bamboos or canes made sharpe at both ends and driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deepe, so that men or horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silke and muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue ears which be marueilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by detises when they be young. (!) Here they will be all Gentiles and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates dogs, cats, birds and for all other living creatures." Ralph Fitch, Pages 111—112.

Sukladhvaja (Suckel Caunse) written by Ralph Fitch was not a king and at that time (1586 A. D.) he was not even alive. We have already mentioned that his son Raghudevanarayan constructed the temple at Hâjo in 1583 A. D. and that at Pandu in 1585 A. D. The ears of the people being half a cubit long and their being opposed to any injury to animals, appear to be unheard of and impossible "travellers" tales.

Immediately after Maharaja Naranârâyana began his rule, Sri Chaitanya Deva the founder of Gaudiya Vaisnav religion came to Kâmarupa. It is said that he crossed the Karatoyâ river and went to Manikuta, and staying there for a few days, proceeded to Parasukunda. On the return journey he again rested for a few days in Manikuta and then proceeded towards Orissa. A place in Manikuta is even now known as "Chaitanya-ghopâ" presumably because he practised devotional exercises there. (67)

Maharaja Naranârâyana died in Saka 1509 (1587 A. D.) (68) It is not known whether he had any children other than the two sons Laksminârâyana and Valinârâyana and a daughter Prabhâbati. It is said in the Akbarnâmâ that when he was 50 years old, he nominated

(67) Sahitya-parishat-patrikâ, 1322 B. S. Vol. 22, page 241.

"Afterwards Mahâprabhu (Chaitanyadeva) coming from that place stayed on the banks of the Karatoyâ. After that when king Naranârâyana was just established in his kingdom appointing Sankara a Gomasta and bringing men from upper hilly tracts to the plains, Prabhu Chaitanya Bhârati came to Manikuta to visit Mâdhava."

Sat-sampradâyer Kathâ, pages 30, 33.

It is contended that this work was composed at the end of the 16 century, There is difference of opinion as to the truth of the statements contained in it. The account given in it (pages 29-30) about the meeting between Akbar and Chaitanya is clearly an anachronism.

The story of the visit of Chaitanya Deva to Kâmarupa is also in another manuscript, the ' Santa-nirnaya.' The exact dates of this Krisna Bhârati have not yet been ascertained, but Purushottama Vidyâbâgisa has the name of one Krisna Bhârati in his grammar, the Prayogratnamâlâ (1568 A. D.)

Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts, page 159.

No reference to Sree Chaitanya Deva's visit to Kâmarupa is given in any work describing his life.

(68) Dvija Paramânanda wrote (in Râjasaka 288=1797 A.D.) in the colophon to the Vanaparva : "For conquering by power the wrestler of powerful body the grandson of Bhîma, was known in the world as Mallanarayana. He conquered enemies with his prowess through his own armies and a large number of foreign countries were made his own country (by conquest). Fighting with delight with spirits, he gave up his life in a fight terrible for cowards." Page 3.

his nephew as Pâtkumâr (Yuvarâj), but subsequently a son was born to him named Laksminârâyana. (69)

At the end of the 15th century A. D. owing to the genius of Mahârâja Visvasinha the newly organised Kâmarupa or The quarrel and its results. kingdom of Kâmatâ had recovered its former independence and competed with the neighbouring kingdom of Gauda in power and prosperity; but before the lapse of even a century it had lost its position and its vast body was dissected into parts by family dissensions. The primary cause of the ensuing decline was the appointment of Raghudevanârâyana as Pâtkumâr (Yuvarâja).

(69) Akbarnâma, page 716. The following is in its English translation:—

" At fifty years of age he (Mal Gosain) nominated his brother's son the Patkunwar as his successor. His eldest (sic !) brother Shukl Gosain expressed a wish that he (Mal Gosain) should marry, and the latter out of love to him consented. He had a son to whom he gave the name of Lacsmi Narain. When he died, the kingdom came to him (Lacsmi Narain). "

The Akbarnama, page 1067.

CHAPTER X.

MAHARAJA LAKSMINÂRÂYANA.

Rajâla 78—118; *Sakâbla* 1509—1549; 994—1034 B. S.;

1587—1627 A. D.

Maharaja Naranârâyan died in 1587 A. D., and his son Kumar Laksmînârâyana ascended the throne and struck coins in his own name. The Raikat of Baikuuthapur and the ministers offered Nazar to the king in new coin. At the installation, letters expressing good wishes and conveying presents, were sent to him from different countries, and he duly honoured foreign ambassadors by bestowing suitable presents. He retained the ministers of his father in their respective posts.
Installation.

At the time of the installation, Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbara Saha, the glory of the Mughal dynasty, was emperor of Delhi. His representatives in Gauda, Sâhabâz Khân and Wâzir Khân Herbi, were engaged in subduing the Pâthâns who had revolted (1584-87 A. D.) Sâhabâz Khân defeated the Pâthans of Ghorâghât and drove them to the banks of the Brahmaputra.

Fighting with Mughal soldiers.

It is recorded in the Râjopâkhyâna that Kumâr Aniruddha the Governor of the southern portion of the kingdom of Mahârâj Laksmînârâyan, was killed in a fight with Mughu

soldiers, and his family escaped and came to Panga (in the district of Rungur).⁽¹⁾ Immediately after the installation, Mahârâja

Declaration of independence by Raghudevanârâyana.

Laksmînârâyana's cousin Raghudevanârâyana declared his independence as the king of eastern Kâmarupa and struck coins in his own name, and for this reason hostilities began between him and Laksmînârâyana.⁽²⁾ Raghudevanârâyana was defeated and his royal umbrella seized by the victorious Laksmînârâyana.

Pariksitanârâyana the son of Raghudeva having become devoted to a Sannyâsi, his father was extremely displeased with him and ordered him to leave the Sannyâsi. Ill-feeling between father and son ran so high that Pariksita engaged in a plot to assassinate his father. When this was discovered, Pariksita was imprisoned under the orders of Raghudeva, but he escaped by a strategem and fled to his uncle Maharaja Laksmînârâyana.⁽³⁾

Treaty between Isâ Khan and Raghudeva.

Raghudeva concluded a treaty with Isâ Khan the celebrated Bhaumik of east Bengal and again began to fight with Laksmînârâyana. Finding himself unable to deal with Raghudeva and his new ally, Laksmînârâyana first essayed friendship with the

(1) The Mahomedan historians have not mentioned any fight between the Mughal General Ali Kuli Khân Jâhân Chistani and Aniruddha. If it took place during the early part of the reign, it must have been with Sâhabâj Khan, either for the protection of southern boundary of the kingdom or on account of help offered to the Pâthâns.

(2) Even during the life time of Maharaja Naranârâyana (1583 A. D.) Raghudevanârâyana styled himself as 'Kâmarupesvara' (ruler of Kâmatâ) in the inscription of the temple of Hayagrîva in Hâjo. Three coins of Raghudevanârâyana dated Saka 1510 (1588 A. D.) are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and one coin of the same date is preserved by the Assam Government.

(3) According to another view, Pariksit revolted against his father at the instigation of Mahârâja Laksmînârâyana.

Âhom King. Later he sent a messenger to Râjâ Mânsinha the then Subedar of Bengal informing him in detail of his difficulties,

with the object of enlisting the protection of the Emperor of Delhi.

marched to Anandpur *via* Salimnagar (Serpur in the district of Bogra), Laksmînârâyana having advanced 80 miles to meet him there. Friendship was established between them, and feasts etc. were exchanged.⁽⁴⁾ Gradually this tie became stronger and

Marriage relationship with Mansinha. between Mânsinha the ruler of Amber with Pravâbati Devi the sister of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana (Hijri 1005—1596 A. D.)⁽⁵⁾

There had been long-standing quarrels between the ruler of Kâmatâ and the Raja of Dinajpore regarding the northern part of the present district of Dinajpur. Raja Mânsinha acted as a mediator and inspired a friendly understanding

Friendship between the ruler of Kâmatâ and the Raja of Dinajpur.

between the Raja and the Maharaja, which was symbolised by the exchange of turbans.⁽⁶⁾

(4) Âkbarnâmâ, page 716.

In the report of Commissioners Mercer add Chauvet dated the 10th November, 1788 and in the written statement of Canungoës Laksmînârâyana and Mahendra nârâyana dated the 25th Magh 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.) it is stated that the kingdom of Cooch Behar was independent before 1772 A. D. If these writers meant "completely separate" by the word "independent", their statements are opposed to historical truth; for it is written in the Âkbarnâmâ:—

"One of the occurrences was the sub-mission of Lacsmi Narain. He was the ruler of Kuc (Behar)", Akbarnama, page 1066.

(5) Akbarnâmâ, page 716; Prabasi (a journal) 1321 B. S. Aswin, page 679.

"After some time he (Lacsmi Narain) gave his sister to the Raja". Akbarnama, page 1068. In 1614 A. D. when Râjâ Mânsinha died, Prabhâbati Devi ascended the funeral pyre with him. Prabasi (a journal) 1321 B. S. Aswin page 679, and Agravâhan, page 230. Dular Rawalji of Jaipur State is the descendant of queen Prabhâbati.

(6) In 'Bângâlâr Sâmâjik Itihâs' the name of Prânânâth the celebrated Raja of Dinajpur has been mentioned in this connection (page 147); but this cannot be

But a few months after the departure of Raja Mânsinha from the country, Raghudevanârâyana renewed his attempts against Laksmînârâyana, the officers Another attack by Raghudeva. Fateh Khân, Purandara Laskar, Nitâichandra Nazir, Thakur Panchânanda, Kavîndra Pâtra, Gadâdhar Barua etc. being his advisers. Guided by their advice he attacked a portion of the kingdom of Laksmînârâyana (Bâhâband) and occupied it. Repulsed, Laksmînârâyana sheltered in a fort and sent news to his newly formed relative

Raja Mânsinha. Immediately Fate Help from Fate Khân and Jujhâ Khân. Khân Sur and Jujhâ Khan under orders from Raja Mânsinha arrived with soldiers and completely defeated Raghudeva and drove him back (1597 A. D.).

The policy of Mahârâja Naranârâyana had been sometimes to ally with the Pâthâns and sometimes with the Mughals. When therefore Maharaja Laksmînârâyan sought the protection of the Mughals, the power of Pathans in northern Bengal became somewhat weakened, and it was comparatively easy for Râjâ Mânsinha to subdue them. Under this pressure, the Pâthâns began to withdraw to eastern Bengal and to Orissa, and Mâsum Khân Kâbuli their leader joined up with Isâ Khân of Subarnagrâma (in the district of Dacca). Prior to this, Isâ Khân had concluded a treaty with Raghudeva, and he now took up arms against Laksmînârâyana to help Raghudeva. Thereupon Raja Mânsinha sent his son Durjansinha (or Arjun Battle of Katrâbhu. Sinha) against Isâ Khân (1597 A. D.) In the naval engagement in Katrâbhu (in the district of Dacca) Durjansingha was defeated and killed. Laksmînârâyana extricated himself with difficulty, a large number of

accepted. Râja Prânanâth was the Râjâ of Dinajpur about one hundred years after this (from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of 18th century A. D.).

soldiers being captured.⁽⁷⁾ When Isâ Khân died in 1599 A. D. Marriage relationship and Raghudeva gave his daughter Mangaldai treaty with Âhom king. (Mangala Devi) in marriage to Sung-khâm-fâ the Âhom king and concluded a treaty with him.

Pariksitanârâyana the son of Raghudeva remained under the protection of his uncle Laksmînârâyana for about thirteen years. It is alleged that with the help of Conduct of Pariksita. his Guru the Sannyâsi, he assassinated his father and become king.⁽⁸⁾ Immediately after his installation he killed his brother Indranârâyana by having him throttled by an assassin of Mech tribe,—("Mech lâgâi ghâr mochari mâri"). His other brother Mânsinha escaped in fear of his life to the Âhom king. After this, Pariksita attacked his

Defeat of Laksmînârâyana. uncle Laksmînârâyana who had protected him for so long and looted the Bâhârband portion of his kingdom. Laksmînârâyana was overwhelmed in this battle, but escaped. Twelve of his Kârjis (officers) were

(7) Akbarnâmâ, page 733.

(8) There are different versions of this incident, e. g. Raghudeva was killed by a Daitya (secret assassin) sent by the Sannyâsi while he was returning from a call of nature. According to another, he was killed by snake-bite or by poison administered to him by the mother of his second son (History of Assam, page 64). Raghudeva was a great hoarder of wealth. Thirty millions coins belonging to him were very secretly buried and lest information regarding these coins be divulged, every man connected with the cache was killed. Only one faithful officer employed from his father's time, Gadâdhar Bhândari, was spared. Gadâdhar refused to reveal information of the hidden treasure, though tortured in various ways by Pariksita.

Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 90.

The name of the Minister Gadâdhar recurs in inscriptions in the temples of Hayagrîva and Pândunâtha in Assam inscribed under the orders of Raghudeva.

The difference of opinion regarding the time of death of Raghudeva has not been settled (History of Assam, page 64). It appears that he died about 1603. There are two guns in the possession of the zemindar of Gauripur (Assam) bearing

taken by the enemy. While the king was escaping his "Mâhâdei" (Mahâdevi = Maharani) was with him, and when a Pâthân soldier attempted to seize her, Pariksita prevented insult to his aunt. In the mêlée during the night, a soldier named Rupâvar Dhâli mortally wounded Balinârâyana the brother of Laksminârâyana with a spear without being able to recognise him in the darkness. Afterwards when the man learnt what he had done, he became deeply repentant, and unsheathing his sword gave it to Kumar Balinârâyana and requested him again and again to retaliate. The generous Kumâr Balinârâyana replied in a manner befitting a hero; "What good will result in killing you ? I shall not live any more. Further, you cannot do any act unpleasant to your master whose salt you eat. Again, you have unwillingly killed me. You are not in the least at fault". After uttering these words, he breathed his last.⁽⁹⁾ The victorious Pariksita duly performed the funeral rites of his uncle Kumar Balinârâyana and sent a "bone" to Laksminârâyana. When Laksminârâyana requested Pariksita to release the Kârjis Parikista proposed that in exchange, his father's regal umbrella should be returned. This arrangement was implemented. Apprehending fresh raids from the Mughals, Pariksita sought the help of the Ahom king and concluded a treaty with him.

Raja Mânsinha was the Subadar of Bengal from Hijri 997 (1589 A. D.) to Hijri 1015 (1606 A. D.). Once during this period (1604 A. D.) he resigned his post, and Abdul Mazid

the name of Raghudevanârâyana and the Saka year in which they were constructed. The first was in Saka 1514 (1592 A. D.). Its length is 7 feet 4 inches: The diameter of its breech is 11 inches. The second (having twelve sides) dates from Saka 1519 (1597 A. D.), It is 4 feet 6½ inches long and the diameter of its breech is 5½ inches.

(9) " Tok mârile ki hava ? Sahaje mui jivâr nui. Bises jâr lon khâva târ kâryata thâki akâthâ karibâko pâra ? âru ajnânata mârichhâna, tor eko aparâdha nai. " . It is meet to preserve the last words of the dying prince in letters of gold.

Āsak Khan was appointed in his place. During the last phase of Akbar's life, there was unrest in his capital over the succession to his throne. The emperor died in September 1605 and Soltan Selim ascended the throne taking the name 'Jāhāngir'. The new emperor again appointed Raja Mānasinha as Subadar and sent him to Bengal, but before a year elapsed he was recalled to the Durbar (1606 A. D.) and Kutubuddin Khan was appointed to Bengal. Kutubuddin's short period of rule was concerned with Sher Afgan, and after he was killed in this affair (1607 A. D.) Jahangir Kuli Khan was appointed ruler of Bengal. He also died within a year and Sheikh Ālāuddin Eslam Khan succeeded as Subadar (1608 A. D.). Taking advantage of these changes in the imperial control, some of the Pathan leaders of Bengal and zamindars raised the flag of revolt. Parikṣitanarayan also did not miss the opportunity. He again attacked the Bāhārbānd portion of Kāmatā and occupied it, to the embarrassment of his uncle Laksmīnarayana. In the 'Gurulilā' there are stories of repeated attacks by Parikṣita of the kingdom.

Subadar Eslam Khan destroyed the power of the 'Bāra Bhuiyās' of Bengal. He sent an ambassador to king Laksmīnarayan who sent many presents to and made friendship with the Subadar. Eslam Khan and Laksmīnarayana.

Laksmīnarayan requested the Subadar to attack Parikṣita, and they agreed that when the Subadar invaded the territory of Parikṣita, king Laksmīnārāyana should join him with his army and be given the kingdom of Parikṣita⁽¹⁰⁾.

(10) In the 'Bādsāhanāmā' there is nothing about a promise to make over the kingdom of Parikṣita to Laksmīnārāyana. This arrangement was made only between the Subadar and Laksmīnārāyana, and it may be assumed that there was no understanding with the Bādsāhi Durbar.

At the end of 1612 A. D. the Mughals attacked the kingdom of Pariksita and conquered his well-protected fort at Dhubri.

Defeat of Psriksita. The Bâdsahi army took him in front and Laksmînârâyan at the same time fell on him from the rear. After severe fighting

Pariksita was defeated and surrendered. In July 1613 A. D. the victory was complete, and the Mughal geneal made over Pariksita's domain to Maharaja Laksmînârâyana.⁽¹¹⁾ The Maharaja was deeply moved by the sudden death of Subadar Eslam Khan immediately after the conquest. He was also anxiously concerned as to what kind of man the new Subadar Kâsem Khan would be and how far he would respect the promises made by Eslam Khan. The news of Pariksita's living in style at Dacca increased his apprehensions. At this time Laksmînârâyana was at Khutaghat (in district of Goalpara). Subadar Kâsem Khân with the object of bringing Laksmînârâyana to his own Durber, sent Raghunatha king of Susang to him with a message—"The term of agreement settled between Eslam Khan and Laksmînârâyana will be properly fulfilled. Further, more land will be included with his territory. There was a stipulation that the king would meet the Subadar at the end of the war but this could not be effected as Eslam Khan died suddenly. I (Kâsem Khan) have been appointed in his post. Now it is fit for the king to meet me and settle everything."⁽¹²⁾

(11) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, page 151 Kha.

At this time the kingdom of eastern Kâmarupa extended on the east to the Bharali river and Naogaon (Assam Burunjee manuscript Book VIII, page 41), on the north to Bhutan, on the west to the Sankos and Brahmaputra river, and on the south to the south-eastern border of the present district of Mymensing. The above boundaries are generally supported by accounts given in the Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, Bâdsâhanîma and Fâtehâ-i-Ibriâ.

(12) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, page 151 Kha,

The Maharaja was relieved of anxiety on receiving the message through Raghunatha and decided to proceed to Dacca to meet Kâsem Khân. In the middle

Visit of Laksmînârâyana to
Dacca.

of 1614 A. D. he made arrangements for the government of his country by

his officers and started for Dacca. There were various Mughul officers and after the departure of the Maharaja from Kâmarupa, the Mughul officer Dewan Mir Safi introduced many changes and began oppression. In August 1614 A. D. Maharaja Laksmînârâyana reached Dacca and met Kâsem Khan. At first the Subedar treated him with proper courtesy but on the second day he assumed a different demeanour, ordered the

Laksmînârâyana made captive. Maharaja to be kept in 'Nazarband' (surveillance) and appointed Abdur

Rahman Pattani as his supervisor. He was to be kept under the same kind of surveillance as Musâ Khân the son of Isâ Khân had been kept, under orders of Eslam Khan.⁽¹³⁾ The Maharaja continued to visit the Durbar under these conditions. His dream of the kingdom of Kâmarupa was over, and he could now measure the real meaning of the assurances given by the Subedar through Raja Raghunâtha. Some days after this, he was sent to Agra.

The royal family was overwhelmed with grief when the news reached Kâmatâpur. In various places there was a movement to retaliate for the treachery Retaliation against the Mughals. of the Subedar. Raja Madhusudan the grandson of the uncle of Laksmînarayana openly took

(13) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, page 152 Kha.

"(152 B) Dastan 3. Rajas Laksmî Nârâyan and Parikshit brought to the Viceregal Court and thrown into prison." A New History of Bengal in Jahangir's time, page 6.

In the local Vansâvalis and Assam Burunjees, an account of the visit of Mahârâj Laksmînarayana to Delhi is given, but there is no suggestion of his being under duress.

up arms and conquering Karâibâri (on the south-east of Rangpur) camped there with his army.^(13-a) This was the signal for revolt in many parts of the country especially in east Kâmarupa. In the middle of 1615 A. D. an influential man of Khutâghât named Naba declared himself Raja and entering the kingdom of Kâmatâ began to live in the Jaigir of Raikat Mânikyadeva. At this time Laksmînârâyana's son was managing the Kâmatâ kingdom, and he was requested by General Mirza Sâleh who was pursuing Naba to arrest Naba. Laksmînârâyana was still at Dacca, and Mirza diplomatically reminded the prince about this. Perforce the prince issued strict orders to the Raikat to forward Naba immediately after arresting him. The Raikat did so, and Naba arrived before the prince in a cage. Thereafter the revolt weakened.⁽¹⁴⁾

When Subedar Kâsem Khân was removed from his office, Ibrâhim Khân Fatejang came to Dacca in his place. Ibrâhim requested emperor Jehangir to release both the kings Laksmînârâyana and Pariksitanârâyana. The emperor was displeased with and anxious regarding the unrest in Kâmarupa but he considered the prayer of Ibrahim Khan to be reasonable, and called Maharaja Laksmînârâyana to his Durbar⁽¹⁵⁾.

(13-a) Bâhâristân-i-ghâibi, age p 228 Kha.: It appears that the writer has erred in writing the name of Madhusudan's father as 'Jasketu'. In the colophon of the manuscript of Bhâgvatsâra translated by Raja Ramchandra the great-grand-son of Madhusudan the father of Madhusudan has been given as 'Vyâsketu'. Vyâsketu was the son of Narasinha the uncle of Laksmînârâyana.

(14) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, page 174 Kha.

(15) The Râjopâkhyâna has it that a Pundit named Mukunda Sârbabhauma thought himself insulted by Mahârâja Laksmînârâyana and going to Delhi preferred a complaint before emperor Jahangir against the king. For this reason the Mughal soldiers attacked Cooch Behar under orders of the emperor. The king went to

In the twelfth year of the reign of the emperor (19th Safar Hijri 1027—25th February 1618 A. D.) Maharaja Laksminârâyana met emperor Jahâogir on the banks of Mâhi river about 17th miles from Ahmedabad. At his first interview the

The emperor and Laksminârâyana
king offered five hundred mohurs as nazar to the emperor, and the emperor responded with a proper Khilât and a dagger adorned with pearls and jewels, and later with four rings set with a ruby, an emerald, a sapphire and a karketan (a precious stone of copperish yellow colour) respectively. The emperor also presented the Maharaja with a sharp sword, a rosary of jewels and four pearls for Kundala (ear-rings), and later still, with an elephant, an Irâki and a Turkish horse as Khilât.

The Maharaja was permitted to return to his own country.⁽¹⁵⁾ King Laksminârâyana passed one year at Dacca and three at Agra. The emperor's attempt to establish good feelings between Laksminârâyana and Pariksita was vitiated by the arrogance of Pariksita.⁽¹⁶⁾

Maharaja Laksminârâyana came to Dacca and met the Subedar there. At this time Sheik Kâmâl the conqueror of Kâmarupa and governor of that country considered Laksminârâyana's help essential in controlling the revolt, and he requested Laksminârâyana to help him. The king agreed and Sheik stood surety to the emperor for the king for payment of the one lac of rupees

The work of Laksminârâyana under the emperor.
Delhi with the object of seeing the emperor and in the course of his stay there promised the emperor that Nârâyani coins would be coined at half their size (Narakhanda, Adhyâya V). That these facts are not true, is established by contemporary sources, and the Durrung Vansâvalis.

(16) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, page 234 Kha. Tozak-i-Jâhangiri (Urdu), pages 160, 162 and 166. In the work "Kâmrupar Burunjee" also (page 10) the presenting of one Irâki horse and a sword to Laksminârâyana by the emperor has been recorded. An excellent sword bearing the name of emperor Akbar and the year Hijri 1000 (1591-92 A. D.) is now preserved in the Toshakhâna in the palace at Cooch Behar, but many letters of the inscription on it have become defaced.

(17) Kamrupar Burunjee, page 10.

due as Peskash.⁽⁸⁾ Laksminârâyana and his army proceeded to Hâjo with Sheik Kâmâl, and aided the Mughal generals in cheking the revolt in Kâmarupa. The Mughal army became engaged in battles throughout Kâmarupa, but allied with Raja Madhusudhan, his son Pasupati, Lambodar and Râmasinha the son of Sûrya Gosain, was victorious.⁽⁹⁾ In the "Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi" composed by the Mughal General Shetâb Khan who was present in the campaign, many deeds of valour in the field by Raja Madhusudan and his son Raja Pasupati, are recounted. There is evidence of warm friendship between Shetâb Khân, Sheikh Kâmâl and Satrâjît the Raja of Bhusanâ and Maharâja Laksminârâyana.

Balinârâyana the brother of Pariksita took up arms against the emperor of Delhi; and Pratâpsinha the Âhom king aided him. The Âhom king attempted to Attempt at a treaty with the induce Laksminârâyana to his side, but Âhom king. did not succeed. For his part Laksminârâyana sought to establish amity between the Âhom king and the Mughal power, and was promised by the Mughals that as a reward for this work, he would be given the kingdom of Kâmarupa again. Accordingly in 1620 A. D. he sent his officer

The emperor told Pariksita.—

" Said (the emperor) : you will surely follow the essence of my words. Make obeisance to your youngest uncle. "

" The king said ' He is my own uncle but I do not make obeisance with inimical feeling '. Samudranârâyaner Vansâvali, page 100,

(Laksminârâyana was the youngest uncle of Pariksita)

(18) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, page 234 Kha.

It is written in the Bângâlär Sâmâjik Itihâs (page 125) that peskash of Laksminârâyana was 80,000 Nârâyani coins.

(19) In the Bâhâristân the name of the son of Raja Madhusudan has been given as ' Visnupati ' in some places and ' Pasupati ' in others. Page 265 Kha. In the colophon of the manuscript of Bhâgavatsâra, the name is ' Pasupati '.

Virupâksa Kârji to Assam to conclude a treaty, but the Kârji was imprisoned there and the mission proved abortive.⁽²⁰⁾

Saha Jâhân the son of emperor Jehangir rebelled against his father in 1621, and tried to seize the throne. He was defeated in battle, but escaped. At the end of 1623 A. D. he attacked Bengal and the country came under his rule, Revolt of Sâha Jâhan and Laksmînârâyana.

Ibrahim Khan the Subedar of Bengal being defeated and killed in a battle with him (1624 A. D.). At that time Shetâb Khân was a leading Mughal officer in Kâmarupa and with other officers he associated himself with the victorious prince. From Maldaha Sâha Jâhân conveyed to Maharaja Laksmînârâyana the news of his victory by a Firman and requested him to act under the advice and guidance of Shetab Khan. This Firman was delivered to Laksmînârâyana at Hâjo.⁽²¹⁾ After Sâha Jâhân left Bengal, Maharaja Laksmînârâyana again took the side of the emperor of Delhi and he remained in Hâjo and engaged on the emperor's behalf up to 1626 A. D. He died in 1627 A. D.

Maharaja Laksmînârâyana, was not endowed like his father and grandfather with all the qualities befitting a king.

The character of Laksmînârâyana.

In bodily strength and mental ability he was inferior to his adversaries Raghu-devanârâyana and Pariksitanârâyana.

Unable to meet Pariksita in open battle, he resorted to

In the Bâhâristân we find a reference to Sarbâ Gosâin the uncle of Laksmînârâyana (Page 265 Ka), but among the 18 or 19 sons of Bisvasinha in the Vansâvalis, there is one Sûrya Gosâin. It is inferred that 'Sûrya' has been transformed into 'Sarbâ' by a Persian writer. (There would only be the difference of a Noktâ (point) between the spellings of these two words).

(20) Assam Burunjee, manuscript, Book VIII, page 50; Burunjee from Khunlang and Khunlai, Vol. I, page 539; Rudrasinher Burunjee, page 109.

(21) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, Pages 298 Ka—299 Kha. But in Stewart's History, it has been stated that Sâha Jâhân ruled the Subâ of Bengal from 1622 to 1625 A. D.

subterfuge the consequences of which he had immediately to suffer. The 'Gurulilâ' says that Maharaja Laksminârâyana considered fighting with a relation a great sin, but contemporary history does not support this convenient explanation, (22). According to some

The cause of quarrel with his relatives.

historians, owing to his seeking the protection of the Mughals, his relatives

friends and feudatory chiefs rose against him (23). It has to be remembered however that feuds between relatives had dated from the time of Maharaja Naranârâyana and Raghudeva, and Laksminârâyana was compelled to seek the help of the emperor against Raghudeva (24).

During the reign of Mahârâja Laksminârâyana the Christian missionary Stephen Cacella and his fellow worker John Cabral

Stephen Cacella.

travelled to the kingdom of Kâmatâ.

From Hoogli they went by boat through Dacca and Sripur to Pându within Kâmarupa. In a letter dated the 4th October 1627 A. D. written by Cacella it has been stated that accompanied by Raja Satrâjît of Bhusanâ they met Mahârâja Laksminârâyan (Liquinarane) at Hâjo in September 1626 A. D. The object of their visit was to obtain information regarding the route to Bhutan. Laksminârâyana was then living in his own palace at Hâjo. The three courtyards of that palace were protected by very strong

(22) Dâmodaradeva was a contemporary of Maharaja Laksminârâyana 'Gurulilâ' was composed by Râmrâya a disciple of his disciple.

(23) The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 234.

"This conduct gave offence to his relations and neighbouring princes; they united against him; and compelled him to take refuge in his fort, whence he wrote to the Governor of Bengal (Man Singha) requesting him to send a force to his relief."

The History of Bengal, Section VI.

(24) Akbarnâmâ, page 716.

doors. The two visitors passed through the courtyards one by one, and met Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa in a garden. The king received them with due honour. At that time 'Gābur Sāha' ('Gaburrasa') the son of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was governing Behar ('Biar').⁽²⁵⁾ The king advised

Government by prince
Gābur Sāha.

the missionaries to go first to Behar and thence to proceed to Bhutān

through Rāngāmāti (Runate). They left Hājō on the 8th October with letters of introduction from Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and Satrājīt, and reached Behar on the 21st of that month.⁽²⁶⁾ In those days the town of 'Behar' was situated on the banks

Capital at that time.

of a river; but as the town was being denuded by heavy floods, a new capital was in process of building at 'Colambarim'

on a tributary of this river.⁽²⁷⁾ Some weeks before the coming

(25) Early Jesuit travellers in Central Assia, 1603—1721, pages 126, 127, 131. Stephen Cacella was a Portuguese Jesuit. Letters written by him are preserved in the custody of the executive committee of the order. They were written in the Portuguese language. Mr. C. Wessells collected them in English, and reproduced them in the above work (1924). Stephen Cacella called the prince Gābur Sāha ('Gaburrasa'). Gābur means 'young' and 'Sāha' king, i. e. 'Yuvarāja.' The use of 'Gābur Dewan' and 'Gābur Nazir' in a similar sense is not unknown in Cooch Behar.

(26) "On August 3, 1626, we left Golim (Hugli) and arrived at Dacca on the 12th. We set out again on September 5th and on the 26th of the same month we reached Azo and Pando, where we stayed for a few days with Raja Satargit. From Azo we moved, on October 8, to Biar, which we entered on the 21st." (Page 123).

"Satargit proposed that we should consult Liquinarane, king of Cocho, at Azo, who as ruler of the country knew more of it, and was well acquainted with that people, (Bhutias) who came down into his country by several gates." (Page 125).

(27) It is inferred that owing to the pronunciation peculiar to the Portuguese or through mistake of the copyist, Hugli has become Golim in the letter of Cacella. Similarly Rāngāmāti has become Runate, and Bhutan Bhotānta or Bhotāng is rendered Potente. (Pages 123, 126, 130 and 131). Colambarim also is a corruption of some place-name. Mr. C. Wessels has presumed the modern town of Cooch Behar to be the 'Behar' of that time and Kalabarir Ghāṭ to the south-west of the present capital to be Colambarim. (Page 130). In the Rājopākhyāna (Narakhanda,

of the missionaries to 'Behar', Gâbur Sâha had gone to the new capital, and the missionaries met him there. They were attacked with fever and were compelled to wait in Behar until January 1627 A. D. when there was rain (and snow fell in Bhutan). On the eve of his departure for Potente, Cacella again saw Gâbur Sâha who presented him with a horse and gave a letter of introduction addressed to the Governor of Rângâmâti (Runate). He also gave them a letter addressed to the people of Bhutan. The missionaries started for Bhutan on the 2nd February. ⁽²⁸⁾

A little while after their leaving Behar, Maharaja Laksmînârâyan died. Cacella has written that Laksmînârâyana was the king of the Koch country. Hâjo was its capital and king Laksmînârâyana resided there. The Mughal Nawab

Adhyâya V) it has been recorded that there were 18 houses of 18 sons of Laksmînârâyana in village Âtharakotâ to the north-west of Kalâbâri. In the account given by Cacella, Colambarim was situated on a tributary of the river on which the town of Benar was situated. Whatever the location of the capital 'Behar' at that time, (and as already mentioned) it was situated in the present Kâmatâpur (Gosânimâri). If we accept Gosânimâri as the then capital, we can deduce the situation of Colambarim. In the old papers dated 1783 A. D. of the case (Lokenâth Nandi Plaintiff versus Khagendranarayan Nazir Defendant) preserved in the office of the Collector of Rungpur, it is written that at the beginning of the 18th century the capital of Cooch Behar was transferred from Bârâmkhânâ to its present site. There is a village named Bârâmkhânâ six miles to the north-west of the town of Cooch Behar and there is a bed of a dried-up river near it. This is 15 or 16 miles to the north of Kâmatâpur.

The villages called 'Nagar' within ten miles of the north, west and south of Kâmatâpur were all on the banks of rivers, e. g. 429 Nagar Gopalganj, 438 Nagar Dâkâliganj, 458 Nagar Subhâganj, 467 Nagar Singimari, 465 Nagar Nefra, 492 Nagar Lalbazar, 504 Nagar Sitâi, 527 Nagar Gidâri, Nagar Daikhowâ etc. There are ruins of a Garh on the banks of the river Burâ Dharfa near Nagar Subhâganj.

(28) The letter of Cacella reads that on the 10th April they met Dharmarâj (Droma Rajah) of Bhutan (Potente) in a place named Cambirasi within Bhutan. This Dharmarâja was 33 years old and was a king as a Lâma (Lamba). He was more educated and learned than the eight chief Lamas in his kingdom.

Pages 123, 138.

to whom the king paid tribute also lived in Hâjo. The Mughal Commander-in-Chief Satrâjît was at Pându.⁽²⁹⁾

The Bhutiyâs came to the plains through different Duars (Dvâr, mountain path or pass). These were situated at the borders of the Koch country of Laksminârâyana.⁽³⁰⁾ Cacella has also described the country. The town of Biar "is situated on the river (situada junto a ganga).

Condition of the country. The low buildings, which are very much like those of the other kingdoms of Bengal, are not striking. The town is populous and plentifully provided both with the products of the country and those which come from Patana (Patna), Rajmol (Rajmahal) and Gouru (Gauda). There are many bazaars. Biar is famous for its fruit, (which are better than I have seen in India), and especially for oranges of every kind."⁽³¹⁾

(29) A portion of the letter dated the 4th October 1927 written by Cacella from Cambirasi within Bhutan, runs—

"Azo is the most important town and the capital of the kingdom of Cocho, a large country, very populous and rich. It used to be the dwelling place of Liquinarane, king of Cocho, who is now dead, and the Nababo of Mogor, to whom the country pays tribute, also resides there. We passed the town and arrived at Pando, where lives Satarjit, Rajah of Busna, the Pagan commander-in-chief of Mogor against the Assanes." Page 123.

(30) Among the eighteen Duars (entrances) to the kingdom of Bhutan, five in the west were situated on the border of the then kingdom of Kâmatâ. The other Duars were to its east viz., on the northern border of the kingdom under Pariksita. In the account of Cacella, we do not find reference to two kingdoms but only to a large 'Koch kingdom' full of men and wealth. (Page 123). Rângâmâti (Runate) was at the extreme border of the Koch kingdom towards Bhutan. (Page 130). John Cabral who accompanied Cacella has mentioned only one country viz., the 'Koch country'. (Page 159). The missionaries stayed in the country for four months. The events mentioned in the Bâhâristan viz., the gift of the kingdom occupied by Pariksita to Laksminârâyan and the latter's living in Hâjo, are supported by the missionaries' accounts'.

(31) Page 128.

During the reign of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyana Raghudeva-nārāyana again asserted his independence in eastern Kāmarupa, and Kamalnārāyana (Gohāi Kamal) the uncle of Laksmīnārāyana was practically an independent Governor at Khāspur in Kāchhār. The Āhom king had already declared his independence. Then when Mughul rule was established in Kāmarupa, Laksmīnārāyana's influence in the territory to the east of the Brahmaputra and the Sankos rivers, ceased.

During the reign the tributary chiefs of Dimruā, Kāchhār and Jaintia and the Āhom Rājās were fighting among themselves. Jasomānik the Raja of Jaintia came in vain to Maharaja Laksmīnārāyana for help. Most of the territory conquered by Maharaja Naranārāyana during the struggle between the Mughals and Pathans, passed out of the raj. According to Stephen Cacella, Rāngāmāti (Runate) was at that time at the farthest northern extremity of the kingdom. He wrote in 1627 A. D. that some years before, an uncle of the Koch king went during his travels to Bhutan and was imprisoned there.—It can be presumed from this that during the last part of the reign of Laksmīnārāyana, he had no authority in Bhutan.

The Akbarnāmā says that the kingdom of Maharaja Laksmīnārāyana extended on the east to the Brahmaputra river, on the north to Tibet and the hills of Assam, on the west to Tirkut and on the south to Ghorāghāt. It was four hundred miles in length and from eighty to two hundred miles in breadth.
Extent of the kingdom.

Laksmīnārāyana according to the same authority had 4000 cavalry, two lacs of infantry, seven hundred elephants

and a thousand boats of war. In Stewart's history also this description has been repeated without variation except that the number of infantry has been given as one lac instead of two.

The Dâmodaracharita tells us that during the time of Laksmînârâyana the people ate fowls, ducks and pigs. People of high and low status lived in the kingdom. Brahmin Pundits, officers with the titles Barua, Karmi (Kârji), castes like potters, barbers, washer-men, goldsmiths, and singers, players of musical instruments, actors etc. formed the mixed population of the capital. The Yogini Tantra (Uttara Khanda, Patala IX Verse 16) refers to the diet of the people in Kâmarupa, the flesh of ducks, pigeons, tortoises and boars, and warns those who give up eating these animals, that they will come to grief.—Stephen Cacella remarked the export of male and female slaves to Bhutan.

Mâdhavadeva and Dâmodaradeva the Vaisnava reformers left their native country because of the oppression of the Âhom

Mâdhavadeva and Damodaradeva. king and when they reached the kingdom of Kâmata, Maharaja Lakshmînârâyana received them with favour and offered them shelter. Inspired by the king's encouragement, they wrote many works. It is said that he declared the religion preached by Mâdhavadeva to be the royal religion inimical to the followers of other doctrines.⁽³²⁾ Thus animal sacrifice was prohibited for a time in State worship.

(32) In the colophon of the Nâma-mâlika it is written.—

"Victory to Laksminârâyan who is the foremost of all great kings, whose pure fame has covered the whole of this earth, who full of kindness recently removed all other religions, and punishing the wicked, made all the people take shelter of Hari."

Some have concluded that 'Nârâyan' at the end of the names of the kings was added owing to the influence of Vaisnava religion. (A History of Mughal North-east Frontier Policy, page 23). But this view is unsupportable.

Mâdhavadeva translated the work Nâmamâlikâ at the request of Virupâksa Kârji the minister of the king. A Sanskrit work by Purusottama Gajapati the king of Orissa, had been introduced by Sankaradeva. In Cooch Behar State Library, the manuscripts of the Bhaktiratnâvali, Srîkrisnâ Janmarahasya and Adikânda written by Mâdhavadeva, have been preserved. About this time a metrical translation of the Srimadbhagavadgîtâ was composed by Govinda Misra under the orders of Dâmodaradeva. In Saka 1538 (1616 A. D.) Siddhântabâgisa under the direction of Laksminârâyana compiled the Sivarâtrikaumudi, Mantradiksâ-kaumudi, Sankrântikaumudi, Ekâdasi-kaumudi and Grahan-kaumudi.

While returning from Agra, Maharaja Laksminârâyana discovered the Lolârkakunda in Benares

Lolârkakunda and
Jalpesvar.
and he established a Lolârkesvara Siva there. (33).

Mahârâja Laksminârâyana is reputed to have reintroduced the worship of Jalpesvar Siva which had been discontinued, but as he died suddenly, he could not construct a temple. (34).

In a silver coin dated 1555 A. D. inscribed with the name of Maharaja Naranârâyana he had described himself as "a bee to the lotus feet of Siva" ("Siva-charana-kamala-madhukarasya"), and in the inscription (dated 1565 A. D.) on the doors of the temple of Kâmâkhyâ he styled himself "worshipper of the feet of Kâmâkhyâ" ("Kâmâkhyâ-charanârchaka"). (Every devoted Hindu has a particular deity as his Istadeva or Istadevi).

(33) Vansâvali of Ripunjaya. Lolârka is a celebrated Sungod of India. This old kunda (well) is dedicated in his name. There is a tradition that bathing in the water of the well, cures leprosy.

Later on Maharaja Sibendranârâyan again repaired this well and erected a memorial tablet with an inscription (1250 B. S.).

(34) Vansâvali of Ripunjaya. According to another view Sukladhvaja being so ordered in a dream went with Kumara Laksminârâyana and discovered the Linga of Siva in Jalpesvar and constructed a temple there. Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 63,

Maharaja Laksmînârâyana married Damayanti Debi the grand-daughter of Mâdhavadeva.⁽³⁵⁾ It is written in the

Children of Laksminârâyana. Râjopâkhyâna that of the eighteen sons of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana, Birnârâyana was born of the Mahârâni (queen-consort).

Among the princes, Brajanârâyana, Bhimanârâyana and Mahînârâyana were powerful, and well-known to the people. When the Maharaja went to Delhi, Brajanârâyana and Bhimnârâyana were his companions. They died during the life-time of their father.

The place where the eighteen houses were built for the eighteen sons of the king, is now known as Âثاراکوتâ. Little is known of the daughters of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana. A proposal of marriage was settled between one of them and the Âhom king but this did not materialise as the Maharaja died before the marriage could take place. There is a tradition that another daughter married Yasomânîk the Râjâ of Jaintia.⁽³⁶⁾

In Asar saka 1518 (1596 A. D.) during the reign of Maharaja Laksmînârâyana there was a Earthquake. terrible earthquake, and in the course of the upheaval, hot water, sand, ashes etc., were thrown out from the ground.

(35) Satsampradâyer Kathâ, page 47. Mâdhavadeva was a bachelor, so Damayanti Debi was not his real grand-daughter.

(36) In the Âhom Burunjee (page 94) there is mention of a sister named Sankala (Shaokala) of the Koch king. In 1584 A. D. there was a proposal for her marriage with the Âhom king and gifts were exchanged. The Burunjee does not say whether the marriage was fulfilled.

It is said that Yasomânîk the Jaintia king, at the time of marrying a daughter of Laksminârâyan, imported an image of Kâli into his own kingdom. (History of Assam, page 263). The East India Company occupied the kingdom of Jaintia (1835 A. D.) largely with a view to suppressing the practice of human sacrifice to Jayantesvari Kâli. The goddesses Jayantesvari is one of goddesses of a Pitha among the fifty-one Pittas described in the Tantras. e. g.—

"Visnu threw the left Janghâ (the portion of the leg from the sole to the knee) in Jayantâ. The goddess there is Jayanta and the Bhairava (Siva) is Kramadisvara."

Pithamâlâ as described by Bhâratchandra.

MAHARAJA BIRNARAYANA.

*Râjsaka 118—123; Saka 1549—1554; 1034—1039 B. S.;
1627—1632 A. D.*

Immediately after the death of his father, Kumâra Bîrnârâyana ascended the throne and at his installation, the Raikat held the royal umbrella over his head. Reference has been made to a marriage which was settled between a sister of Mahârâja Bîrnârâyan and the Âhom king. In August or September 1632 A. D. the Âhom king sent a messenger with various presents to Maharaja Bîrnârâyana to take away the betrothed princess, but the new Maharaja was not prepared to give his sister in marriage to the Âhom king. Virupâksa Karji seized the opportunity to gain favour with the Âhom king and married his own daughter Laksmitriyâ to the king, and his grand-daughter Hemaprabhâ to the son of the king. The Mughal officers Abdus Sâlâm and Satrâjît were associated with these marriage festivities, and offered presents. ⁽³⁷⁾

Maharaja Birnârâyana died about 1632 A. D. He was a great patron of learning and established schools in various parts of his kingdom. Facilities for the education of the princes and the sons of Brahmins and officers were made available, and he himself supervised this development.

Encouragement of learning by the king.

Under his orders a Brahmin named Kavisekhar composed the work "Kirâtparva" a manuscript of which is still preserved in the State Library in Cooch Behar. Maharaj Birnârâyan established the image of Chaturbhuj in village Bheladangar near Cooch Behar.

⁽³⁷⁾ Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai Vol. I, pages 548-550.

During the reign the missionary Stephen Cacella returned (1629 A. D.) to Kāmatāpura from Stephen Cacella. Bhutan and in September of that year again went to Bhutan accompanied by a fellow-worker Manual Diaz.

It is written in the Rājopākhyāna that the capital was removed by Maharaja Birnārāyana to Ātharakotā. A Mandal presented him with a beautiful palace and he sometimes resided in this Ātharakotā and Mandalābās. 'Mandalābās'. He had many queens and he passed much of his time in the inner apartments. In consequence perhaps he has been described in the Rājopākhyāna as a sensual king.—During his life-time he nominated Kumar Prānnārāyana as his heir.⁽³⁸⁾

MAHARAJA PRANNARAYANA.

*Rājsaka 123 - 156; Sakabda 1554 - 1587;
1039-1072 B. S. 1632 - 1665 A. D.*

After the death of his father, Kumar Prānnārāyana was duly installed as king. During the ceremony, the Raikat held the umbrella over the head of the king and presented him with nazar. Seals and new coins were prepared bearing the name of the new Mahārāja⁽³⁹⁾ and the funeral rites of the late king were performed according to family custom under the new ruler's direction.

(38) Thus in the Adiparva written by a contemporary author Sreenāth Brahman.—

Birnarayan Deva is like the Udaygiri (the hill from which the sun rises). Prānnarayana Deva made his appearance from him." Page 113.

(39) One Amalnama dated Rājsaka 137 bearing a seal with the name of Maharaja Prānnārāyana on it, is preserved among the old papers of the State Council, Cooch Behar.

The Rājopākhyāna records that during the reign of Mahāraja Prānnārāyana there was no external or internal unrest in his kingdom ; but it is proved from the Burunjees of Assam, histories written in Persian, and other contemporary

Unrest.

manuscripts that the reign was marked by various forms of disturbance owing to attacks from outside and the enmity of relatives. Soltan Muhammad Suja the then Subedar of Bengal revised the settlement papers of Raja Tcdarmal. The 'Sarkar Kochbihar' was divided into 246 Pergannas and 'Sarkar Bângâlbhum' into 2 Pergannas (Bâhârband and Bhitarband), and these territories were considered as within the Mughal empire.

After Pariksitanârâyana, his brother Balinârâyana was repeatedly unsuccessful in his efforts to recover the lost dominion of his father with the help of the Âhom king. He died in 1638 A. D. Chandra-

Chandranârâyana.

nârâyana the son of Pariksita at first acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor but after some time he renewed attempts to regain his father's kingdom. About this time the king of Âhom sent an officer named Ratnakandali to Cooch Behar to request Maharaja Prânnârâyana to join in a proposal whereby the kingdom of Kâmarupa would be partitioned between Cooch Behar and the Âhom raj after driving out the Mahomedans. Maharaja Prânnârâyana however, after consulting with his minister Ramchandra Karji, rejected the proposal. Then Satrâjît the Thânâdâr of Pându engaged in various plots against the emperor, and when Subedar

The "Prânnârâyana Bhup" seal is written in Devanâgari character. The seal on a deed of gift dated 135 Bâjsaka is different. It cannot be ascertained whether there was any writing inscribed on it. But it is inferred that this was the famous 'Sinha Châp' seal. The deed of gift referred to was written in the Sanskrit language and in Bengali (Tirhutâ or Maithili) characters as used in manuscripts.

Eslam Khan was informed, he sent a large army and war-boats under the command of his brother Mir Jayenuddin and Muhammad Jâmâl the Fouzdar of Srihatta against Chandranârâyan and the Âhom king. (40)

Maharaja Prânnârâyan joined the army of the emperor in the Assam campaign. He pushed up to the Brahmaputra and established his camp at the mouth of the Bharli (to the east of Tezpur) but defeated in an engagement with the

Expedition to Assam.

enemy, was forced to return to Gauhati (1638 A. D.). After the war had terminated, Maharaja Prânnârâyan hoped to establish friendly relations with the Âhom king and sent Gokulchandra with a 'Kolpatra' (private letter) to Assam. The Ahom king replied in an "ordinary" letter sent through his messenger Bhabânanda. As this behaviour of the Âhoma king was regarded as disrespectful, his messenger was repudiated in the Durbar at Cooch Behar. Even after this,

Ill-feeling with the Âhom King.

an attempt was made to remove misunderstanding through the mediation of Banamâli Gosâi of Madhupur Dhâm (within the kingdom of Cooch Behar) but this proved fruitless, and the royal messenger of Cooch Behar was openly insulted in the Court of the Âhom king.

Nor did the friendship established through Maharaja Mânsinha between Maharaja Laksminârâyan and the then

(40) According to the view of some later historians the Mughal army, after repelling Ahoms, occupied the kingdom of Cooch Behar in 1638 A. D., but owing to lack of supplies, they were forced to retire on Dacca. (Riaz-us-sâlâtîn, Bengali Translation, page 195; History of Bengal, page 278). This account is not found in any Burunjee of Assam. On the other hand, Maharaja Prânnârâyan has been assumed the ally of Mir Jayenuddin. Even before this incident Prânnârâyan assisted Mir Jayenuddin against Chandranârâyan. In the Sâhajâhânamâ, there is a detailed description of the conquest of Koch Hâjo (Kâmarupa or lower Assam) but there is no mention of conquering the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

Raja of Dinajpur, endure. Cooch Behar forces attacked the kingdom of Dinajpur from time to time and looted the people there. Sukdeva the then Rājā of Dinajpur saved himself by escape.

In 1657 A. D. the old emperor Sāhjāhān fell seriously ill and sharp conflict broke out between his sons regarding the succession to the throne of the empire:

The condition of the Durbar of Delhi. As a result, India from Bengal to

Afganisthan and from Guzrat to Daksinā-path, was practically without a sovereign ruler. Sâhajâdâ Soltân Muhammad Suja the second son of the emperor who was the then Subedar of Bengal moved towards the capital, but enroute he suffered complete defeat. During this revolutionary period Bengal was without protection for more than three years. When Mir Lotfulla as Mughal Fouzdar of Kâmarupa (Koch Hâjo) demanded the Bâdsâhi peskash or tribute from Prânnârâyana, the king not only refused but drove away the messenger with insult. Durlabh the son of one Uttama was the Governor of Kâmarupa under the Fouzdar, and Prânnârâyana was displeased with him for adding the suffix 'Nârâyana' to his name in imitation of the descendants of Maharaja Visvasinha. A messenger was therefore dispatched to Durlabh ordering him to expel the Musalmans. Durlabh however refused to act against the emperor. Therefore Maharaja Prânnârâyana sent

Attacking the Mughal kingdom. his minister Bhabanath Karji with an army to attack the country under Durlabh and to occupy it.

Durlabh and Hari-narayan took shelter in the Âhom kingdom. Thus the greater portion of Kâmarupa (Koch Hâjo) again fell to the ruler of Cooch Behar without much effort. When the Fouzdar Mir Lotfulla requested the Maharaja to evacuate the territory of the emperor, the Maharaja ignored the demand. In retaliation for this insult the son of the Fouzdar marched against

the Maharaja, but the Mughal army was defeated and the Fouzdar himself was forced to retire on the fort of Gauhati, and later, on account of threatening Âhom forces, to escape towards Dacca (1658 A. D.).

The Ahom king made Durlabhnârâyana the Governer of a portion of the division of Beltala, and when Cooch Behar Maharaja requested the Âhom king to surrender Durlabh to him the Âhom king refused. Some time after this Bhabanath the minister of the king of Cooch Behar occupied Hâjo. Maharaja Prânnârâyana sent an envoy named Chakrapâni Khândâdharâ to the Âhom king with a proposal that the territory to the north of the Brahmaputra (Uttarkûla) should be under him and that to the south (Daksinakûla) should be taken to be within the Âhom raj. The Âhom king openly rebuffed Chakrapâni, and the Âhom soldiers entered Kâmarupa under the Mughals.

In 1659 A. D. there was a battle lasting for a week between Bara Fukan the Âhom General and Bhabanâth Kârji. Bhobla

Battles with the Âhom King. Barua and two other Âhom generals being killed, the Âhoms took refuge in a fort. When their reinforcements arrived,

the struggle was renewed and Aniruddha the son of Bhabanath was killed. At last the army of Cooch Behar lost ground and retired towards Vijaypur. The Âhom soldiers pursued to the banks of the Manâs river and captured some cannon, guns and horses. Bhabanath Kârji returned to Cooch Behar with Bara Dewânia, Chandranârâyana and Sri Ramkumar remaining at Châpâguri.

Meanwhile Jainârâyana the son of Chandranârâyana and grandson of Pariksitânârâyana returned from Bengal to Kâmarupa and sought the protection of the Âhom king. The king gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and bestowed

the kingdom of Kâmarupa upon him with Ghilâvijaypur as his capital. Jainârâyana endeavoured to settle the quarrel between the Âhom raj and the Cooch Behar, but was unsuccessful. His mediation led to his being insulted by Bara Fukan the Commander-in-Cheif of the Âhom army, and he was compelled to escape leaving Ghilâvijaypur in the possession of Âhom soldiers (1659 A. D.).

Bhabanath and Bara Dewânia raised a new army and launched another expedition with fresh vigour. They attacked the Ahom army on the banks of the

The escape of the Fouzdar. Manâs river. Maharâja Prânnârâyana himself reached Dhubri at the same time

with his army. The brother of the Fouzdar had come to Dhubri but fled when he learnt of the advance of the Cooch Behar army. There was a fierce battle in Dhubri between the Âhom and Cooch Behar armies. The Âhoms were victorious and captured a large number of Cooch Behar arms and war-boats, but they were unable to follow up their success as cattle-disease broke out in their army and their main body was forced to evacuate Dhubri. The Âhoms retained part of the army in Dhubri and established a Thânâ on the banks of the Manâs river. Badli Fukan, Jagat, Uttam Rai, Durlabhnârâyana and others proceeded to Vijaypur. Mahidhvajanârâyana the son of Dharma was sent to rule Vijaypur, but finding himself unable to reach that place, he returned to Durrung.

Though baffled in the Assam war, Maharaja Prânnârâyana was not daunted. He attacked Ghorâ-
Conquest of Dacca. ghât (on the east of the district of Dinajpur) one of the centres of Mughal power, and conquered Dacca the capital of Bengal (1661 A. D.).

By this time the victorious Aurungzeb sat on the imperial throne. The master of the Mughal empire assumed the name 'Alamgir Bâdsâh'. His newly appointed Subedar, Mohammad Mir Jumla Nabab Moazzam Khan Khân Khânân, reached

Mir Jumla and the conquest
of Cooch Behar.

Dacca and immediately invaded Cooch Behar. The king had to leave his capital and take shelter in a hilly place and his capital fell without resistance into the hands of the Nabab (1661 A. D.). Afterwards, when the victorious Mir Jumla Moazzam Khan marched eastwards from Cooch Behar with the object of conquering Assam, the king easily drove out the Musalmans and regained his kingdom.

Of all the invasions of Cooch Behar by Musalman soldiers, this was the most important, and caused the greatest damage to the country. The Râjopâkhyâna is silent about it. A detailed account has been recorded in the Târikh-i-Âsâm or Fatehâ-i-Ibriâ composed during the invasion of Mir Jumla Moazzam Khan, and in the Alamgirnâmâ which describes the life and rule of the emperor Aurangzeb. In the Gurulilâ, covering the life of Dâmodardeva and composed about the same time, and also in almost all the Burunjees of Assam, an account has been given.

Nabab Sâyestâ Khan Amir Ul Omra the Subedar who succeed Mir Jumla reached Rajmahal in March 1664 A. D. and

Sâyestâ Khan. when he expressed his determination to conquer Cooch Behar, Maharaja Prân-nârâyana sent a proposal to the Nabab

admitting fealty and offering 5½ lacs of coin as guarantee preserving the safety of the kingdom. The Nabab accepted these terms and as soon as the indemnity reached him, removed the Bâdsahi army from the borders of the kingdom. The

"tribute" reached the Durbar of the emperor on the 6th December 1665 A. D. (41)

In the manuscripts of old Assam Burunjee it is found that before the time of Maharaja Prânnârâyana a treaty had been concluded between the Âhom king and Previous relations with the Ahom king.

Cooch Behar received the kingdoms of Durrung and Beltalâ, in token whereof he used to present elephants to the Âhom king. There were attempts on behalf of the emperor of Delhi to catch wild elephant in these two areas, but the king of Cooch Behar did not agree. Afterwards, when the kingdom of Kâmarupa was conquered by the army of the emperor, the Mughal officers began to catch elephant there. The then Âhom king was informed of this by the persons acting on behalf of Cooch Behar but he advised them to keep silent, advice which the king of Cooch Behar did not accept. His opposition to the Musalmans in the matter, proved ineffective.

Maharaja Prânnârâyana again sent Râmcharan as an ambassador to the Âhom king to recall these facts, and to promote amity.

Chakradhvaj Sinha, the Ahom king was not aware of all the previous incidents and when he was apprised of them in detail, agreed to consider the proposal of Ramcharan and said,—“We have fought with the Musalmans for a long time but you have done nothing. By the grace of God a chance has come to regain our kingdom. When the Musalmans defeated you, we sent messengers to you but you did not pay any heed to our words. Now you are left alone. We also had left the country

(41) History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 218. Probably this indemnity or guarantee was changed into 'tribute' by the historians of the Mughal Durbar.

owing to attacks by the enemy. I wish to see Prānnârâyan established in his kingdom." Ramcharan, much gratified by these words, returned to Cooch Behar and the Âhom king sent Gopalcharan with him with instructions.⁽⁴²⁾

Maharaja Prānnârâyan died in 1665 A. D. The Râjopâkhyâna reports that when the king fell ill, a false rumour of his death was circulated and reached Kumar Mahinârâyan, another son of Maharaja Laksminârâyan, who came to

Death of the king.
Cooch Behar and killed the ministers Kaviratna and Kavibhusan. The sick king called Mahinârâyan to the inner apartments and severely reprimanded him for this act. On the third day the king died, and the four sons of Mahinârâyan, Jagatnârâyan, Darpanârâyan, Yajnanârâyan and Chandranârâyan, began to fight each other for the throne. Mahinârâyan provided the solution by placing Kumar Modnârâyan the second son of the late king on the gadi, and he himself held the umbrella at the installation.

There were three sons of Maharaja Prânnârâyan, Visnunârâyan, Modnârâyan and Vasudevnârâyan.⁽⁴³⁾ Visnunârâyan believed in the Mahomedan religion. For this reason, his father was displeased with him and kept him imprisoned. During the attack on and conquest of the capital of Cooch Behar by

(42) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Book III, pages 10, 15-16.

It appears that this was in April 1664 A. D. There was friendship between Maharaja Chakradhvaj Sinha and the king of Cooch Behar. History of Aurungzeb, Vol. III, page 211.

(43) The Râjopâkhyâna gives Visnunârâyan as the eldest son, but he died during the lifetime of his father (Narakhanda, Adhyâya VII). In the genealogical table printed in the report of Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, Visnunârâyan has been accounted the second son. In the manuscripts of the 'Sangitsankar' also Visnunârâyan has been mentioned as the second son (page 9). Later Mahendranârâyan the grandson of Visnunârâyan became king of Cooch Behar.

Nabab Mir Jumlâ, Visnunârâyan escaped, sought the protection of the Nabab and was formally converted to Mahomedanism.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Râpamati Devi the sister of Maharaja Prânnârâyan married the Ksatriya king Pratâpmalla of the Malla dynasty of Nepal.

Râpamati Devi. A record of this is preserved in an inscription (dated 1649 A. D.) on a stone

in a temple of Visnu on the west of the courtyard of the palace in Katmandu. It is learnt therefrom that princess Râpamati Devi was the queen-consort of king Pratâpmalla. Râjamati, the daughter of the king of Karnâta was another favourite queen. In Nepal Samvat 785 queen Râpamati herself consecrated a temple of Ugratârâ in Anantapur. An inscription about this is still extant.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Maharaja Prannârâyan had great personality. To Târikh-i-Âsâm a contemporary work, appraised his public conduct as

Character of the king. befitting a highly-placed person, but observed that he was addicted to pleasure and spent money immoderately. He was

always engaged in drinking and listening to the songs and watching the dances of beautiful women, and so it was that he

(44) Alamgirnâmâ, page 680; Târikh-i-Asâm. Introduction page 13.

Mr. Stewart has written that Visnunârâyan, ambitious to become king, tried to deliver his father to the enemy (page 326); but we have no proof to support this statement.

(45) Some of the verses from the inscription in the temple of Visnu in Nepal which are of importance in this connection have been received through the courtesy of the Nepal Durbar and the British Ambassador of that place, and a translation is given below:—

"There is the city of Bihar the best of all capitals, full of gold and containing big elephants and beautiful women, like Amarâvati (the heavenly city). It was greater than the Kamalâ of Visnu. (It was the capital) of Naranârâyan who conquered all enemies and was like Indra. 6.

From him (was born) Laksmînarâyan and from him Viranârâyan. Râpamati was his Viranârâyan's daughter and Prânnârâyan his son. 7.

paid little attention to administrative duties.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Nevertheless the Rājopākhyāna says that in six seasons, the king looked after his administration for five, passing the Spring season in pleasures in a garden among beautiful women.⁽⁴⁷⁾

This chaste Rūpamati full of virtues, having golden hue with a mind directed to everything good, walked like an elephant in rut and was the veritable Rukmini beloved by and the wife dear as his own soul of king Sree Pratāpa (who was the seat of all good qualities), dear as the daughter of the ocean (Lakṣmī) to the protector of the world (Visnu). 8.

Rājamati who came from Karnāta country, who is full of frolics, whose breasts are like golden pitchers, who is the abode of love, who is adorned with ornaments of gold, whose waist is that of a lion, whose body is exceedingly beautiful, who was versed in all arts was the wife enjoyed by king Pratāpa like the wife of Visnu. 9.

* * * * *

On Thursday, in Harshana Yoga, in the constellation of Anurādhā, in Sukla Sasthi Tithi in Falgun in Samvat 769 (1649 A. D.).

On an auspicious Friday on which there was Siva Yoga and the constellation Chitrā, in Suklapaksa in Asar Nepal Sambat 785, the queen to remove all sin established Ugratārā in beautiful Anantapura, gladdening the eyes of the people. 1.

She who is the beautiful wife of king Pratāpa and a fit consort for him, who is the charming and incomparable daughter of the king of Bengal who has defeated powerful enemies, who is known as Anantapriyā, who for her beauty, virtue and lineage is known to the three worlds, established this temple beloved by Gods and human beings in an auspicious moment. 2."

This temple of Ugratārā was constructed in 1665 A. D. In the second verse quoted above, queen Rūpamati has been mentioned as the daughter of the king of Bengal. Did the court poet of Nepal mean Birnārāyan the father of Maharaja Prānnārāyan (the brother of Rūpamati) who conquered Dacca in 1661 A. D.

The Malla dynasty of kings of Nepal is accredited with having sprung from Ramchandra of the solar dynasty. History of Nepal, page 218. Pratāpmalla the king of Nepal ruled from 1689 to 1689 A. D. Jayprakāsamalla the last king of the Malla dynasty was defeated in 1768 A. D. by Raja Prithvīnārāyan Sāha of the Gorkhā dynasty.

(46) Tārikh-i-Āsām, Introduction, page 14. In the Tārikh-i-Āsām the same name of the king has been rendered 'Pem-narayan.' In some works we find the name 'Bim-nārāyan. It may be that in the hands of a Persian writer, 'Prān' has been transformed into 'Pem' or 'Bim.' History of Aurangazeb, Vol. III, page 175.

Wine is prohibited by the Mahomedan religion. It is not prohibited according to the Hindu Śāstras to Kṣatriya kings. History bears evidence that this king did not neglect his duties.

(47) In modern times, rulers of all countries take leave of their administrative work at times and for periods determined according to their pleasure, and engage in shooting or

The seed of education sown in the kingdom by Maharaja Birnarayan was cared for by Maharaja Prānnārāyan, and gradually it grew into a tree yielding good fruit. The royal court was adorned with Pandit Sabhā.

Pandit Sabhā. All officers and courtiers of the king spoke in Sanskrit and there was a royal Pandit Sabhā known as the 'Pancharatna' (five jewels i. e. five learned men). It is said that under orders of Maharaja Prānnārāyan, Kaviratana wrote a Sanskrit history of the royal dynasty, entitled "Rajakhandam." Under the same inspiration, Srinath Brahmin translated the Mahābhārata in verse and composed a Kāvya entitled 'Draupdīr Svayamvara.' An incomplete manuscript of a Kāvya entitled 'Visvasinha Charitam' in Sanskrit by Srināth, has been discovered. The manuscripts of Ādiparva, Dronaparva and Draupadīr Svayamvara are preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library. Dvija Rāmesvara composed a metrical version of the Mahābhārata and his son Krisna Misra wrote Prahlād Charita. Virāt Parva and Karna Parva (of the Mahabharata) were translated by the poet Visārada. Rām Rāy the author of the Gurulīlā depicting the life of Dāmodara, was also alive at this time. He lived at 'Rām Rāyer Kot.'

Maharaj Prānnārāyan was well-versed in Sanskrit grammar and literature. He was proficient in the Smritis. He also acquired skill in composing poems, and in singing and playing musical instruments.

The king's erudition and knowledge of the arts. In a treatise on music composed by him the reader derives a good knowledge of Rāgs and Rāginis,

travel. This was not done by the Hindu kings of ancient India. In those good old days certain months (from Bāsanti Panchami to Madan Chaturdasi) in the spring season were appointed for the enjoyment of king as well as his subjects, and every one took leave of his duties during this Spring festival. It is possible that Maharaja Prānnārāyan re-introduced this old practice.

Tâla-Mâna etc.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Charmed by the royal erudition, Jagannath a Pundit of Mabârâstra, wrote a Kâvya entitled 'Prânâbharanam.' Under the Maharaja's request, Jaykrisna Bhattacharya wrote a commentary on Prayogratnamâlâ grammar known as the 'Prabhâprakâsika.'⁽⁴⁹⁾

Banamâli Gosâi of Madhupur was the Guru of Maharaj Prânnârâyan. Jayadhvaj Sinha the Âhom king also invited Banamâli Gosâi. this Gosain to his kingdom and took 'Saran' from him (i.e. became his disciple).⁽⁵⁰⁾ Maharaj Prânnârâyan performed the ceremony of Tulâpurusha Dâna (weighing himself against coins or gold, silver etc, and distributing these among the poor) on the banks of the Ganges with great ceremony.⁽⁵¹⁾

(48) Srinath Brâhmin has written regarding Maharaja Prânnârâyan.—

"The Maharaja is the preceptor of Kâvya and music. He is the Kalpataru (the tree fulfilling all desires) to all poor people." (Âdiparva, page 12). "He rains the nectar of poetry at all times. He is well-versed in all the arts" (ibid, page 112). "He has composed a treatise of music in a beautiful manner. He encourages all learned men and removes the apprehensions of all people who seek his protection." (Dronaparva, page 14).

(49) Jaykrisna Bhattacharya has written at the beginning of this commentary :—

"Let that king Sri Prân-nârâyan whose body is purified by grains of dust from the lotus feet of Sri Govinda, be victorious. 3.

Sri Sri Prâna-deva the greatest of kings whose imagination gives birth to poetry which dropping in delight makes honey inferior in sweetness, whose learning is a reproach to the lord of words (Brihaspati), who is endowed with incomparable qualities, who has acquired all knowledge like an Âmalaka held in hand, and shines like Kâma. 4.

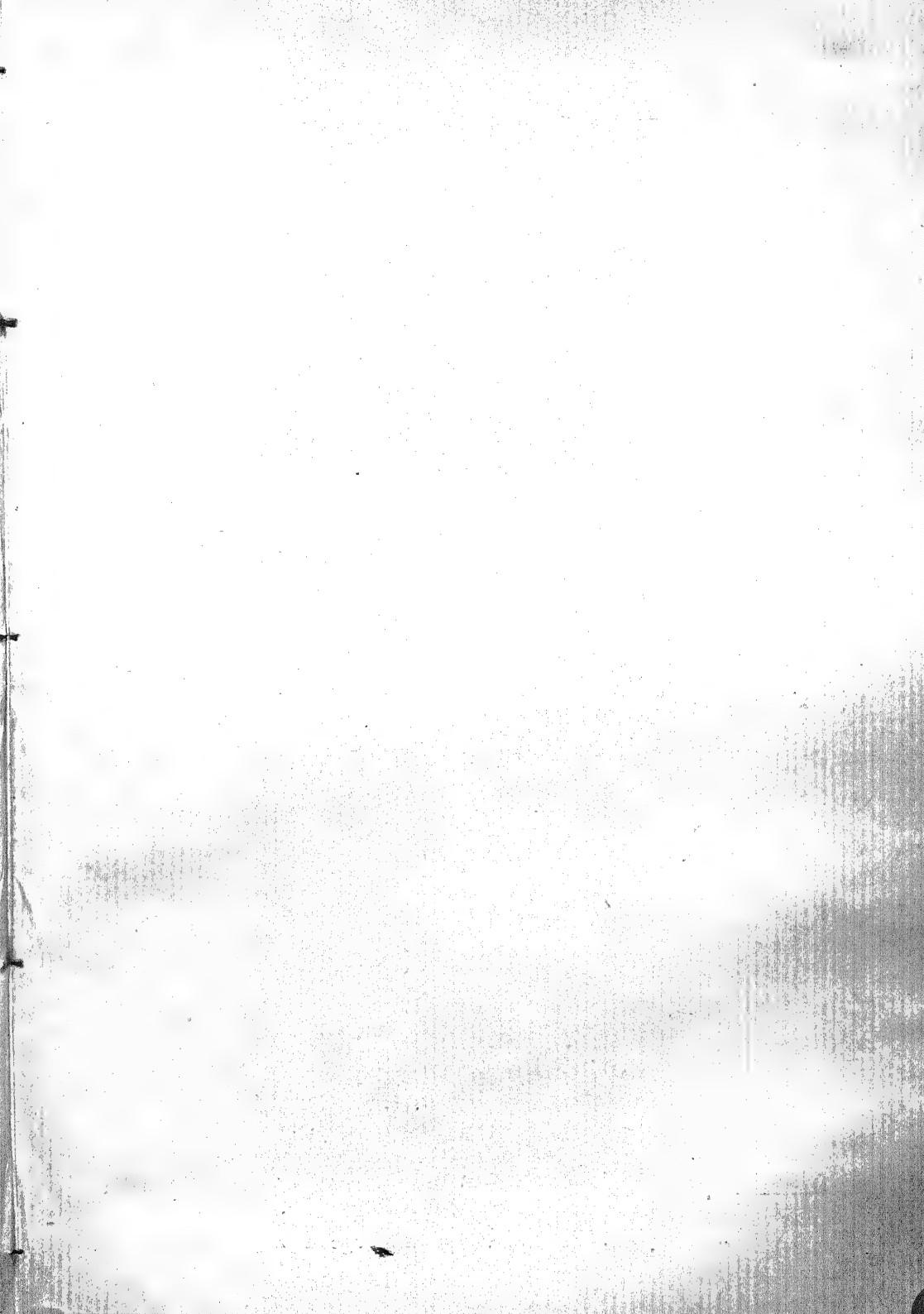
Under the pleasant orders of this king who is like a Kalpataru (wishing tree) to all men possessed of virtues, and who is the ocean of fortitude, beauty, power, gift and pure fame; 5.

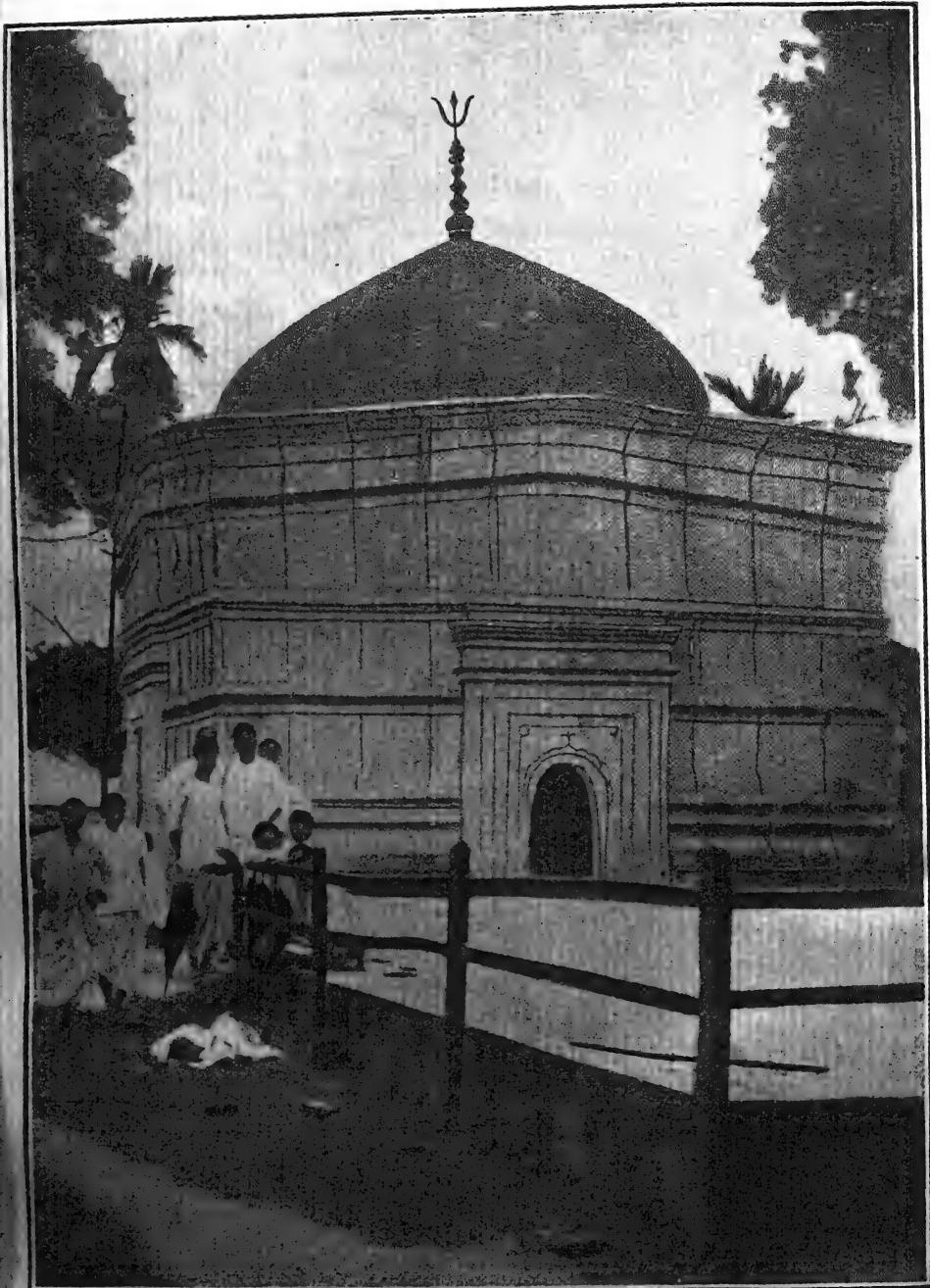
Jaykrisna is expounding Ratnamâlâ for the understanding of boys, leaving aside great controversial matters. 6."

(50) Sree Sree Vanamâli Deva Charitra, pages 52, 59.

(51) "Receiving wealth from whose gifts at Tulâpurusa, the wives of the poor wore golden bracelets."

Drona-Parva translated by Srinath, page 1.





The Temple of Baneswar. To face Page 205

Once, during an eclipse of the moon he granted some land as Brahmottar to a Brahmin, a Bhattachârya, named Siromani. The deed of gift is written mainly in Sanskrit and is still preserved in the State Mahafezkhânâ. A copy is reproduced in this work.⁽⁵²⁾ It could not be correctly deciphered as it was written in the style of ordinary clerks and mohurirs in old Maithili and Assamese characters.

Maharaja Prânnârâyan granted lands for the worship of the image Bodesvari, (established in Bhitargarh in the district of Jalpaiguri). He constructed or repaired the temples of Sivas Sandesvar and Banesvar. He established the images of Chaturbhuj in Madhupur, Madanmohan in Srîrâmpur, Chaturbhuj in Kâgajkuta, Banamâli in Banamâlipur and

(5) See Appendix for the original. This important deed of gift is preserved in Settlement File No. 823 in the Malcutchery Mahafezkhana of Cooch Behar.

SINHACHÂP.

(Signature written hurriedly, and illegible).

SRI VISNAVE &

KING PRÂNNÂRÂYAN &

"Om, Svasti. Sree Sree Prânnârâyan, the Indra of the world, the ruler of Kâmaîa whose fame has risen like the moon from the churning of ocean of his enemies, by his arms like the Mandara hill.

This is the order to Sri Narahari Bhândâr Thâkur, Sri Râmkrishna, and Sri Ramânâth Mazumdar. During the eclipse of the moon, one village is bestowed in gift by my own hand Sree Ma..... To this Bhattacharya named Siromani, the king gives this..... Brahmottara..... This village is to be given by you and persons in charge of the Daftâr..... No one should ever realise (taxes like)..... He should enjoy without any fear the fishery rights..... etc. The kings who will be born of my family will eat cow and pigs if this village given in Brahmottar is taken away.

The situation of the village. Fifteen Bishes will be given in Ghughumari in Behar concerning Raghu Kârji and one Bish will be given in front of the house of Kansa in the waste domestic land of the Kaltas (a caste of Assam). And one village is given, 16th Falgun 135."

On the other side of the deed 'Of Sri Kavi Karnapur Khâsnis.'

Madangopâl in Dâmodarpur. It is said that some images were discovered when the tank at Banesvar was excavated. The present temple of Kâmatesvarî Gosâni in Kâmatâpur (Gosânimâri) was constructed by him in Saka 1587 (1665 A.D.) and the inscription on its door bears testimony to his fame.⁽⁵³⁾ He also made large grants of land for the worship of Kâmatesvarî. He brought masons from Delhi and began the construction of the temple of Jalpesvara (in the district of Jalpaiguri) but was unable to finish that work.

Maharaja Prânnârâyan constructed roads and bridges in various parts of his kingdom. There was much improvement

Other works. in arts and crafts during his reign. The historian Sihâbuddin Mohammad Tâlis

who was the companion of Nabab Mir Jumla and an eye-witness, has written.—“The capital Kochbihar is adorned with beautiful houses and gardens in the Bâdsâhi style. In different parts of the palace

The capital. there are harems, reading-rooms, bathing-places, solitary places and fountains. The roads and streets of the capitals are straight and both sides of them are adorned with planted rows of Nagesvar and Kâchnâ

(53) The inscription of the door of the temple of Kâmatesvarî.

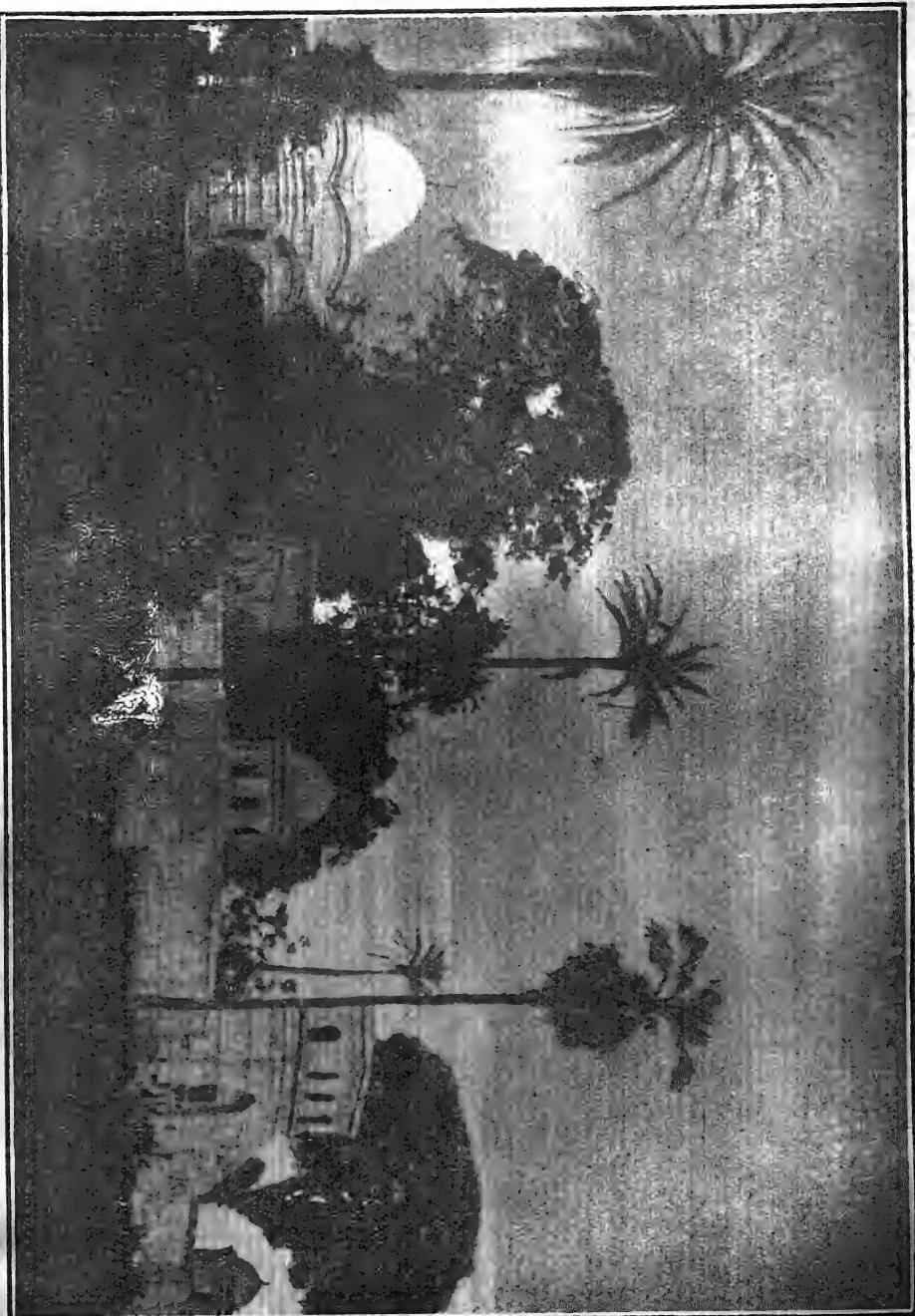
“Om, Salutation to Ganesa.

This beautiful temple of Bhabâñi is constructed by the worshipper Sri Kavimandala in Saka 1 87 under orders of king Sri Prâna whose arms have alone conquered the enemies, who is resplendent like the sun in prowess and in punishing (the wicked) and whose dominion has extended easily like the velocity of a playing ball.

1587”.

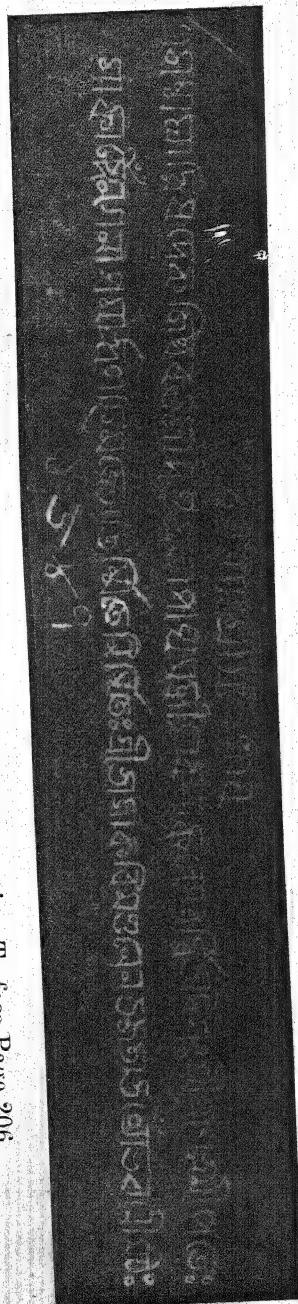
It is written in the Râjopâkhyâna regarding Maharaj Prân-nârâyan :—

“(He) made excellent the temple and walls etc. in Gosanîmâri and constructed the temple of Banesvar and Sandesvar and constructed roads and bridges in different places.” Narakchanda, Adhaya 7.

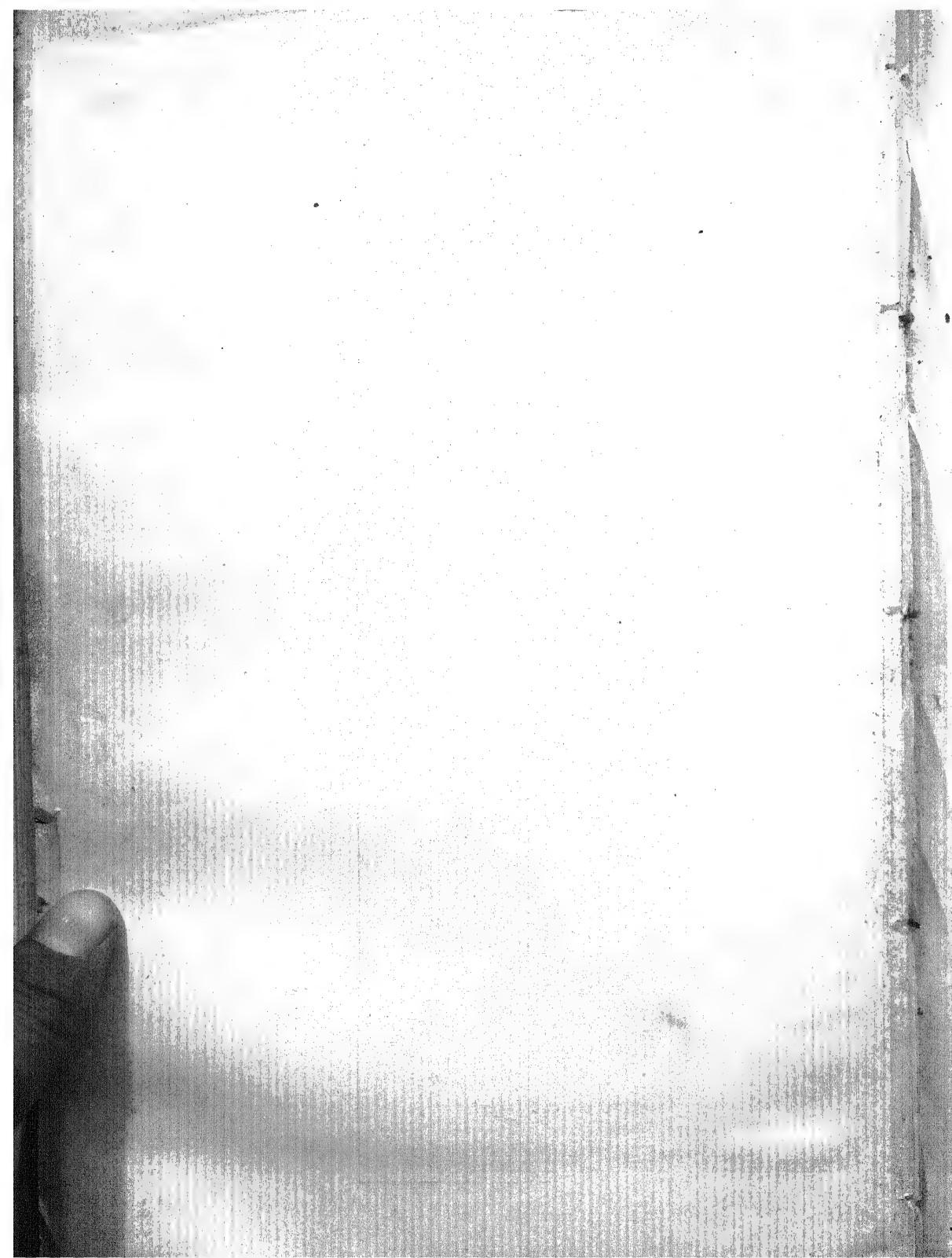


The Temple of Kāmatesvāri (Gosāṇinārī). To face Page 206





The Inscription on the door of the temple of Kāmutesvari. To face Page 206



trees.”⁽⁵⁴⁾ The same writer has also written.—“The soldiers of the kingdom of Cooch Behar use poisoned arrows, swords and guns and it is learnt that the people are expert in incantations and can cure ulcers by sprinkling enchanted water. They know medicines for ulcers, both for internal and external application. In comparison with other places of eastern India, the climate,

Condition of the country.

land, vegetables and dwelling houses of

the people are superior. Oranges, mangoes

and black pepper are grown in large

quantities. If properly administered, the income from this country would amount to eight or nine lacs of rupees. Gold and silver coins known as ‘Nârâyani’ coins are current in this country. There are two tribes named ‘Koch’ and ‘Mech’. The king has sprung from the Koch tribe.”

During the reign of Maharaj Prânnârâyan (1665 A. D.)

Famine and earthquake. there was a serious famine owing to failure of rain. On the 7th February

1663 A. D. the tremors of a great earthquake were felt for about half an hour.

Narahari Bhândârthâkur, Râmkrisna Mazumdâr, Ramânâth Mazumdâr, Kavi Karnapûr Khânsis etc., were officers holding

high posts during the time of Maharaj

Officers. Prânnârâyan. Reference has already been

made to the royal messengers Ramcharan

and Gokulchandra, ministers Bhabanâth Kârji and Râmchandra

(54). The then situation of the capital cannot be inferred to have been anywhere except Kâmatâpur.

Sreenâth Brahmin a contemporary has written :—

“King Prân the lord of Kâmatâ in Behar is like Yama in battle to his adversaries.” Adi Parva, page 146.

Victory to king Modnârâyan who is the Indra of Kâmatâpura the land of gold.” Dron Parva, page “^{१७५४}”.

Kârji, General Aniruddha, Chandranârâyan, Srîrâma Kumâr and Chakrapâni Khândâdharâ. Besides these there were officers holding the ranks of Sarkâyasth, Bara Dewânia and Subâ. During this reign and that of the five preceding kings, the Nazir was a Brâhmin, the Dewan a Kâyasth, and the Raikat the Commander-in-Chief. At the coronations, the Raikat held the umbrella over the head of the king. An order (Âjnâ-patra) dated 137 Râjsaka indicates that a Brahmin named Bhubanesvar Misra was employed in the post of the Chhatra-nazir.⁽⁵⁵⁾ At some time Maharaj Prânnârâyan abolished the post of Nazir and created that of Senâpati. He appointed Kavinarayan and Kavikishore as Dewans.⁽⁵⁶⁾

It appears from the area and boundaries of the kingdom of Cooch Behar, as mentioned in the Târikh-i-Âsâm and

Extent of kingdom.

Âlamgirnâmâ, that towards the end of the reign of Maharaja Prânnârâyan his dominion extended over 600 square miles.

The boundaries of his kingdom were Tâjhât and Bâhârband Perganna on the south, Baskarpur (?) near Khutâghât (in the district of Goalpârâ) on the east, and Bhâtgâo in Morang on the west.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In the map of Vanden Brouck drawn in 1660 A. D.

(55). The Ajnâpatra (letter of authority) given by Maharaj Prânnârâyan and written on the 22nd Bhadra, Râjsaka 137.

(56). According to the view of Mr. Moore the Collector of Rungpur, Maharaj Prânnârâyan created the post of the Dewan, vide letter written by him dated the 9th June 1784 A. D.

(57). In the kingdom of Cooch Behar, Bhitarband is divided into 12 Perganas and Bâhârband into 5 Châklâs and 77 Perganas. Its length is 55 Jarabi kros. (One such kros=4,000 yards, one yard=4 Angulis) and breadth 50 Jarabi kros. Alamgirnâmâ, page 692.

the vast valley of Himâlayas from Uttarabihâr (north Behar i. e., Tirhut) to Assam, has been marked as Rajwara.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In 1596 A. D. Maharaj Laksminârâyan acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor of Delhi. He made great efforts to free himself from this obligation but never entirely succeeded.

(58). "The whole Himalaya from northern Behar to Assam is called in Vanden Brouck's map—T. Ryk Van Rajjawara." Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, page 33.

In this map the name 'Cos Bhaar' is written, Even now the State of Cooch Behar is called 'Râjwâr' and the neighbouring districts under the British administration, 'Moglân'.

CHAPTER XI.

MAHARAJA MODNARAYAN.

*Rājasaka 156--171; Sakābda 1587-1602; 1072--1087 B. S. ;
1665-1680 A. D.*

Kumar Modnārāyan ascended the throne of his father in 1665 A. D., but his sovereignty was undermined from the beginning by the great influence of Kumar Mahinārāyan, whom he was obliged to appoint to the post of Chhatra-nazir. Thereby the power of Kumar Mohinārāyan and his sons was further increased, and the royal control over the country was so nominal that even the lives and property of royal officers were threatened.

After Saka 1588 (1666 A.D.) Ramcharan and Bhakatcharan the Cooch Behar emissaries were sent to Assam, with the object of establishing friendship with the Āhom Emissaries. king. They were received there with honour but on their way back, were killed by Gāro subjects of the Pānbariā Raja in territory under the emperor of Delhi. Later, Nanda and Bhīm visited the Āhom king on behalf of the Cooch Behar raj and they also were well received.⁽¹⁾

In 1668 A. D., (or according to another view, 1666 A. D.), Raja Ramsinha of Amber who was a general of the emperor of Delhi, arrived in Cooch Behar to raise an expedition against Assam. The Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur was with him. Ramsinha proceeded

(1) Burunjee of Rudrasinha, pages 210—211.

The name of the king who sent these messengers is not on record, but from the date of their mission, it is presumed that it was Maharaja Modnārāyan.

towards Rângâmâti with 15000 Dhâli (shield bearers) and Kândi soldiers (armed with bow and arrow) from Cooch Behar. Cooch Behar officers, Kabikisore Barua, Sarbesvar Barua, Manmatha Barua and Ghanasvama Bakshi—led this army. They effected a junction with the Mughal forces and fought the Âhoms in the severe battle of Sinduri-ghopâ.

To counteract the excessive strength of the Chhatra Nazîr Mahinârâyan, Maharaj Modnârâyan gradually brought the army under his control and sentenced to death some of the officers who sided with Mahinârâyan and banished others. This policy culminated in open war. Jagatnârâyan the eldest son of Mahinârâyan who had created much unrest within the kingdom, was killed under orders of the king,⁽²⁾ and at last, Mahinârâyan also was sentenced to death. The other sons of Mahinârâyan fought with the king with the help of Devaraja of Bhutan, but without success. At last, the unrest somewhat subsided by the appointment of Yajnanârâyan the son of Mahinârâyan as

⁽²⁾ Mercer and Chanvet's Report, Vol. II, page 19, 20, 169.

Regarding Jagatnârâyan, Dvija Paramânanda Tarkâlankâra has written in the *Vana Parva* (1797 A. D.).—

"Purifying his body in open fight, the hero ascended the city of the Gods";
page 4.

But Dvija Kavirâj a contemporary has left a different account of the relations between Kumar Jagatnârâyan and Maharaja Modnârâyan in his work the 'Drona Parva'.—

"(The king) served Jagan-Nârâyan Deva thinking the latter as his own, as Nandi serves Siva". Page "১৪০".

"Jagannârâyan Deva is uncle by relationship. He was as attached to him as Kumud (the water-lily) is to the moon." Page 12.

Chhatra Nazir. At this time Bholānāth Kārji held the post of the Subâ and the Raikat was Commander-in-Chief.⁽³⁾

Maharaja Modnārāyan finished the building of the temple of Jalpesvar and granted 44 jotes at its Debuttar property. He opened a Sadāvrata (to provide free food to visitors) and arranged the annual payment of eleven hundred "coins" to meet the expenditure involved.⁽⁴⁾

Two manuscript copies of the Drona Parva (of the Mahabhbârata) translated by Dvija Kavirâja under orders of Maharaja Modnārāyan, are preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library.

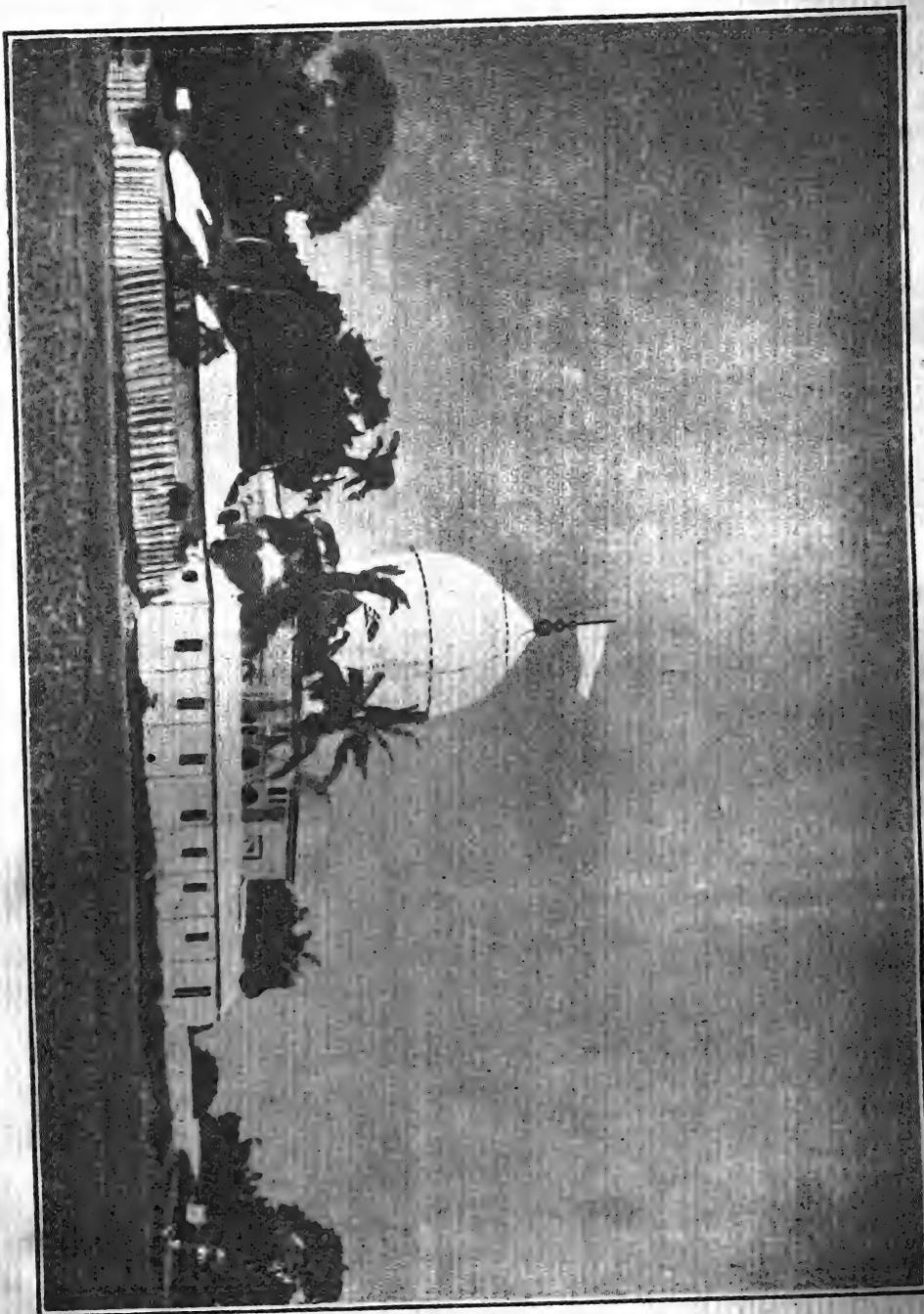
(3) Mercer & Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 19, 21, 169.

It is said in the Rājopâkhyâna (Narakhanda, Adhyâyas 5 and 6) that Maharaja Laksmînârâyan appointed Kumar Mahînârâyan as Nazir and that Mahînârâyan held the umbrella during the installation of Maharaja Bîrnârâyan. In the report of Mercer and Chauvet, the version is that the Raikats performed the umbrella ceremony during the installation of five kings from Visvasinha, and that Maharaja Modnârâyan appointed Mahînârâyan and his son Yajnanârâyan successively as Nazirs. (Vol. II pages 19—20). There is a description similar to that in this report in the Vansâvali by Durgadas (page 106).

We have previously mentioned that at some time during the reign of Maharaja Pramârâyan, the Chhatra Nazir was a Brahmin. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna,— "Mahînârâyan was called Gosain Mahînârâyan as he disguised himself as a Sanyâsi". This statement cannot be accepted as true. From works like the Akbarnâmâ and the Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi it appears that formerly the princes of Cooch Behar was accorded the title Gosâin or Gohâin. In later periods, the royal family took the name 'Deu' or 'Deo' (Deva) e. g. Nazir Deu, Dewan Deu, Dînâ Deu.

(4) Jalpesvar Mandirer Itivritta, pages 23 and 25.

The verse which is quoted in this work as inscribed on the door of the temple of Jalpesvar, is really inscribed on the door of the temple of Kântaji in Kântanagar in Dinajpur. There are no traces of an inscription on any part of this temple (of Jalpesvar). There is a copper Dankâ (drum) in the temple. On the back of it is inscribed "Mahînârâyanâ-devânâm" (of Mahînârâyan Deva).



The temple of Jalesvara. To face Page 212



Maharaja Modnârâyan appointed a Kâyasth Kavikishore (*alias* Harikishore) as Dewan. During the reign a newly arrived State Officers. Brahmin named Rupchandra Mazumdar entered State service, and his talent secured for him the post of Mustofi. Afterwards he was appointed to the revenue department.⁽⁵⁾ Indranarayan Chakravarti was the Châklâdâr (Râjsaka 166) of Chakle Kâkina, Gaurinandan Barkâyastha the Kârji, Visvanâth Sarmâ the Pâtra, and Kâsinath the Khâsnis. Besides, there were officers holding the posts of Karji, Daptariâ, Satkâyasth, Nazir, Subâ, Senâpati, Raikat and Medhi.

The population of the kingdom at that time was estimated at ten lacs.⁽⁶⁾ Maharaja Modnârâyan ascertained by survey (Piâl) the area of the land occupied by his subjects (Rajsaka 165).⁽⁷⁾

(5) The descendants of Rupchandra with the title Mustofi, are now living in village Gobrachharâ, Dinhata to the south of Cooch Behar,

(6) Vansâvali written by Durgadas, page 77. In this Vansâvali the number of soldiers has been given as one lac.

(7) An original deed of gift of land granted by Maharaja Modnârâyan has been preserved in the Maleutchery Mahâfezkhanâ of Cooch Behar. It was written (on the 5th Magh, Rajsaka 163) on cloth. The writing is gradually disappearing and becoming illegible. It is addressed to Indranârâyan Chakravarti the then Châkladâr of Chakle Kâkinâ. It reads,—

“Let there be good to ‘Pratadi’.....Maharaja Sree Sree Modnârâyan Deva the ruler of Kâmatâ who like the morning sun is visible with his prowess”.

By this deed of gift, Brahmottar was granted in the following taluks within Bilât Gitaldaha in Chakle Kâkinâ.—

Bânginagar, Bhogchharâ, Satir Pâr, Khari Bhândâr, Arjunkhâtâ, Buksulâr Pâr, Châmrâr Pâr, Bhelâguri, Akulkhâtâ and Gorajân.

The deed is stated as ‘Sinhachâp Âjnâ’ (ordered by Sinhachâp seal); so the seal at the head of the document should be taken as the celebrated Sinhachâp seal.

The practice of writing manuscripts on cloth is old. It was prevalent also among the Ahom tribe. An Account of Assam, page ii.

We have related how Raja Ramsinha the general of the emperor of Delhi enlisted the aid of Cooch Behar soldiers (1668 A. D.) to attack Assam. The exact significance of this action is not apparent. It is true that Maharaja Prānnārāyan was a tributary king under the emperor of Delhi, and, like other tributary kings, it was his part to join battle with the forces of the emperor, but there is no record that on this occasion the king of Cooch Behar or any of the princes went with Raja Ramsinha to invade Assam. Remembering that the Mughal generals Bhabâni Das, Ebâdat Khan and Jabardast Khan attacked Cooch Behar in 1685, 1687 and 1695 A. D. respectively, it may be surmised that had the kingdom been a real fief of the emperor, these incursions would never have taken place. Moreover, it is plainly written in the account of the administration of Nabab Alivardi Khan and the four Subedars preceding him, that before Nabab Murshid Kulî Khan (1704 A. D.) the kingdom of Cooch Behar was completely independent and did not acknowledge obedience to the emperor.⁽⁸⁾ Considering all probabilities it seems likely that even when Raja Ramsinha came, the king of Cooch Behar assisted him because he was related to him, rather than in performance of any feudal obligation to the emperor.

Maharaja Modnârâyan died in 1680 A. D. He was of quiet temperament and a saintly personage.⁽⁹⁾ Once when he was going to bathe in the Ganges, Musalman soldiers waylaid him but were unable, so we are told, to harm him.—As he had

(8) English translation by Mr. Gladwin (1788 A. D.).—

“Before the time of Moorshed Kuley Khan, the Rajahs of Tipperah, Coatch Behar, and Assam preserved an entire independence. They refused all obedience to the Court of Delhy, used the imperial chetr, and coined money in their own names.” A Narrative of Bengal, pages 27—28.

(9) Dwija Kabirâja, a contemporary has written in the Drona Parva.—

“Victory to Modnârâyan the celebrated king in whom the least fault of Kali Yuga does not appear. He regards the wives of others, the reviling of others and the properties of others as worse than ordure,” Page 129.

no son his younger brother Basudevanârâyan gained the throne.⁽¹⁰⁾

MAHARAJA BASUDEVNARAYAN.

*Râjasaka 171—173 ; Sakâbda 1602—1604 ; 1087—1089 B.S. ;
1680—1682 A. D.*

When Maharaja Modnârâyan died, Nazir Yajnanârâyan had designs on the throne, and engaged Bhutanese assistance. The State ministers were helpless under the regime of Yajnanârâyan and the Raikat brothers of Baikunthapur and Raikat Jagadeva and Bhujadeva agreed to help them and came to Cooch Behar. Meanwhile Jajinanârâyan and his Bhutiyâs had looted the capital, killed some of the people and made others prisoner. Basudevanârâyan the brother of the late king and third son of Maharaja Prânnârâyan, Mân-nârâyan the son of Visnunârâyan and grandson of Maharaja Prânnârâyan, and Mahîndranârâyan the son of Mânnârâyan fled to the south in fear of their lives. The Bhutiya soldiers in their turn prepared to retire when they

"He never knows even in dreams what is a lie. He is truthful from his infancy,"
Page 131.

(10) "Na—La—Bî—Pra—Ma—Kârâdyâ Visor-vanso vinasayati. Atalparam Mahesâni Kuputrâh pâlayen mahim." Râjopâkhyâna. i.e. "after the kings of the dynasty of Visvasinha the first letters of whose names would be Na (Naranârâyan) and La (Laksmî nârâyan), Bî (Birnârâyan), Pra (Prânnârâyan) and Ma (Modnârâyan), the direct line of descent will disappear. After that a person who is not a son (Kuputra) will become king."

In the Râjopâkhyâna, the above verse has been explained as follows.—"The king's son will not become king. The king's brother or brother's son or one from that branch of the family will become king. Then the sons of kings born of their married queens will not be long-lived. Further, the behaviour of the kings will be like that of Sudras. A Sudra has two kinds of wives Udhâ and Anudhâ. Udhâ is the married wife and Anudhâ is kept as a wife without marriage. I call Kuputra the son of a woman who is kept as a wife without marriage". Devakhanda, Adhyaya 2.

had news of the advance of the Raikats with armed force but before their escape they looted the sacred and historic royal insignia of Maharaja Visvasinha, the royal umbrella, the sceptre, the throne, the sword and khanjar (large dagger) presented by the goddess Bhagabati and the kankan (armlet), threw them into a mountain cave and retired in a body to their own country. The two Raikats had a new umbrella, sceptre and throne prepared, and placing Vasudevanârâyan on the throne, held the umbrella over him. Coins were struck in the name of the new king and a new Sinhachâp seal was constructed. The family custom of conducting the funeral rites of the deceased king under the orders of the new king could not this time be followed.

When the Raikat brothers left the capital, Yajnanârâyan re-asserted himself and the Bhutiyas again advanced to assist him. The king's authority was gradually rendered powerless, and he was defeated in a skirmish and captured and killed under the orders of Yajnanârâyan. The Mahârâni and Kumar Mahîndranârâyan escaped with the royal insignia. As a result the State army practically dissolved and its officers were scattered. Seizing the opportunity Yajnanârâyan ascended the throne and declared himself 'king'. Eight days of serious internal disorder followed.

Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva learnt in due course of the murder of the king and within twenty-four hours, they and their soldiers reached the banks of the Mansai river. The scattered royal army and the ministers joined them there. Immediately after they crossed the river severe fighting ensued between Yajnanârâyan and the Raikats, thousands being killed and wounded on both sides. At last Yajnanârâyan was overwhelmed and escaped to the hills. As Maharaja Basudevanârâyan died without issue, and at this time Kumar

Mahindranârâyan grandson of Visnunârâyan and great grandson of Maharaja Prânnârâyan, was alive, the two Raikats selected him as king and placed him on the throne. Once again, new coins and seal were issued. Thereafter the two Raikats returned home, leaving some troops in the capital to protect the king.

MAHARAJA MAHINDRANÂRAYAN.

*Râjsaka 173—184; Sakâbda 1604—1616; 1089—1100 B.S. ;
1682—1693 A. D.*

Still very young, Kumar Mahindranârâyan was called to a kingdom where there was neither peace nor any regular administration, and where Kumar Yajnanârâyan was in constant opposition and even collected an army and unsuccessfully attacked the king.

About 1685 Bhabâni Das the Naib Subedar (Assistant Governor) of Bengal invaded Cooch Behar, taking advantage of

Attack by the Subedar. the anarchy prevailing in the kingdom.

The officers in charge of the Châklâs to the south of the State disavowed their loyalty to the king and some joined the Fouzdar of Ghorâghât, Treachery of officers. acknowledged obedience to the Mughal Subedar Ibrahim Khan and promised to pay a nominal tribute.⁽¹¹⁾

The Devaraj of Bhutan was accustomed at times to send presents to the Cooch Behar Durbar, but did not render any form of fealty. He was prepared to offer military aid when so desired.

(11). The Rajopâkhyâna says that at this time the Raikat of Baikunthapur and the Kumar of Pânga acknowledged the Mughals (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 10).

After some time, the ministers consulted together and attempted to establish peaceful internal conditions by appointing Kumar Yajnanârâyan again as Chhatra Nazir Yajnanarayan. Nazir Yajnanârâyan agreed and was duly appointed.⁽¹²⁾ The two Raikat brothers were not unnaturally displeased at this arrangement and their hostility developed into open war fare. Then Maharaja Mahîndranârâyan died, though according to another view the Raikats killed him and attempted to seize the kingdom.⁽¹³⁾

The youthful Maharaja Mahîndranârâyan was physically well-endowed ; in religion he was a devout Vaisnava. He was a vegetarian and ate Havisyâna. He performed the Japa in the name of and sang the praise of Hari. He did not display much inclination towards administrative affairs.⁽¹⁴⁾ Sometimes the king lived on the banks of the Ghargharia river. Ratikanta

⁽¹²⁾ The Râjopâkhyâna states that Yajnanârâyan died in 182 Râjsaka (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 10) but this cannot be accepted, for a deed of gift of land dated 185 Râjsaka and made by Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan Kumar and Balarama Khâsnis, has been discovered.

⁽¹³⁾ Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 170.

A deed of gift of a land dated Râjsaka 188 and made by Bhujadeva Kumar, Chhatra Nazir Mahîndranârâyan Kumar (?) and Bhabâninath Khâsnis on behalf of the king, has been discovered. In the report of Mercer and Chauvet there is mention of a grant of land in Cooch Behar by Bhujadeva. (Page 83).

⁽¹⁴⁾ The Râjopâkhyâna says that Maharaja Mahîndranârâyan became king when he was only five years old. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 10). But a contemporary writer Dvija Râma Kavirâja has written in the Bhîsma Parva,—“Who has well-formed, hard and fat arms. Who bears the burden of a kingdom being in his twentieth year.” Page 38 (1). Kripunjaya in the Vansâvali recorded,—“The name of this king has not been mentioned in other Vansâvalis. It is found in the translation of the Bhîsma Parva by Râma Sarasvatî. It is written in the Vanaparva by Paramânanda (1797 A. D.),—“Afterwards Mahîndranârâyan (was) the king of the earth. He was a devout Vaisnava, was virtuous and punished the wicked. He was a vegetarian. He ate Havisyâ. He recited the name and praise of Hari. He had no other work than Japa and worship”. Page 4,

Misra was his Guru (177 Rajsaka). He had several ministers like Bisvanâth Mustofi the son of Rupchandra Mustofi. The following were the State officers. The following were the posts under the administration,—Chhatra Nazir, Raikat, Khâsnis, Khâsnavis, Medhi, Daptariâ, Mazumdâr, Dâkuâ, Bhândâr Thâkur, Garmahali, Garmahali Dewan, Bhitar-katak Dewan, and Hisâbia etc.

Three copies of manuscripts of the Vîsma Parva (of the Mahâbhârata) translated by Dvija Râma Kabirâja or Râma Sarasvati are preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library.

After the death of Mahindranârâyan there was no living descendant of Maharaja Birnârâyan. Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan was the son of Kumar Mahinârâyan the Raikat and Yajnanârâyan, brother of Maharaja Birnârâyan, and he again declared himself 'king' on the ground that he was the oldest of the near Sapindas of the deceased king. He had cultivated the friendship of the Pâthân chiefs of Bengal who were opposed to the Mughals. Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva regarded Yajnanârâyan as a rebel, and resumed the struggle against him. Fighting became intense between 1700 to 1702 A. D. and the Raikats were killed in battle. Yajnanârâyan also died near Pâtgram,⁽¹⁵⁾ and Kumar Rûpnârâyan succeeded.

(15) In the copy of the decree in the Chaklajât case in 1778 A. D. it is written that, during the time of Fouzdar Ali Kuli Khân (1107—1118 B. S.=1700—1711 A. D.) Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva were killed in battle with 'Raja' Yajnanârâyan, and after the death of Yajnanârâyan, Rupnârâyan became king.

According to another view Raikat Bhujadeva was killed in a battle with the Nazir.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 96.

The Râjopâkhyâna has the version that at the beginning of the reign of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan, Raikat Jagadeva died and Bhujadéva was ill. During the reign of this king, Yajnanârâyan died and Sântanârâyan was appointed Chhatra Nazir, and

Mahinârâyan had four sons. Two sons of the eldest Jagat nânârâyan named Rûpnârâyan and Visvanârâyan, and three sons of the second son Darpanârâyan named Satyanârâyan, Sântanârâyan and Kundanârâyan, were living. Kumars Rupnârâyan, Satyanârâyan and Sântanârâyan were the main support of their uncle Yajnanârâyan. It was due to their energy and valour, that the kingdom of Cooch Behar again came under the control of the line of Visvasinha after being freed from the grasp of the line of Sisyasinha. The record of Sântanârâyan's devotion should be

considered a famous episode in the history
Devotion of Sântanârâyan. of Cooch Behar.⁽¹⁶⁾

It is said that he went to Purnea and there attracted the attention of the Fauzdar by killing a tiger with his own hands. When Sântanârâyan became known as a descendant of the ruling family of Cooch Behar, the Fauzdar befriended him and promised to help

Rupnârâyan and Visvanârâyan were appointed Senâpatis. After the death of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan, Rupnârâyan became king with the consent of all (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 10 and 11). There is a contradiction of this account in the report of Mercer and Chauvet (Vol. II, pages 19—20, 166—171), in which it is said that the two Raikats and Yajnanârâyan were alive in the time of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan and Sântanârâyan recovered the kingdom from the two Raikats. (Vol. II, pages 49, 51, 170, 171).

Dvija Paramânanda wrote regarding Maharaja Rupnârâyan in the colophon of the Vanaparva (1797 A. D.).—

"With him the two, Satya and Sântanârâyan go to the war with delight. Killing the enemy, they recovered their kingdom as formerly the Pândavas did the same". Page 4.

(16) "Shanto Narayan employed the power and influence he had acquired by the expulsion of the Roycents in favour of the lineal successor, instead of assuming the Raj himself or bestowing it on one of his brothers."

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 181.

Thirty or forty years after this was written, Munshi Jaynâth Ghosh wrote in the Rajopâkhyâna,—"Sântanârâyan wanted to become king, but the soldiers did not agree. He was the Mansabdar in the Mansab of Nazir i. e. head of the department of the Nazir." Narakhanda, Adhyâya 11.

him with an armed force. Sântanârâyan's force, allied with that of the Fouzdar, fought the two Raikats, and Raikat Bhujadeva was killed.⁽¹⁷⁾

MAHARAJA RÜPNARÂYAN.

*Râjsaka 195—205 ; Sakâbda 1626—1636 : 1111—1121 B. S. ;
1704—1714 A. D.*

Kumar Rüpnârâyan ascended the throne of Cooch Behar with general approval in about 1704 A. D. In pursuance of a previous arrangement, the new king appointed Kumar Sântanârâyan as Chhatra Nazir, Kumar Satyanârâyan as Dewan, and Kumar Kundanârâyan as Subâ.⁽¹⁸⁾ New coin and seals were prepared, and the Chhatra Nazir offered Nazar to the king in the new coin and held the umbrella over his head. It was settled that as payment for their services the Nazir and the Dewan would respectively receive 5 Annas $17\frac{1}{2}$ Gandas and one anna shares of the State lands. After internal peace had been restored, the Nazir made his head-quarters at Balarâmpur named after the deity Balarâma, and the Dewan in Bârâmkhâna.

Maharaja Rüpnârâyan kept former ministers in their respective posts, but it was from this time that the Khâsnavis began to perform the duties of chief minister.

The Chief Minister. The Nazir and Dewan were not personally associated with the administration of the kingdom, but appointed the officers. They lived

(17) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 96. According to Mr. Glazier and Major Jenkins, Maharaja Rupnârâyan was aided by Musalmans. The same version occurs in Mr. Becket's report.

(18) The descendants of Kumar Kundanârâyan are now living in Jaigî Chilâkhâna.

permanently outside the capital where they had only temporary residences.

Immediately, Maharaja Rûpnârâyan became engaged in war with the Fouzdar of Rungpur. Previously the Raikat, Kumar Yajnanârâyan and the Fouzdar had fought among themselves for the kingdom of Cooch Behar and after the death of the War with the Fouzdar.

two Raikats, the fight was continued between the Fouzdar and the Maharaja who sought to recover places within the kingdom of Cooch Behar where the Mughal power had been established. Had the officers of his Chaklas been honest and loyal, the result of the long war might have been different.

At this time the policy followed by the Mughal emperors was changed, and they were no longer satisfied with Nazar or presents and nominal acknowledgment of obedience. Their provincial Subadars were instructed to increase the revenue from newly conquered Châklâs or Sarkârs as much as possible.

The war brought some success to the Cooch Behar ruler. New Fouzdars who came to Rungpur found themselves unable to establish full control over their territories. That control had been weakened in the war with the two Raikats. But the rebel Pâthân Sardars of Bengal who sided with Cooch Behar, were gradually being exterminated in the course of continual war with the armies of the emperor.—At last a treaty was concluded whereby the Nabab gave up the three Chaklás of Boda, Patgram and Purvabhâg and the three

Treaty. Chaklás of Karjir Hât, Kâkinâ and Fatepur were included in the imperial dominions. This treaty was not ratified however by the Mughal authorities, and the Fouzdar responsible was dismissed. A new Fouzdar was appointed.

who defeated the Maharaja, and resumed the Châklas of Boda, Pâtgram and Pûrvabhâg. The terms of the treaty were changed (1713 A. D.).—Maharaja Rûpnârâyan died in 1714 A. D.⁽¹⁹⁾

At the conclusion of this treaty, a proposal was mooted to give the Châklâs of Boda, Pâtgram and Purvabhâg to Nazir Sântanârâyan. The emperor and the Maharaja assented, but Sântanârâyan who loved his brother and was devoted to his country did not agree. He was unwilling

Santanârâyan's independence.

to be under an obligation to the emperor in exchange for the independence of part of his own country. Instead, an Ijara (lease) of Châklâs Boda, Pâtgram and Purvabhâg was taken on behalf of the Maharaja in the name of his Nazir, but as it was thought derogatory on the part of an independent king to take a lease in his own name in the sheriâta of the emperor, it was taken in the name of Nazir Sântanârâyan.

(19) It is written in the copy of the decree of the case regarding Châklas (1778 A. D.) that Sheik Iar Muhammad came with a large army and granted 'Barâbari miyed' (permanent agreement) to the Maharaja. An account of a fight between the latter's son and the Fouzdar is also given. 'Barâbari' is an Arabic word. Its meaning is 'equal', 'accompanying'. Miyed (Miyâd) is also an Arabic word meaning "two promising between themselves", 'the place of promise', 'the time of promise', 'ascertainment of time' etc. It is inferred that the treaty with Iar Muhammad was of a permanent nature. It is also written in the decree,—“The Naib Âmlâhai (officers) filed a petition on behalf of the Bâdsâh that the settlement should be taken in the name of Nazir Deo. The king may make Mazura (change) upon a second Sarhad (final settlement), and the army of the emperor will be greater in number than in the Subâ of Rungpur. Assent was given to this.” The meaning of this is not apparent.

It is said in the Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs regarding Maharaja Rûpnârâyan,—“The number of soldiers of the Bhup Bahadur was made half by the Mughals.” (Page 79). In this Vansâvali, the looting of the kingdom by the Mughal soldiers and the escape of Maharaja Rûpnârâyan, have been described. Page 78,

Gadâdharaśinha the Ahom king engaged several Āmins, expert in survey, from Cooch Behar, to ascertain the area of his own kingdom. **Architect Ghanasyāma.**

The next king Rudraśinha invited Ghanasyāma an architect who lived in Cooch Behar and erected beautiful palaces in the towns of Sivasāgar and Charāi Deo in Assam.⁽²⁰⁾

The four sons of Maharaja Rūpnārāyan were Kumar Upendra nārāyan, Kharganārāyan, Visnunārāyan and Narendranārāyan.

Investiture of Yuvaraj. Visnunārāyan and Narendranārāyan had died in infancy. Maharaja Rūpnārāyan invested his eldest son Kumar Upendranārāyan as Yuvaraj.

It is evident that there was system of settlement and survey of lands during his rule,⁽²¹⁾ the Chittah in this connection being maintained by the Dewan.

Both before and during the reign of Maharaja Rūpnārāyan there were officers such as the Balarāma Khāsnavis (185 Rājsaka

= 1694 A. D.) Mahādeva Ray Khāsnavis

State officers. (194—196 Rājsaka), Haradeva Ray (201—204 Rājsaka) and Chakrapāni

Jāmdariā (202 Rājsaka), employed in the chief administrative posts. Kālikāprasād Mustofi the son of Visvanāth Mustofi was appointed to the post of his father. Maharaja Rūpnārāyan placed his own brother Visvanārāyan Kumar in charge of the Falkar Mehal. Siddhānta Siromani Bhattacharya was the Rājguru and a grant of land was made to him during an eclipse of the sun (196 Rājsaka).

(20) History of Assam, page 171.

Ghanasyāma was accused of having collected information regarding the internal affairs of the kingdom while staying in Assam and was killed for this.

(21) The documents dated 185 and 194 Rājsaka concerning this are preserved among old papers in the Malcutchery Mahātezkhana (now the Revenue Minister's office) of Cooch Behar.

By the advice of a Sannyâsi, Maharaja Rûpnârâyan transferred his capital from Âثارکوتâ (according to another view, Bârâmkhânâ) to village Guriâhâti (the present town of Cooch Behar) on the banks of the Torsa. The principal Brahmins and other castes also came to the new town.⁽²²⁾ The king continued to live at times at Torsâr Pâr and Basantapur. It is said that he was inspired by a dream to establish the image of "Pât-dehada".⁽²³⁾

Maharaja Rûpnârâyan was of kindly and wise disposition, and a handsome man. He had deep religious interests and was versed in the Shâstras. His intelligence and Personality of Rûpnârâyan. capacity for work, commanded respect. Much of his reign was passed on the battle-field with Chhatra Nazir Sântanârâyan whose loyalty and valour recalled, in the minds of the people, the qualities of Sukla-dhvaja.

The destruction caused by the family feuds which had divided the royal family of Cooch Behar after the death of Maharaja Prâpnârâyan, was far greater than formerly. In a civil war lasting for about half a century, the kingdom of Cooch Behar was ill-equipped to face the swords of the conquering Mughal. Under such conditions began the rule of Maharaja Rûpnârâyan. Considering all circumstances it might have been regarded as impolitic to fight the great Mughal power, but Maharaja Rûpnârâyan was

(22) The Panchagrâmi Brahmins of Cooch Behar live in five villages named Khâgrâbâri, Takâgach, Guriâhâti, Moynâguri and Kâminirghât.

(23) This king is also said to have established the image of Madanmohan, but it has been suggested in the account of the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan that this is not true.

not so persuaded and devoted his life to the cause of his country's independence. By energetic measures, he ended the internal feud. In the external war, however, protecting his kingdom from the enemy outside he was deprived of one of the best and largest of his territories, (Kâkina, Kârjir Hât and Fatehpur Ghâkla).

The kingdom which had been established under Maharaja Visvasinha became more than 3200 square miles in area as a

result of the enterprise of Maharaja Rûpnârâyan.⁽²⁴⁾ Had not the Maharaja and his co-adjutator the Chhatra Nazir Sântanârâyan appeared at this critical juncture, it is problematical what would have happened to the kingdom. After the conclusion of the treaty, friendship was established between Cooch Behar and the Nabab of Bengal and the Maharaja sent an Ukil (ambassador) to the Durbar of Nabab Murshid Kuli Khan.⁽²⁵⁾

(24) The present State of Cooch Behar and the portion of Jalpaiguri district known as 'Paschima Duar' were within the aforesaid area.

(25) "As soon as the Rajah of Assam received advice of the appointment of Moorshed Kuley Khan to the joint offices of Soobahder and dewan, he sent Budellee Bhôokun (Phookan) to him as ambassador, His example was followed by the Rajah of Coatch Bahâr, who also sent an ambassador with a nuzzir and peishkush;" A Narrative of Bengal, page 33.

(Din Mahammad was an ambassador of the king in the Durbar of Nabab but when disturbances began in Cooch Behar, he was compelled to leave Murshidabad for want of funds. The writer of this present work belongs to the fifth generation of the family of Din Muhammad).

Possibly the aforesaid nazâr and peskash were given in connection with the zemindary of the king under the Mughal dominion, comprising the three Chaklas of Bodâ, Paigraî and Purvabhatag; "Rajah Rupnârâyan of Cooch Behar held three Perganhâhs as Zemindar under Mughalraj; hence the peishkush (tribute). Ed." A Narrative of Bengal, footnote page 33,

MAHARAJA UPENDRANÂRÂYAN.

Râjsaka 205—254; Sakâbda 1636—1685; 1121—1170 B.S.;

1714—1763 A.D.

Kumar Upendranârâyan succeeded his father in 1714 A. D., supported by both the Chhatra Nazir and the Dewan. The Chhatra Nazir held the umbrella over his head. The customary coins and seals were struck in the new king's name and he gave orders for the administration to be carried on as before.

"Under Maharaja Rûpnârâyan the southern boundary of the kingdom of Bhutan was fixed at the hills, but now the Bhutiyas began to raid to the plains and to loot the northern part of the kingdom. The Maharaja and the Nazir Deo engaged them in battle but were unable effectively to prevent the raids.

The friendship between Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Murshid Kuli Khan the Nabab of Bengal,⁽²⁶⁾ did not endure under the next Nabab, Sujânddin. As Maharaja Upendranârâyan was childless, he adopted Kumar Dînanârâyan the son of Dewan Deo nârâyan.

False ambition of Dina-nârâyan and gave him certain powers of administration. With these Dînanârâyan was not satisfied and attempted to extort a written authority from the king naming him as heir to the throne.⁽²⁷⁾ This of course the king would not do, more especially as a Sannyâsi had prophesied that a son would be born to the king. The breach widened and eventually Dînanârâyan sought the protection of Saiyad Ahmed the Fouzdar of

(26) Murshidâbâder Itihâs, page 357.

(27) In the Râjopâkhyâna it is said that at the root of this attempt of Dîna-nârâyan, was the instigation of Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 12). But this is not probable perhaps for the appointment of Rudranârâyan in the post of the Chhatra Nazir was long after this.

Rungpur.⁽²⁸⁾ The Mughal Fouzdar was an opportunist and agreed to send forces against the king to help Dīnanārāyan.

The king accompanied by the Nazir advanced to give battle. Dewan Deo Satyanārāyan (the father of Dīnanārāyan) had deserted the king, and Khāsnavis Mahādeva Rāy had fled.⁽²⁹⁾ Gaurinandan Mustofi was appointed as Khāsnavis and when the Mughal soldiers penetrated Cooch Behar

Temporary acquirement of the kingdom by Dīnanārāyan.
he accompanied the king to Jhār Sinhesvar to the south of Mekliganj. Then when Sāntanārāyan with his army was defeated the remaining Cooch Behar soldiers broke in all directions. Nazir Sāntanārāyan was now an old man. Defeated in battle, he retired towards Rāngāmāti (in the district of Goalpara) and thereafter the kingdom fell into the hands of the Fouzdar who made Dīnanārāyan ruler of Cooch Behar (Rājasaka 226=1736 A. D.).⁽³⁰⁾

Maharaja Upendranārāyan and Gauriprasad Baksā were not, however, wholly despondent. They stimulated resistance to the

(28) It is written regarding Dīnanārāyan in the Vānsāvali written by Durgādās.— "He mentioned his sorrow to the Bādsāh. He took 'Khānā' (meal) of his own will. The emperor of Delhi being pleased with the behaviour of the Kumar, gave him five thousand soldiers to fight a battle." Page 80.

The taking of 'Khānā' (or in other words embracing Mahomedanism) may be probable but it is doubtful whether he went to Delhi. However he may have gone to Murshidabad the capital of the Nabab. At this time, the Fouzdar of Rungpur took the assistance of the Nabab for the attack on Cooch Behar.

"He (the Fouzdar) obtained forces from Shuja Khan, and employed them against the rajahs of Coatch Bahar and Dinajpoor, who confiding in their riches and strength, wanted to make themselves independent.' A Narrative of Bengal, page 83.

(29) Mahādeva Rāy was Khāsnavis during the time of Maharaja Rāpnārāyan. His descendants are the Zemindars of Tepa in Rungpur.

(30) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 169; Eastern India, Vol III, pages 419—420; Vansāvali by Durgādās, page 112.

new regime in various ways and at last loyal officers collected a new army. A treaty was concluded with the Debrâj of Bhutân who promised aid, and the terms were communicated to the Nazir in Rângâmâti who also began to collect forces.

Recovery of the kingdom by the king.

Gauriprasâd Baksi displayed great energy in preparing for the campaign of liberation. The Fouzdar was simultaneously attacked from the west by an army led by the king and Gauriprasad Baksi, from the north by the Bhutiyas of Devrâj and from the east by the Nazir with his own army. In a bloody struggle a large number of Mughal soldiers were killed, the Fouzdar was defeated and escaped towards Rungpur (1737—1738 A. D.). The discomfited Dînanârâyan later died in exile.

As this victory was mainly achieved through the efficiency of Gauriprasâd Baksi, the king appointed him Khâsnavis in place of Gaurinandan and honoured him with Khilât, Nâkârâ, Nisân (flag) etc. befitting the post. Gauriprasâd's younger brother

Change of officers.

Bhabâniprasâd Baksi was appointed Commander-in-Chief.⁽³¹⁾ It was suspected that Dewan Deo Satyanârâyan had intrigued with Dînanârâyan. He was dismissed from office, and his Jaigir was confiscated. The king's youngest brother Kumar Kharganârâyan was appointed Dewan (Râjsaka 223). Now old and disgraced Satyanârâyan lived at Seoraguri under the supervision of the Chhatra Nazir. His descendants still live there. Kântanârâyan the son of Satyanârâyan had been the 'Subâ'. The king dismissed him also and appointed Harinârâyan the son of Kundanârâyan in his place.⁽³²⁾

(31) The descendants of Bhabaniprasad are now Zemindars of Lâtchâpîra (Nâodângâ) in the district of Rungpur, to the south of Cooch Behar.

(32) The descendants of Kântanârâyan are living in village Khattimâri in Dinhata. The dates of the reign of Dînanârâyan will be discussed in the last Chapter.

The influence of the Bhutiyas increased with the king's dependence upon them in fighting with Influence of the Bhutiyas. Mughals, and so long as they were useful the king could not displease them.

Friendship prevailed between Maharaja Upendranârâyan and the Raja of Dinajpur. Imitating the action of their forefathers they exchanged turbans as a mark of mutual esteem.⁽³³⁾

Previously the Brahmins of the Vaidik Sreni of Kâmarup were the royal Gurus. In their place, Maharaja Upendranârâyan took a Brahmin of the Râdhîya Sreni named Satânanda Gosvâmi of village Sâdi Khân in Murshidâbâd as Râj-Guru. He often lived at the capital. After the death he was succeeded by Râmânanda Gosvâmi his son.

About 1153 B. S. (1746 A. D.) the Chhatra Nazir Sântanârâyan died at the reputed age of 96. He had a Kâmât (Golâbâri or farm) at Balarâmpur, and Nazir Lalitnârâyan. Being without issue, he adopted Kumar Lalitnârâyan the son of Kumar Visvanârâyan and grandson of Kumar Jagatnârâyan. Lalitnârâyan was at first appointed Gâbur Nazir (junior Nazir) and after the death of Sântanârâyan became Chhatra Nazir. Sântanârâyan established Sandesvar Siva and the image of Dariâ Balâi.

Maharaja Upendranârâyan had two queens. The elder, known as Bara Aye Devati, was a lady of determined character. There was a dancing girl named Lâl Bâi and when the king associated with her in

(33) In the Râjopâkhyâna, the name of Prânnâth occurs as a Raja of Dinajpur. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 12). After the death of Raja Prânnâth in 1722 A. D. his son Raja Râmânat was the Raja from 1722 to 1760 A. D.

Dhaliâbâri,⁽³⁴⁾ the Bara Aye Devati was so chagrined that she prohibited the king from entering her apartments, and a faithful Duârni (door-keeper) named Châmpâ carried out the order.

The younger queen bore the king a son, Devendranârâyan. Now old he had lived at times in Basantapur but died in 1763

A. D. at the palace of Dhaliâbâri.⁽³⁵⁾

The Prince.

The Bara Aye Devati Mahârâni hastened there accompanied by Gauriprasâd Bakshi,

Gaurinandan Mustofi and the Commander-in-Chief Bhabâniprasâd. The Chhatra Nazir Lalitnârâyan Kumar also went there. They consulted together and brought the young prince Devendranârâyan to the palace in Cooch Behar and duly performed his installation (1763 A. D.).

There was a 'Dhâlâ Jabda' (survey of the whole country) during the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan.⁽³⁶⁾ The following

were the officers employed in chief posts in the administration.—Hardeva Ray Khâsnâvis (205—211 Râjsaka), Jaydeya

Durbar Khan (212 Râjsaka), Raghupati Ray (212—217 Râjsaka), Chakrapâni Jamdâria (223 Râjsaka), Hiresvara Kârji (228 Râjsaka), Jagadisa Kârji (230 Râjsaka), Rasik Ray (231 Râjsaka),

(34) It is said that the town of Lâlbâzâr was named after this Lâl Bai. A detailed account regarding this has already been given, (Note 8 Chapter III).

(35) We learn from the Râjopâkhyâna that during the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, the Sinhachâp seal was stolen and the seal with "Sri" inscribed on it was prepared and used instead. This account has been proved false by the discovery of an old document bearing the 'Sri' seal and dated 188 Râjsaka (1697 A. D.)

(36) Dhâlâ Jabd is referred to in old documents dated 237, 238 and 242 Râjsaka. 'Jabd' is an Arabic word meaning "proper preservation of account of anything after ascertaining its real nature".

Debiprasâd Sarmâ (239 Râjsaka), Ratneswar Kârji, Jibesvar Kârji (245 Râjsaka), and Balesvar Kârji (250 Râjsaka).⁽³⁷⁾

During the time of Maharajas Rûpnârâyan and Upendranârâyan, the following were the several posts.—Sardâr, Jamâdâr, Laskar, Sardâr Paik, Bâher Kotâl, Garmahali, Aswâr, Chithir Kâyastha, Bara Kâyastha, Bara Kâyasth Kârji, Kârji, Senâpati, Kârji Durbar Khan, ïsar Bara Kâyasth, Naib, Ukil, Bakshi, Desiya Bakshi, Sikdâr, Dewân Khâsnavis, Khâs Dewâniâ, Hisabnavis, Wakknavis, Nikâsanavis, Pâtvrâri, Basuniyâ, Tehsildâr, Daptariâ, Bhitar Daptariâ, Pujâri, Kirtanîya, Pâtra, Bhândâr Thâkur, Chaudhuri, Majumdâr, Âmin, Muhuri, Gomasta, Dalâi etc.

During the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, Srinâtha Brahmin of Kâmatânagar translated the Mahâbhârata into verse.

Literature.

His Virâtparva has been discovered.

Under the orders of Kumar Kharganârâyan brother of the king, Narayana Dvija translated the Nâradîya Purâna into verse which is preserved in the Cooch Behar State Library.

During the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan there was (11th October 1737 A. D.) a terrible earthquake widely felt in

Earthquake.

the country. In Calcutta many brick-built buildings of the East India Company were destroyed. The whole of Bengal

and Chittagong again experienced an earthquake on the 2nd April, 1762 A. D.—There is no written account, however, as to how far the force of these earthquake was felt in Cooch Behar.

(37) Ratnesvar Kârji was the son-in-law of Maharaja Rûpnârâyan. He was the Bara Kâyasth (chief writer) and Senâpati.

MAHARAJA DEVENDRANÂRÂYAN.

*Râjsaka 254—256; Sakâbdî 1685—1687; 1170—1172 B.S.;
1763—1765 A. D.*

In 1763 A. D. the boy king Devendranârâyan was installed seated on the 'Châk Bâlis' in the lap of Chhatra Nazir Lalit-nârâyan. The Dharmâdhyaksa placed the 'Râjtika' on his forehead.⁽³⁸⁾ The Waqqa (order) for cremating the body of the late king was written and the eldest queen (Bara Aye Devati) ascended the funeral pyre of her husband. Thereafter Maharaja Devendranarayan performed the Srâdh in the capital of Cooch Behar according to the proper rites laid down in the Shâstras.

The minister Gaurinandan Mustofi, Ganriprasâd Bakshî Khâsnavis, Haresvar Kârji Khâs Dewaniâ etc. began to administer the kingdom on behalf of the minor king under instructions from the Mahârâni (the mother of the king). Gaurinath Isore a daughter's son of Maharaja Rûpnârâyan entered the service of the State when he was 17 or 18 years old and subsequently became Bara Kâyasth and Senâpati.

At this time the influence of the Bhutiyas increased. One of their representatives was at Cooch Behar with some soldiers, and it was necessary to take his assent in certain matters of administration. The Subâ of Buxa Duar came every year to Chekâkhâtâ with the chief Bhutiya officers to present Nazar

(38) The Râjopâkhyâna says that at the time of installation, Maharaja Devendranârâyan was four years old. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 13). The witnesses on behalf of the Nazir stated before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that the King was 17 or 18 months old when installed. The priest gave him some food to prevent his crying. (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II., page 35, 48). The king sat on the lap of the Nazir. The witnesses on behalf of the king did not mention the age of the king but said that when Abhayanârâyan was made Nazir, the king walked and sat on the seat unaided. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II., page 83.

to the king. They offered horses, Kochin and Debânga cloths, svetamâlâ, bhotmâlâ, musk, white chowries, walnuts, bhot ghee, bhot plums etc. The king also proceeded there accompanied by the Nazir and the Dewan, and presents worth double those brought by the Bhutiyâs, were given as Inâm (Khilât). In addition, the hill-men were regaled with a feast which included a large quantity of ham and wine.

During the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan, Nazir Lalit nânârâyan died without issue and at that time Abhayanârâyan and

Rudranârâyan two sons of Kumar Hema-

Investiture of the Nazir.

nânârâyan the eldest son of the Nazir's father, were living. Under orders of the

Maharani, the mother of the king, Kumar Abhayanârâyan was appointed Chhatra Nazir on behalf of the minor king, and in the forenoon one day, a Durbar was held in Rangamandir. Dewan Deo Kharganârâyan sat with the infant king in this Durbar. Kumar Abhayanârâyan was brought before the king and offered five Mohurs and a Turkish horse as Nazar. Under instructions from the Maharani, Dewan Deo asked the infant king to pass orders for offering siropâ to the new Nazir. The king repeated the words of the Dewan, and Jadunandan Bhândâr Thâkur presented Kumar Abhayanârâyan with a Khelât consisting of a garment, turban, cloth and a Turkish horse. In addition, Dankâ, flag and Arâni were given to indicate the status of the Nazir. Devidatta Waqqânâvis wrote the Sunnud appointing the Nazir and placed it before the king. The Bhândâr Thâkur placed it on

the turban of the Nazir. The Nazir

Nazir Abhayanârâyan.

issued from the Durbar, announced the news of his investiture by beating the

Dankâ and went to the temple of Madanmohon. The Maharani (mother of the king) was present at the back of the Rangamandir at the time of investiture of the Nazir and the newly appointed Nazir went to her and made obeisance.

Abhayanârâyan died eight months after he was appointed Nazir, and his youngest brother Rûdranârâyan succeeded him.⁽³⁹⁾

His investiture was performed with the same procedure as was adopted in the case of Abhayanârâyan, and an afternoon Durbar was held in the courtyard of the Madanmohan temple. Dewan Deo Kharganârâyan died during the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan and his eldest son Kumar Râmârâyan was appointed to the post.

On the 12th August 1765 A. D. the Hon'ble East India Company was entrusted under a Firman issued by Sâha Âlam the emperor of Delhi, with the realisation of the revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Accordingly, the revenue of Châklâs Boda, Pâtgram and Purvabhâg in Mughal territory, was paid to the Company.

After a reign of two years the boy king Devendranârâyan was assassinated. As Durgâdâs has written, the Râjguru Râmânanda Gosvâmi became engaged in intrigue against the king, and the Maharani passed orders for his expulsion from the capital. The Gosvâmi went to the Nazir Deo at Balarâmpur and planned revenge. He inspired a plot to kill the king and oust the boy's mother by making the Nazir who gave him shelter, king,

(39) The Râjopâkhyâna says that Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan and Dewan Deo Kharganârâyan made Kumar Debendranârâyan king in 1170 B. S. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 12). Twenty-five years after, Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet heard from eye-witnesses that Debendranârâyan became king when Lalitnârâyan was Chhatra Nazir. Manirâm Sarmâ a witness on behalf of Khagendranârâyan said that at that time Dewan Kharganârâyan himself attempted to become king, but Chhatra Nazir Lalitnârâyan protested "None can become king when the son of the king is living". There was likelihood of a fight between them but actually it did not take place.

Opportunity was not lost in selecting an instrument,—a Brahmin called Rati Sarmâ. A follower of Râmânanda, this person knew his way about the palace and the normal movements of the king. One afternoon, to the south-east of the palace, on the bank of the tank known as Padmapuskarini, potters were digging a well and nearby the boy king was playing. As Rati

Assassination of the king.

Sarmâ approached, the king saluated him and asked the reason for his visit. Rati Sarmâ feigned thirst and asked for some drinking water. Then when one of the two attendants left to bring the water, Rati Sarmâ unsheathed a hidden sword, dashed towards the boy and struck off his head. Presumably in order to seek some form of divine sanction to this most dastardly of crimes, the assassin gathered up the head, ran to a nearby temple and placing it before the image of the goddess, sat there in Dhyâna (meditation). Those who witnessed the deed, were at first dumbfounded, but then pursued the assassin and cut him to pieces in the temple.⁽⁴⁰⁾

(40) The Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 81.

The information furnished to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet on behalf of the king and mainly recorded under advice from Rajguru Sarvânanda Gosvâmi, was that Rati Sarmâ was not a co-villager or paid servant of Râmânanda Gosvâmi but merely stayed in the latter's house. He killed the king on the way to the palace from the house of Gaurinâtha Isore. At that time Ramananda Gosvâmi was at Balarampur, etc.

Rati Sarmâ also killed a boy named Pusanath who was one of the Khidmatgârs. Gaurinandan Mustofi tried to prevent the killing of Rati Sarmâ in order to find out the cause of the assassination, but the excited people paid no attention to him. The men of Gaurinatha killed Rati Sarmâ.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol II, page 20.

About a century later, Major Jenkins recorded that this assassination took place at the instigation of Râmânanda Gosvâmi.

Major Jenkins' Report, page 32.

When news of the assassination of Maharaja Devendranârâyan spread in the town, the people ran widely towards the palace. There the distracted Maharani was crying over the headless body of her son in her lap. Principal officers like Mahâmantri Gaurinandan Mustofi and Khâsnavis Gauriprasâd Bakshi were standing at a respectful distance in silent grief. The idea of an enquiry into the murder lapsed, the minds of all being obsessed with the horror of what had taken place. It was some time later that officers removed the Maharani. Her grief intensified when Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan came to the palace.

It was thought that the presence of the Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan was essential to determine the important question of the succession. Sachinandan Mustofi was

Beginning of a family feud. immediately despatched to him and the Nazir when he was apprised of the terrible

news at first displayed his sorrow. After consulting with his relatives he decided that "as the line of Maharaja Upendranârâyan has become extinct, it is fit that the charge of the kingdom should be taken over by my descendants." There were two sons of the late Chhatra Nazir Abhayanârâyan, Bhagavantanârâyan and Khagendranârâyan. The right leg of Bhagavanta was defective, and it was considered that he was therefore unfit to become a king. The younger Khagendranârâyan though a boy had many qualifications which befitted him, and Nazir Rudranârâyan determined he should be the next ruler. Accordingly he advanced on Cooch Behar with four or five thousand soldiers. Dewan Deo Râm-nârâyan was very angry when he was informed of the Nazir's intentions and sent word to the Nazir that so long as Maharaja Upendranârâyan's brother's son was alive, no one else had right to the throne. He added that if the Nazir associated himself in so unworthy an act, war would be inevitable. The Dewan Deo suited action to his words and began to assemble a force. He combined his own with the king's bodyguard, but even then he

had not a quarter of the Nazir's forces. Under the latter's orders, the town was besieged.

The ministers Gaurinâth Barakâyasth Kârji, Gaurinandan Mustofî, Gauriprasâd Bakshi and others consulted together. They went to Dewan Deo Râmñârâyan and then to the Nazir. When all of them were seated, the Nazir told the ministers,— “There is no son of Maharaja Upendranârâyan ; so I am resolved to make Khagendranârâyan king. What do you say ?” Gaurinath Kârji who though young, was of good family and markedly intelligent replied, “You are the chief of the descendants of Maharaja Visvasinha and the patron of them all. You have passed your life and acquired fame as a leader. The last stage of your life has arrived. No one has power to undo what you may do, but I say this. Rati Sarmâ lived in Balarampur for a long time. He suddenly came to the capital and assassinated the boy king. If now you deprive the brother's sons of Maharaja Upendranârâyan (of the kingship) and make your brother's son king, the people will say forever—‘The Nazir Deo Rudranârâyan came to lust for the kingdom and assassinated the boy king through Rati Sarmâ’. So will they be your enemies”. Rudranârâyan highly praised the intelligence of this reply and renounced his proposal. The danger had been averted by the presence of mind of Gaurinâtha.

Discussion then fell to considering who among the brother's sons of Maharaja Upendranârâyan (the sons of Dewan Kharganârâyan), should be king. Kharganârâyan had five sons, Râmñârâyan, Rajendranârâyan, Dhairyendranârâyan, Surendranârâyan and Baikunthanârâyan, popularly known as Ram, Krisna, Gopal, Govinda and Jadumani respectively. The eldest Kumar Râmñârâyan had previously accepted the post of the Dewan and was held to be unfit since he was already a servant of the king. The second, Kumar Rajendranârâyan had “a sore in his finger” and

Selection of a king.

was also declared unfit. The third Kumar, Dhairyendranârâyan, was selected, and the Maharani also, proposed Kumar Dhairyendra-nârâyan. The ministers informed Dewan Râmñârâyan, who though he himself had ambitions, realised the opposition there would be against him, and assented to the decision of the ministers.

CHAPTER XII.

MAHARAJA DHAIRYENDRANÂRÂYAN.

*Rajsaka 256—261; Sakâbda 1692; 1172—1177 B. S.;
1765—1770 A. D.*

In 1765 A. D. Kumar Dhairyendranârâyan was installed with popular approval. During the installation the Chhatra Nâzir Rudranârâyan held the umbrella; and according to the practice followed in the past, new coins were struck and presented by the Nazir, the Dewan and others. During the installation, Kumar Khagendranârâyan the youngest son of the former Nâzir Kumar Abhaynârâyan, and brother's son of Kumar Rudranârâyan, was appointed Gâbur Nâzir and the Siropâ and Sunnud were presented to him.

The Chhatra Nâzir began to collect revenue of Zila Mathabhanga and Zila Gitaldaha personally on the pretext that military expenditure had to be met. The officers brothers Gauriprasad Khasnavis and Bhabaniprasad Senapati were dead and as Rameswar the son of Gauriprasad and Visnuprasad the son of Bhabaniprasad were both minors, they were not placed in any post. Gaurinandan Mustofi was given the high post of Khasnavis. His brother Sachinandan Mustofi was a great favourite and much was done under his advice.

When news of the assassination reached the Devarâja of Bhutan, he was enraged. On enquiry it had transpired that

Execution of Râmânanda.

Rati Sarma the assassin was a resident of the village in which Râmânanda lived and it was by Râmânanda himself that he had been brought to Cooch Behar. Moreover the sword with which the king was killed was the personal property of Râmânanda Gosvâmi. The Devarâja therefore considered Râmânanda Gosvâmi as the real author of a despicable crime and sent a body of troops to arrest him. The Bhutiyâ soldiers came to Balarampur and seized the Gosvâmi. Tying his hands behind his back they hung him like a beast on a bamboo and took him in this fashion to their capital town Punâkhya (or Punâkhâ). There Râmânanda was executed, and when news of this reached his cousin Sarbânanda Gosvâmi, the latter proceeded to Cooch Behar and after giving spiritual initiation to the king by mantras was appointed to the influential post of Râjguru.⁽¹⁾

The execution of Gosvâmi Râmânanda marked a further change in the policy of Bhutan. Devarâja repudiated the supremacy of Dharmarâja and declared

Policy of Bhutan.

his own independence (1767 A. D.).

Already before this, Devarâja or Devayadhur (Debyoddhâ) had entertained ambitions of a dominion over plains of Cooch Behar. After the assassination of the Cooch Behar king, Pensu Toma had been sent with soldiers as Devayadhuri's representative and he began to interfere unduly

(1) The party of the Nazir said before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Sarbânanda Gosvâmi was the youngest brother of Râmânanda. The king's party said that Râmânanda was distantly related to Sarbânanda. (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 15, 20).—Dayâmayi Debyâ the wife of Krishnachandra Gosvâmi who was the grandson of Âsânanda (the brother of Sarbânanda) filed a petition before the Agent in Gauhati in 1843 A. D. In it was mentioned that Satânanda the father of Râmânanda was the eldest brother of Panchânanda the father of Sarbânanda.

in affairs of administration, until eventually his consent became indispensable. Then when Devayadhur crossed the boundary to fulfil his plan of aggrandisement, the Raikat of Baikunthapur joined him. The result of this expedition was that Jalpesvar, Mandâs etc. were occupied by the Bhutiyâs, though the territories of Laksmipur, Santarâbâri, Marâghât, Bholka etc. remained within the Cooch Behar raj.

In 1767 A. D. Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan married Kâmatesvarî Devi the sister of Rupchandra Bara Kayastha Karji, and at the same time five other

Nazir Khagendranârâyan. beautiful and accomplished maidens

including Bhubanesvari Devi. A year after the combined marriage festivities, the Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan died, and the king appointed the Gâbur Nazir Khagendranârâyan (the nephew of Rudranârâyan) as

Chhatra Nazir. Chhatra Nâzir. Kumar Khagendranârâyan did not come to Cooch Behar however to take over charge, but deputed

Kumar Samarsinha and Bandirâm Jamadar to appear in the royal Durbar to receive the Naziri Sunnud and Siropâ and bring them to Balarampur. While Kumar Khagendranârâyan had genius and influence, there was a streak of cruelty in his character.

The Maharani gave birth to a son in 1768 A. D. and he was named Dharendranârâyan.

Under Dewan Deo Kumar Ramnârâyan, the ministers Gaurinandan Mustofi and the queen's brother Rupchandra Bara

Authority of Ramnârâyan. Kayasth Karji carried on the administration. Dewan Deo was ambitious by

nature and his power and influence were gradually extended throughout the kingdom. When however this authority began to concern itself with purely family matters

of the royal household the king became apprehensive that his own powers were being curtailed. Thus the Dewan Deo took it upon himself to select Geleng Karji as a bridegroom for the youngest sister of the king, and disregarding the king's opposition the arrangements proceeded, and the marriage took place, to the king's great discomfiture.

In Rajsaka 260 (1769 A. D.) the Devayadhur of Bhutan attacked Vijaypur.⁽²⁾ In pursuance of the terms of the treaty previously concluded, Bhutan invited the king of Cooch Behar to participate in this enterprise. Dewan Deo

The battle of Vijaypur.
Kumar Rāmnārāyan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Cooch Behar army was ordered to join the Bhutiyyās, and the combined army proved victorious. As a result the conquered territory was occupied by the Devayadhur and the plunder in money and jewels fell into the hands of Dewan Rāmnārāyan who delivered only a small portion of the loot to the king and himself misappropriated the rest. This was one of the various causes leading to a rupture between the king and his Dewan.

The king was not unaware that Dewan Deo Ramnārāyan had harboured designs on the throne itself and that these had been baffled. The king was naturally embittered against the Dewan, and a climax was reached when he felt it unwise to give the Dewan any further latitude and he dismissed him, appointing his younger brother Surendranārāyan in the post. The king did not underestimate the influence of Rāmnārāyan and the probability of his becoming engaged in a

⁽²⁾ Vijaypur was near Morang territory to the north of Purnea. Later on the Gorkha king of Nepal conquered it.

Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 150, 161, 165.

The country of Sikkim is also called 'Vijaypur Sikkim'. History of Nepal, page 282.

revolt or a plot. Orders were therefore issued to hold the dismissed Dewan a prisoner and to confiscate all his jaigirs. Kumar Rāmnārāyan however anticipated this action and escaped to Bhutan. With the help of Devayadhur of Bhutan, he even succeeded in reestablishing himself in his post (3). Thereafter and in the face of this humiliation, the king's anger knew no bounds, and his trusted but evil counsellors, Sachinandan Mustofi, Rām Thākur, Kāla Pujari and Kālā Khāndādharā were always ready with their provocative advice.— “Rāmnarayan Deo is the authority. Whatever he wishes, is done. You are merely a king in name, a figurehead. As long as the Dewan is alive, your reign is unreal” (4). Information true, half true or false was daily conveyed to the king of the increasing power of the Dewan and the loss of royal prestige. At last his advisers insinuated into his mind the idea of murdering Rāmnārāyan and the idea hatched into a plot the plans for which were eagerly laid. The king was ready to pollute his own hands with the blood of his elder brother. Dewan Rāmnārāyan was informed of the “illness of the king”, and on the afternoon of the same day reached the door of the palace accompanied by his guard. Senāpati Gandharva Sinha met him and said “The Maharaja is unwell. It is not fit for you to advance with so many men.” As these words seemed to him not unreasonable, the Dewan Deo left the guard outside and passed through the first door with only six or seven attendants. At the second door, the durwan said “The Maharaja is ill. He has prohibited you bringing more than one or two men with you”; and so the Dewan advanced with only two attendants. The king was in a chamber “on the northern bank of a tank.” Some armed attendants Ram Thakur, Kālā Pujāri, Kāla Khāndādharā and others were with him. As the Dewan

(3) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 15, 21.

(4) Rājopākhyāna, Narakhanda, Adhyaya 14.

reached the steps near the door he was told,—“There is no order for any one but you to enter”. He entered alone, still without suspicion of any danger. He was surprised to see the king sitting on his seat and apparently enjoying the best of health. Even then, it may be, he did not apprehend his position. He sat down on a seat in front of the king. In accordance with the ancient custom of Ksatriyas or Râjputs, the descendants of Visvasinha, he had come armed. Straightway the king said, “Dâdâ (elder brother), let me see your sword”, and the Dewan Deo at once and without suspicion unsheathed his sword and handed it to his younger brother who affected curiosity and examined both sides of the blade with attention. Suddenly the sword fell with great force seriously wounding the Dewan in the hand. Utterly surprised the unfortunate victim made vain efforts to hold the hilt of the sword with his left hand, and appealed again and again, “Maharaj! What is my fault?” Wounded and helpless he ran out through the western door but his guard was not there and as soon as he reached the courtyard, Kâlâ and others of the conspirators cut him down with sula and sword. The faithful guard, when they heard what was afoot, advanced, but Senâpati Gandharva Sinha frustrated their efforts.

It was thus in 260 Rajsaka (1176 B. S. or 1769 A. D.) that Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan murdered his elder brother. The Bhutiya representative Pensu Toma took no action but he collected the names of the king's advisers, and left for Bhutan. The king again appointed Kumar Surendranârâyan as Dewan. Khasnavis Gaurinandan Mustofi owing to old age or because he was so shocked by the murder of the Dewan, gave up his post. The administration was conducted with the advice of his younger brother Sachinandan Mustofi. Kumar Rajendranârâyan the elder brother of the king had been greatly attached to the murdered Dewan Râmnârâyan. Thinking it unsafe to reside

in the capital, he went to Balarampur, and advised by Nazir Khagendranârâyan, he reported what had happened, to Devayadhur. Râjguru Sarbânanda Gosvami came to Cooch Behar with Kâsinath Lahiri ⁽⁵⁾ and reproached the king for his evil deed.

When the news reached the Devayadhur in Bhutan, he presumed that the king had either lost his senses or Dewan Râmnnârâyan had been disposed of because The plan of Devayadhur. he had associated with and received favour from the Bhutân râj. The Devayadhur determined to depose Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan to make way for his brother Kumar Rajendranârâyan. He first sought the approval of the Lama of Tibet and tried to bring the authorities at Lhasa to share his views ⁽⁶⁾.

Under the Devayadhur's orders a Bhutiyâ force marched to Buxa Duar. Information was sent to Cooch Behar regarding the annual feast to be held in Chekâkhâtâ in accordance with previous practice. It was specially requested,—“This time the Maharaj and the Dewan Deo may be personally present in the feast”. In Cooch Behar the real import of this invitation was realised. The king sent a reply that he was unwell, and that the Khasnavis and other high officers would be present on his behalf and manage the feast well. The Bhutiyâ officers however were not satisfied with this reply and pressed for the personal presence of the Maharaja at the feast. Replies and counter-replies were exchanged. At last Gaurinandan Mustofi went to the Bhutiyâs to ascertain their real intentions. The old minister was completely bluffed by the Bhutiyas and concluded that their invitation to the king was inspired only by their courtesy and simplicity. Then when Pensu Toma himself

(5) The descendants of Kâsinath Lahiri are the Zemindars of Naldanga in Rangpur.

(6) Narrative of the Bogle Mission, pages 135, 202.

came to Cooch Behar and took an oath in the name of Mahâkal the king's doubts were removed, and although Kâsinath Lahiri and Sarbânanda Gosvami were against the king's visit to Chekâkhâtâ and made many remonstrances against it they were disregarded. On the appointed day, the king journeyed to Chekâkhâtâ accompanied by the Nazir Deo, the Dewan Deo and other principal officers. Both parties encamped on prearranged sites. The Bhutiyâs placed their own guard in the rear of the king's tent. The Nazir Deo, surrounded by his own soldiers, pitched his tent a little way off, and paid no heed to the Bhutiyâs' objection to his arrangements.

Night passed, and early in the morning the Bhutiya general informed the king that he would have to go to Buxa. The

The king and the Dewan
Deo made prisoners.

king received this order in silence and without protests. Immediately two horses

were brought before the king and the Dewan, and the general told them gravely that willing or not they would have to mount. Simultaneously all persons who had been connected with the murder of the Dewan,—Sachinandan Mustofi, Râm Thâkur, Kâlâ Pujari, Kâlâ Khândâdhârâ, Pati Jhâridharâ and others—were seized and sent to Buxa. After two days in Buxa, the prisoners were moved to the city of Punâkhya, the capital of Bhutân where the prisoners other than the king and the Dewan were fettered and thrown into prison. Three or four handfuls of coarse dirty rice, salt and sutki (dried fish or flesh) formed their daily ration. The king and the Dewan were confined under surveillance in comparatively better conditions.

The Bhutiyas had escorted the king and the Dewan from Chekâkhâtâ with great expedition. By the time Nazir Khagendranârâyan the Commander-in-Chief of the king's army went to the king's tent, the prisoners had left. It was their lasting disgrace that the Nazir Deo and Jnândas Sardar made

no attempt to protect the king although they were present on the spot with armed force at their disposal. Gaurinandan Mustofi who had been present in Chekâkhâtâ, left overwhelmed with shame.

While Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan was kept prisoner in Bhutan, the Bhutiyâ chiefs brought Kumar Râje idranârâyan to Cooch Behar and made him king.

Selection of a new king.

Pensu Toma remained in Cooch Behar with soldiers to support the new regime.

When news of the king's captivity had reached the Maharani, she fainted. In her grief she secluded herself in the inner apartments of the palace with Kumar Dharendranârâyan.

During this reign a serious famine afflicted the whole of Bengal. As it happened in 1176 B. S. it came to be known in the history of Bengal and traditions of the people as "Chhiyâttarer

Famine 1176 B. S.

Manvantar" ("the famine of 76"). Cooch

Behar suffered from scarcity but no detailed description of conditions has survived. We know however that Armenian and French merchants opened a dépôt for collecting grain at Kursâ on the southern boundary of Cooch Behar. The grains grown near Kursâ was normally exported to Rungpur and Mr. Gross the then Supervisor of Rungpur sent a letter of request to the king that this might not be stopped.

In old papers is found an account of the Dhâlâ Jabd (settlement of the whole country) in the kingdom of Cooch

Behar in 257 Rajsaka. In 1176 B. S.

Determination of the boundary of the kingdom.

(1769 A. D.) the boundary between Cooch Behar and the territory of the Company

was fixed. Some taluks of Gitaldhaba and Batris Hâjâri pergannas were separated from Châkle Kâkinâ and included in Cooch Behar.⁽⁷⁾

(7) "Sambhuvansa Charita" of Kâkinâ, page 12,

MAHARAJA RAJENDRANARAYAN.

*Rājsaka 261—262 ; Sakalda 1692—1693 ;
1177—1178 B. S. ; 1770—1772 A. D.*

Kumar Rajendranârâyan was set on the royal throne by the Bhutiyâs, and not in accordance with the family custom. Further, Maharaja Dhiryendranârâyan was living. For these reasons neither his subjects and ministers were disposed to regard him as supposititious.⁽⁸⁾ None of the former ministers joined the administration, Gaurinandîn Mustofi purposely remaining absent. The new king appointed Bijendranârâyan the son of the murdered Dewan Râmârâyan as Dewan, Hereswar Karji as Khâs Dewania, and Jadunandan Bhândâr Thakur to the Mâlkhanâ. Pensu Toma, the Bhutiyâ representative was supreme and the royal officers obeyed his orders.

The Bhutiyâ control rendered it more and more difficult for the Nazir to maintain his authority, and gradually bickering arose between him and the Bhutiyâs. Both

The Bhutiyâs.

king and Nazir had become contemptible in the eyes of the people because they

tolerated the overweening bearing of the Bhutiyâs. It became difficult to transmit important information to the king and still more to meet the most necessary expenditure of the royal family. The income from the small 'Khâmîrkhatâ' and 'Andaran' lands of the Maharani was utilised for the household and for Satyabhâmâ Devi the mother of the king.

(8) It is not mentioned in the Râjopâkhyâna that the umbrella was held by the Nazir at the installation. It is inferred that actually this was not done. The witnesses on behalf of Nazir Khagendranârâyan before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet revealed that Rajendranârâyan became king with the assent of the Bhutiyâs and of Nazir Khagendranârâyan. (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 37, 44). Presumably the custom of holding the umbrella at the installation was within the matters for enquiry by the Commissioners;—otherwise it is doubtful whether evidence on this point would have been offered on behalf of Khagendranârâyan.

After two years, the marriage of the new king took place. The customary letters of invitation were sent to many guests including Nazir Khagendranârâyan. The Devayadhur being invited and having received the usual offerings, made various presents through a Jinkâp (officer). Kâsinath Lahiri, Sarbânanda Gosvami, Kumar Baikunthanârâyan and other Kumars, Kârjis and Isores were present at the marriage and offered presents. This marriage was celebrated in Chaitra 1178 B. S. (262 Râjsaka or 1772 A. D.).

The king was attacked with fever on the fifth day after his marriage. On the after-noon of the day when Chhatra Nazir

Death of the king. Khagendranârâyan came to the capital after learning of the illness, the king died. He came to be called 'Lakhâi Râja' by the people.* He had ruled only for two years and some months.

His untimely death was the occasion of fresh unrest owing to the uncertainty of the succession. Pensu Toma having

Differences regarding the succession. informed Devayadhur of the death of the king, aided the brother of the late king, Kumar Baikunthanârâyan, to raise Kumar Bijendranârâyan the son of Dewan Ramnârâyan to the throne. Raikat Darpareva lent his support to this scheme, for though the ambitions of the previous Raikats had been frustrated, the later Raikats were no less desirous of political power, and were always on the quivive for an opportunity

Considering all the circumstances, it does not appear probable that Nazir Khagendranârâyan consented to the installation of Rajendranârâyan. The king of Bhutan had no authority to select a king of Cooch Behar. When Rajendranârâyan became king, the rightful king Dhairyendranârâyan was alive.

*Lakhâi or Laksmîndra is the hero of the popular story of Behula who died on his wedding night after being bitten by a snake. (Tr.)

to exercise it. Already they had encroached upon a portion of Cooch Behar territory, with the help of the Bhutiyâs.⁽⁹⁾

At this time the royal insignia were kept in the Madanmohan temple, and Pensu Toma maintained guards there. Hareswar Karji and Jadunandan Bhandar Thakur were the Superintendents. At the queen's inspiration, Dhairyendranârâyan, Kâsinath Lahiri and Sarbânanda Gosvami went to request Nazir Khagendranârâyan to make Kumar Dharendranârâyan the son of the captive Raja, king. The Nazir did not approve of Kumar Bijendranârâyan and accepting the advice of Lahiri and Gosvami he agreed on Kumar Dharendranârâyan. His soldiers drove away the Bhutiyâs and occupied the capital. Hareswar Karji and Jadunandan Bhandar Thakur were removed.

MAHARAJA DHARENDRANARAYAN.

*Rajsaka 263—265, Sakâlba 1694—1696 ; 1179—1881 B. S. ;
1772—1775 A.D.*

Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan took Kumar Dharendra-nârâyan in his arms to the Rangamandir and duly installed him as king.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Nazir held the umbrella. Coin and seals were struck in the name of the new king and the Nazir offered nazar in new coin. Under orders of the king, the last rites and the Srâdh ceremonies of the late king were performed.

Like Rajendranârâyan, Dharendranârâyan failed to command full respect. Khasnavis Kâsinath Lahiri and Rajguru Sarbânanda Gosvami had told Nazir Khagendranârâyan,—“If you do not make Dharendranârâyan Kâchua king at this juncture, the kingdom will be under the Bhutiyâs. You also will not be able to live in quiet”. For obvious reasons, Dharendranârâyan

(9). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I., pages 11, 12.

(10). This installation took place in Chaitra 1178 B. S. (1772 A. D.).

was referred to by some as a 'temporary king', and as 'Naib Rājā'.⁽¹¹⁾

Maharani Kāmātesvari took over the administration on behalf of the minor king. She was greatly attached to Rajguru Sarbānanda Gosvāmi, whose authority in administrative affairs, soon became evident.

Under orders of the Maharani, Kasinath Lahiri had been appointed Khasnavis. But these arrangements displeased Nazir Khagendranārāyan who himself sought a place in the administration. He considered it most unsuitable for the Gosvāmi to be closely connected with public affairs.

Pensu Toma, after being driven away by the Nazir, reported to the Devayadhur who became very angry and sent three 'Kāhans' (3840) of Bhutia soldiers

Attack by the Bhutiyaś. through the Buxa Duar pass to attack Cooch Behar. The Nazir also had

organised an army under his eldest brother Kumar Bhagavanta-nārāyan who was an officer of ability and valour. Though one of his legs was defective, he was a skilful leader of cavalry. As the Bhutiya forces advanced, Bhagavantanārāyan pushed forward towards them and at Chekākhātā a battle was fought in which the Bhutiya army was routed and retreated towards Buxa Duar. The Bhutiya losses in this battle were very heavy. Undaunted, the Devayadhur raised a great army

The enmity of the Raikats. from places all over Bhutan. A nephew of the Devayadhur (a Jimpe) was nominated Commander-in-Chief, and was given orders to proceed with eight or ten thousand

(11). "During which time Dherindra Narayan's (Dhairjendranārāyan's) eldest son officiated, after which being released by the favour of the English, on his son the Raja's dying, he was reinstated". Report of Konongows to East India Company, dated the 6th February, 1784.

"Assuming the whole sovereign authority and styling his (Dhairjendra Narayan's) son Naib Rajah." Government Select Records, Vol. I, page 544.

well-equipped soldiers to the plains.⁽¹²⁾ In this war, Raikat Darpadeva allied himself with the Bhutiyâs.

Though individually the Bhutiyâs were natural fighters, they were not capable of standing up against disciplined troops. There were "riflemen" among them but they were not experts. The normal Bhutiya soldier carried a wooden pole with a pointed end. This served both as a weapon as well as a tent-pole.

When the Nazir was apprised of the great preparations of the Bhutiyâs, he sent the boy king, the Maharani and the members of the royal family to Balaram-

Victory of Devayadur.

pur. He had no more than three thousand soldiers and of these three to four hundred were engaged in guarding the palace and the treasury. Gosvami and Khasnavis had gone to Rungpur to recruit soldiers, and these arrived with Jemadar Rupan Sing. Thus there was a total force of some four thousand soldiers about five hundred of whom were raw recruits. Moreover although the force was variously armed with swords, bows and arrows, spears and guns, it had no training in handling these weapons to the best advantage. There were cannon, a small body of cavalry and some trained elephants. Under the command of Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan, Kumar Bhagavantanârâyan led the army in the field and was joined by Sarbânanda Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri. The force was placed in various dispositions on the northern border to hold up the Bhutiyâs but this proved bad strategy as these isolated

(12), Narrative of the Bogle Mission, page 147.

In the Râjopâkhyâna, the name of the Commander-in-Chief of Bhutiya soldiers was 'Jimpe' and the number of their soldiers 16 Kâhans (20, 480). (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 17), But this is not correct. The letter-carrier and the supervisor of the worship of the Devarâj was called 'Jimpe'. Embassy to Tibet, pages 66, 76,

units were gradually defeated in detail by the Bhutiyyâs. Eventually when the combined forces were engaged, the Nazir rallying all his resources, he was defeated and his four thousand soldiers were routed.

The Nazir, Gosvami and Lahiri first made for Balarampur, and thence took the king and the members of the royal family to Panga. The king and his family were left there, the others proceeding to

Bijendranârâyan. Rungpur, except the members of the Nazir's own family who were sent to Rângâmâti. Meanwhile the Bhutiya Commander-in-Chief had invaded Cooch Behar and crowned Bijendranârâyan the son of the murdered Dewan Ramnârâyan. The second supposititious ruler was kept however at Chekâkhâtâ, the climate of which did not suit him, and he died after a few days.

The victorious Commander-in-Chief of the Bhutiyyâs now consolidated his power by constructing forts in Gitaldaha,

Bâlâdângâ, Mowâmâri, Marâghât and Laksmipur for the protection of Rule of Bhutiyyâs. the capital. His army included men from north Bhutan. Tall and of yellow complexion, their language differed from that of the men from south Bhutan. They were also more brutal and more addicted to "wine and flesh".⁽¹³⁾

The Commander-in-Chief of the Bhutiyyâs adopted the Rangamandir in the palace as his headquarters, to which one approach only was kept open, 'Bis Painji' (poisoned bamboo stakes) being driven into the ground on all sides of the palace. Between the great simul trees around the palace,

(13). It is said that the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhutiyyâs confined male and female subjects of Cooch Behar like goats and sheep, and when there was a dearth of these animals, human beings were eaten. Râjopâkhyâna, Narakanda, Adhyâya 17.

There is however no proof that the men of Bhutan or Tibet were cannibals.

wooden posts and bamboos were erected as a kind of rampart.

Raikat Darpadeva and the Devayadhur were not satisfied merely by conquering the kingdom. They sought the

Policy of the Devayadhur
and the Raikat.

permanent exile of the king. The Devay-

adhur despatched two thousand Bhutiyâ soldiers via Bijni Duar against the

Nazir. The Raja of Bijni was asked to join forces with this army, but this move was frustrated by the Collector of Rungpur. At this juncture the Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan came to an important decision in consultation with Sarbânanda Gosvami and Kasinâth Lahiri. The East India Company was requested to intervene. The Company agreed. It has to be remembered that the independence of Cooch Behar had been recovered from the Mughals a century before, and during the time of Maharaja Upendranârâyan the influence of the Bhutiyâs had been established, yet no one regarded Cooch Behar as a fief of Bhutan. Rather was it felt that the independence of the kingdom was bartered to the East India Company in exchange for military aid.

The Company had already concerned itself with the presence of armed Bhutiyâs on the border of its territory. Discussion

of the terms of a treaty between the
Treaty with the Company. Company and the Nazir now took place

through the Circuit Committee of Rungpur. The Nazir proposed inter alia that the right of coinage should not be interfered with and that the royal authority should be re-established over the Raikat of Baikunthapur. The Revenue Board did not at that time reach any decision on

Coming of the Company's
soldiers.

these points but decided the other terms forming the treaty on the 4th December

1772 A. D. While the terms were being considered and before they were regularly settled, and pending the

orders of the Revenue Council, Mr. Purling the Collector of Rungpur detailed at the end of 1772 A. D. 'a company of sepoys' under Captain Jones to Cooch Behar to protect the king.⁽¹⁴⁾ Lieutenant

Conquest of Cooch Behar.

Dickson and Mr. Durham were with this force. The English soldiers occupied places like Gitaldaha, Dinhata, Bâlâdângâ and Mowâmâri and reached Cooch Behar where there was severe fighting between the Company's soldiers and Bhutiyâs. Lieutenant Dickson and Captain Jones were wounded and about a fourth of their soldiers was killed or wounded, but the English soldiers were victorious and the Bhutiyâs were repulsed. On the 21st December 1772, the fort of Cooch Behar fell into the hands of the Company's force. The Captain wrote to the Governor that the complete expulsion of the Bhutiyâs would necessitate reinforcement. On the 12th January 1773 A. D. Nazir Khagendranârâyan came to the capital with the boy king, to interview Mr. Purling. Under Mr. Purling's advice the Nazir dismissed the Sannyâsis serving under him.

When the fort of Cooch Behar had been occupied by the Company, Raikat Darpareva was cut off from the Bhutiyâs and Captain Jones proceeded to deal with him.

Pursuit of the Raikat.

Captain Jones marched from Mowâmâri through Lalbazar to Patgram. On the 27th January 1773 he wrote to the Governor from Patgram

(14). "I have therefore now sent a company of sepoys to Nazir Deo to remain with him and protect him until I hear from you which I hope will suit with your approbation".

Letter from the Collector of Rungpore to the Council of Revenue, dated 21st November 1772,—Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

"Immediately upon an application from the Behar people for assistance, despatched a battalion of the Company's Sepoys to repel the invaders". Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 136.

that there were five or six thousand men under Darpadeva and he had heard that Rahimganj and the country to the west of it had been deserted.⁽¹⁵⁾ Darpadeva had established a "Thana" at Baniadangi. On the 28th January there was a battle and the Company's soldiers inflicted severe losses on Darpadeva's force which fled either towards Bhoothat or across the Tista river or to the west.

In the operations against Darpadeva, Captain Thomas had been located at Santosganj (?). On the 30th January Captain

Jones wrote to the Governor from

~~Occupation of Rahimganj.~~ Changrabandha—"I now propose taking possession tomorrow of the Fort of

Rohimgunge, from whence if the situation of Beyhar with regard to the Boutans of which Mr. Purling will advise me, does not render it dangerous—I shall proceed to cross the river to Gilpygory, a principal Fort belonging to Durrup Deo where I learn he is inciting the Faquires to make another stand".⁽¹⁶⁾ Captain Jones advanced, crossed the Tista river and had arrived near Baikunthapur in the middle of February. He had two cannon and a howitzer with him. Darpadeva had taken a position in jungle country with about 1500 "Hindustani" soldiers. As the force under Captain Jones was not thought sufficient, a battalion from Dinajpur was ordered to engage the Sannyasis on the borders of Purnea and Tirhat. Another force under Captain Stuart was sent to check the oppression of the Sannyasis. Officers of other adjacent districts including Patna were directed to furnish reinforcements. Passing

(15). "Dirrap Deo, whose forces are joined with the sunasses and under hope of whose reward they have yet stood, is at Luckipoor one of the passes into the hills of Boutan; Rohimgunge and the country to the westward I hear is deserted. The strength of the enemy is by most accounts said to amount to five or six thousand men". Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

(16). Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

through Sannyâsikâtâ and Devgâo, Captain Jones conquered Dâlingkote.

While Captain Jones was engaging Darpadeva, Mr. Purling with the object of subduing the northern part of Cooch Behar directed Lieutenant Dickson on the 15th February to occupy Chekâkhâtâ and if necessary, other places in that area. Mr. Purling accompanied this expedition. The Bhutiyâs however had already evacuated Chekâkhâtâ when they learnt of the advance of the English troops. A body of Sannyasis which had been in a portion east of Chekâkhâtâ, also retired before the Company's soldiers. Lieutenant Dickson attacked Buxa Duar

Occupation of Buxa.

and after hard fighting took it and burnt the Bhutiâ Mâchângs (houses built on poles). Much war material and two good three-pounder guns fell into the hands of the English.

After this battle, the English contemplated advancing on Laksmi Duar, but on the day following the capture of Buxa, an

Defeat at Buxa.

English sergeant was ambushed near a spring of water. The Bhutiyâs took up various positions on the forested hills near

Buxa and during the night completely surrounded the Company's force. In these circumstances Mr. Purling passed orders for the force to leave in silence *via* the pass. But during this movement, a Subedar at the rear of the column fired shots at the enemy and at once the English force was in a tight corner. The Bhutiyâs had stacked stones on the peaks of hills overlooking the narrow pass, and now, excited by the firing, they rolled the stones down upon the English soldiers. In the report of Lieutenant Dickson to the Governor, it is said that they retired with extreme difficulty and fourteen soldiers were entombed by stones. It is added that the Subedar was imprisoned for disobedience of orders.

When the English force had returned to Chekâkhâtâ, Mr. Purling addressed the Bhutan authorities pointing out the consequences of war, and requesting the return of the Maharaja failing which he would attack Tâsisudan the capital of

Attempt at a treaty. Bhutan. The Dharmarâja of Bhutan sent a letter to Mr. Purling through a servant of the Cooch Behar Maharaja expressing his desire for a treaty. This man gave out that the Bhutiyâs were very afraid and had asked help from the Raja of Fari who had refused, and advised the return of the king to Cooch Behar.

While Mr. Purling was at Chekâkhâtâ considering the terms of a treaty with the Bhutiyâs, he was attacked one night at 2 A. M. by four thousand Bhutiyâ soldiers.

Reverse at Chekâkhâtâ. He had only 226 sepoys. Lieutenant

Dickson, Lieutenant Taylor, Captain Martin, Mr. Baker and Mr. Knowles were with him. During the night and for some hours on the following day, the English party fought desperately, 200 of their sepoys being killed and Lieutenant Taylor wounded. At last, with much difficulty, they saved the situation and conveyed the news to the Governor. Later, the English force again occupied Chekâkhâtâ.

After the Bhutiyâs were completely expelled from the plains, the fortunes of the Devayadhur changed. The Dharmarâja published a proclamation dismissing him. The newly-appointed Devaraj petitioned the Company, through the medium of the Tibetan authorities, for a treaty. At this time the Lama of Tibet exercised a great influence over Bhutan, and proposing himself as an intermediary in the negotiations, Tisu Lama sent a messenger to the Governor Warren Hastings with a letter which was discussed in the

Dismissal of the Devayadhur.

Mediation of Tisu Lama.

Council. A treaty was concluded between the Devarâj and the Company on the 25th April 1774 A. D.

In consequence the new Devarâj released Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan, and loading him with many presents including eight Tibetan horses, Bhutiya cloth known as Kochin and Devânga, sent

Release of the Maharaja and the Dewan.
him with the Dewan and his companions to Chekâkhâtâ through the pass of Buxa.⁽¹⁷⁾ Dharmarâj was greatly displeased at the action of the Devayadhur.⁽¹⁸⁾ At the end of the war however, Mr. Bogle an officer of the Company went to Bhutan, and the Devarâj specially requested him to restore the previous friendship between Cooch Behar and Bhutan.⁽¹⁹⁾

Informed of the return of the Maharaja, the Nazir and other principal officers went to Chekâkhâtâ to receive him.

Attitude of the Maharaja. The Maharaja was bitter about the treaty concluded with the Company and reproached the Nazir.—“Bâbâ Nazir!

why did you give the kingdom to the Company? The kingdom having the emblem of the elephant and its own coinage, has been

(17). The place where the king first took rice on his return is now known as 'Râjâ-Bhât-Khâwâ'. The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 247.

Chekâkhâtâ was situated near Râjâ-Bhât-Khâwâ. It may be that the name of Râjâ-Bhât-Khâwâ owed its origin to the annual feast of the kings of Bhutan and Cooch Behar in Chekâkhâtâ. It is said that when the king lived in Bhutan, he had sons by a Bhutiya woman (Vansâvali written by Durgâdâs, page 84). The great-great-grandson of this king the late Kumar Gajendranârâyan, Bar-at-law, told the writer of this work that at times, the sons of Maharaja Dhairjendranârâyan by the Bhutiya woman used to visit Cooch Behar. Once during a festival when they were witnessing a display of fire-works from the back of an elephant, the elephant suddenly took fright and deposited its passengers on the ground. Thinking that this was a plot to kill them, they went away to Buxâ that very night and never again came to Cooch Behar.

(18). The letter dated the 29th Asar 267 Rajsaka written by the Dharmarâj to Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan.

(19). Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 183.

given by God. How can one be a Chhatradhâri king if he pays tribute to another?" The Nazîr replied,—“I have agreed to the Lâlbandi (light tribute) with the Company to free you from the hands of the enemy.” The king—“What was ordained in my fate has happened. Out of the descendants of Visvasinha, in the absence of one, another would have become king. I was a self-established king. How can I now acknowledge obedience to another?” The king said no more. On his return there were many festivities and auspicious celebrations in the capital. Sarbânanda Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri had him shaved and requested him to sit on the royal throne and manage the affairs of the kingdom regularly. But he would not agree, and said ‘Bâbâ Dharendranârâyan has become king. Let him rule the kingdom.’ The Maharaja began to isolate himself and become absorbed with religious matters.

It appears that once he met Mr. Purling the Collector of Rungpur. He rarely saw Sachinandan Mustofi, Ram Thakur or Kâlâ Pujâri. The Dharmûrâj of Bhutan wrote him a letter advising him to pay attention to the administration.

Before Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan's return, a Hastbud of Cooch Behar had been prepared by officers of the Company in pursuance of Fixing the revenue. the terms of the treaty. This Hustbud of the revenue was drawn up by Mr. Purling in 1180 B. S. (1773 A. D.) and shows that the revenue units and their revenue were thus fixed:—

Name of Division	Real revenue.	Miscellaneous collections (Alwab).	Total.
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Under the Maharaja:—

	Rs. A. G. K.	Rs. A. G. K.	Rs. A. G. K.
Zillah Baladanga	... 8,028 6 5 3	7,912 13 16 1	15,941 4 2 0
“ Bakâlimari (Backelimarry)	... 4,672 11 19 0	6,828 14 8 1	11,501 10 7 1
“ Sital	... 5,444 10 13 1	8,366 14 2 3	13,811 8 16 0
“ Pinjârir Jhâr	... 11,725 7 6 0	6,480 6 7 3	18,205 13 13 3
“ Lalbazar ..	... 8,330 10 13 2	1,562 5 5 3	9,892 15 10 3

HISTORY OF COOCH BEHAR

Name of Division.	Real revenue.	Miscellaneous collections (Abwab).	Total.
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Under the Mahatja :—

	Rs. A. G. K.	Rs. A. G. K.	Rs. A. G. K.
“ Abuâr Pâthâr”	2,437 14 2 0	1,080 5 2 2	3,518 3 4 2
“ Mohanpur”	5,991 5 18 2	.....	5,991 5 18 2
“ Teldhâr”	5,596 12 0 1	192 9 0 1	5,789 5 0 2
“ Laksmipur”	5,157 0 17 1	130 14 12 0	5,287 15 8 1
“ Bihar”	399 5 10 3	10,424 8 7 0	10,823 13 17 3
TOTAL	57,784 5 6 1	42,979 0 2 2	1,00,764 0 8 3

Under the Nazir :—

Dâkurtahât	15,910 1 17 0	5,400 11 4 0	21,310 13 1 0
Gitaldaha	24,976 14 13 1	7,508 14 10 3	32,458 13 4 0
Rampur	6,638 10 15 1	1,794 1 1 3	8,462 11 7 0
Chakla Purbabhaq	14,404 3 0 3	8,823 14 18 2	23,228 1 19 1
Rahimgunj	54,412 0 3	11,093 5 8 3	65,544 7 9 2
TOTAL	1,16,411 0 7 0	34,621 5 3	1,51,031 15 10 3

Under the Dewan :—

Pâtchharâ	10,831 14 17 3	2,132 13 12 1	12,964 12 10 0
Revenue of land newly cultivated in 1181	6,917 9 14 2	.....	6,917 9 14 2
GRAND TOTAL	.....	.....	271,678 6 4 0

Minus :—

Revenue of some land of Chakla Boda included in the revenue of the divisions of Dâkurtahât and Gitaldaha ...	2,865
	72,558 0 9 0

Revenue from rent-free lands such as Jaigir, Brahmottar and Debutter	51,878 7 18 2
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Expenditure for realisation in the mufussil	17,814 8 10 2
TOTAL	72,558 0 9 0

BALANCE	199,120 5 15 0
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Of the aforesaid 1,99,120-5-15 Narayani coins, half, namely 99,560-2-17-2 (Narayani), was to be payable to the Company,

under the treaty and later this figure was fixed in perpetuity.⁽²⁰⁾ Like Chakla Boda, Chakla Purvabhang is in Cooch Behar Zemindary to the present day but its revenue as included in the Hustbud, has never been excluded from the calculation of the tribute.

The revenue of the personal properties of the Maharaja, the Dewan, the Nazir and other members of the royal family and other rent-free lands of this nature, was not included in the Hastbud. The collection of the revenue due to the Company was delegated to Sajwal Mansârâm, who, with an officer and some soldiers to assist him, was posted in Rahimgunj. When the Maharaja requested the removal of this officer, a surety was demanded for the dues of the Company and Hararam Sen stood surety on behalf of the Maharaja. The Sajwal (Tehsildar) and the soldiers of the Company then left Cooch Behar, and thereafter the responsibility for the tribute was with the Khasnavis Kasinath Lahiri. The Company's Sajwal had further occasion to visit Cooch Behar in 1184 B. S.

In 1877 A. D. when Mr. Purling was at Rungpur, a proposal was made on behalf of the Maharaja to pay the tribute due to the Company in the current coin of the Company. Though there was a prospective loss of Rs. 7,600 in exchange, Mr. Purling submitted a report to the revenue Council commending this proposal. (After this he ordered Sajwal Krisnamohan to return from Cooch Behar).

In 1184 B. S. Khasnavis Kasinath Lahiri was removed from that post and Syamchandra Ray was appointed in his place. In that year, Sristidhar Bhâiya who had again been appointed Sajwal, came to Cooch Behar and collected revenue up to Kartik 1186 B. S. In 1187 B. S. another Sajwal

(20). The letter dated the 14th August 1800 written by the Government in the name of the Revenue Board.

was appointed. Though the Sajwals were under the Collector, signature of the Nayeb Kâzî the officer of the Nawab appeared in the orders addressed to them. In 1188 and 1189 B. S. Debi Sing controlled the collection of revenue. In 1188 B. S. Hararam Sen had again offered surety, and collected the revenue through his own officers. In 1890 B. S. Kasinath Lahiri on behalf of the Maharaja, and the Sajwal of Mr. Goodlad on behalf of the Company, collected revenue. From 1191 B. S. the Maharaja's officer Kasinath Lahiri was the collector of revenue. The system lasted for ten years following the treaty and was obviously most unsatisfactory, the Sâjwals of the Company collected the half of the revenue due to them, and the Maharaja's officers again appeared to realise the other half. When the officers of the Company sent money to Rungpur, the Khâsnavis or some officer of similar status signed the Chalan.

One day in 1181 B. S. Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan set off on foot from his home, and suddenly announced that he was going on a pilgrimage and any one who wished to do so, might go with him. Kâlâ Pujâri, four or five Brahmins and seven or eight servants became the party, which started off despite the tears of the queen, and the advice of the Gosvami and the Khâsnavis. The Maharaja would not take with him horses, elephants or dôlâs (palanquins) or tents, but his officers unknown to him, sent behind him armed men with horses, Dolâ and money. Actually the Maharaja would have none of these. He slept at night under a tree on a bed of skins (tiger or Krisnasâra deer) and walked by day.

After a journey of some days, he reached Dinajpur where his friend Baidyanath the Raja of Dinajpur met him with food and presents. The royal pilgrim would not accept these gifts, but at the request of his friend, he formally received them and

The royal pilgrimage.

then distributed them among the poor. From Dinajpur he proceeded to the Banks of the Ganges, and after performing the ceremonies of Srâdh, Tarpan etc. in the holy river, stayed at Gayâ. He offered Pindas (oblations) to his ancestors in Gayâ Tirtha and granted considerable Brahmottar land to the Gayâlî who acted as his Tirtha-guru (preceptor) in Gayâ Tirtha. The order granting the land, was sent to Cooch Behar addressed to Gosvami and Khâsnavis. Then the pilgrimage led to Benares and Prayâg (Allahabad) and thence back to Cooch Behar.—It was claimed for this pilgrimage that it purified the mind of the Maharaja.⁽²¹⁾

The Kutghâts (permit-houses) 'Mansab Ghât' and 'Mânkar Chât' on the borders of Cooch Behar and Bhutan constituted frequent sources of dispute between the two countries. In 1175 A. D. the Collector Mr. Harwood investigated the question and settled that they were within Cooch Behar.

But a month after his return from his pilgrimage, Maharaja Dharendranârâyan was attacked with fever and died (1775 A. D.).

Death of Dharendranârâyan. As he was the only son, leading personages like Gosvami exercised all their power of persuasion to make Dhairyendranârâyan agree to take charge of the administration. He was again placed on the throne, but Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan was not present at the installation.⁽²²⁾

(21). The Râjopâkhyâna says that this pilgrimage took place in 1184 B. S. (1777 A. D.) after the death of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan (Narakanda, Adhyâya 20) and before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet it was stated on behalf of the Maharaja that it was after the death of Dharendranârâyan. In the Vansâvali by Durgadas there is a mention of a pilgrimage extending over two and half years (page 84).

(22). In the account given by Khagendranârâyan before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, it is recorded that he again made Dhairyendranârâyan king.

The reign of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan had been disfigured by a corrupt administration under which justice was conspicuous by its absence. There was no protection for life or property of the people who were further harassed by the oppression of the Bhutiyas and the dacoities of Sannyâsis. The principal officers responsible were Rupchandra Parakâyasth Karji, Dewan Ramprasad Sarmâ and Sachinandan Mustofi.

During the regin of Dhairyendranârâyan, Dwija Rudradeva translated the Aranyakânda of the Râmâyana. The manuscript has been preserved in the State Library, Cooch Behar.

MAHARAJA DHAIRYENDRANARAYAN.

(SECOND REIGN).

Râjsaka 265—274: Sakabda 1696—1705;

1181—1190 B. S.; 1775—1783 A. D.

At the beginning of 1775 A. D. Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan again became the nominal Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

^{Authority of Sarbânanda Gosvami.} He was preoccupied with religion and displayed no interest in administration.

As before Maharani Kâñkatesvari asserted her influence in public affairs, and as the Maharaja paid no attention to matters placed before him for orders, it was she who decided them.⁽²³⁾ Râjguru Sarbânanda Gosvami assumed the role of informal adviser to the Maharani and gradually acquired the authority in the administration which he had had during the time of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. Chhatra Nazir Khagendra-nârâyan had already given ample indication that he did not propose to support the Gosvâmi, and his intentions now came to be definitely expressed.

(23). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 151.

When Dhairyendranârâyan again acceded to the Gadi there were three or four lacs of Nârâyani coins in the Company's treasury at Rungpur, and Mr. Harwood of Dinajpur therefore sent a letter to the Durbar forbidding more than one thousand Nârâyani coins to be struck each month. As this request was not fulfilled in practice, Mr. Harwood himself came to Cooch Behar and required Nazir Khagendranârâyan and Sarbânanda Gosvami to execute a bond to carry out his orders.⁽²⁴⁾

After the death of Maharaja Dharcndranârâyan, a Sunnud was granted to Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan by the Company for the Zemindary of the three Chaklas (Boda, Patgram and Purbabhâg) within "Sarkar Koch Bihar", the peskash being 50 mohurs.⁽²⁵⁾ The Chaklajat Zemindary was entrusted, in the name of Nazir Khagendranârâyan, to Dewan Ramchandra Ray

Misconduct of the Chowdhuris.

and his son Syamchandra Ray. They personally misappropriated the profits and remitted very small amounts to the

Nazir and practically nothing to the Maharaja. Fakirchand and Harinarayan were Chowdhuries (collectors of revenue) of Chakla Boda, Debiprasad of Chakla Patgrm and Ali Muhammad of Chakla Purbabhag. Following the example of officers at Chaklas Kakina, Kajir Hât and Fatehpur, these Chawdhuries sought to become Zemindars themselves, and they filed suits before the Collector of Rungpur against the Nazir Deo and the Maharaja of Cooch Behar setting up a "claim of title". The Collector Mr. Purling decided in the case that the Chowdhuries and the Nazir were merely officers of the three Châklâs and the

(24). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 24.

(25). The Company granted this Sunnud on the 17th February 1776 A. D. in the 17th years of the reign of the emperor.

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 293.

real owner was the Maharaja of Cooch Behar (1778 A. D.).⁽²⁶⁾ The decree however did not deter Syamchandra Ray from continuing for some time to misappropriate the profits of the Châklâs.

Lokenath Nandi the Zemindar of Baharband Perganna Rungpur filed a petition before the Board in 1779 A. D. claiming that certain Taluks in the possession of The case of Lokenath Nandi. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar were within his Zemindary of Gaybari Pergannah. Mr. Purling first enquired into this case and later Mr. Goodlad. In 1783 A. D. Mr. Bogle began the actual proceedings which were not however concluded during the life of the Maharaja.

When peace was established after the war, the Nazir attempted to establish the former control of the Maharaja in the north of the kingdom, but without success. The ultimate control of the Duars. The Devrâja of Bhutan raised an objection based on the Bhutan treaty of 1774 A. D., and accordingly the decision of the Provincial Council of Dinajpur (28th May 1777 A. D.) was that the treaty constituted the final document determining the boundaries of Cooch Behar. By the same procedure, the Bhutiyâs offered their authority in other parts of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. Eventually the area of the territory forming the State of Cooch Behar was whittled down to 1317 square miles.⁽²⁷⁾

(26). Letter No. 64, dated the 29th December, 1778, from the Revenue Department of E. I. Company to Mr. Charles Purling, Collector of Rangpore, Bengal District Records, Rangpore, page 61; Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II. pages 90, 97, 102.

A copy of the decree in this case has been preserved among the old papers in the State Council, Cooch Behar.

(27). For details vide the Chapter 'Bhutan Duar'.

Maharaja Dharendranârâyan being the only son of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan and without a male heir there was considerable apprehension lest in the absence of natural heirs the raj might be iusurped by Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan. Sarbânanda Gosvami advised the Maharaja to adopt a son.

However in Falgun 270 Râjsaka (1702 Sakâbda or 1186 B. S.) a son was born

Birth of an heir.

to one of his wives, and all fears were removed. The babe was named Harendranârâyan. His birth was celebrated with great festivity and the good tidings were widely proclaimed by firing cannon. Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri came from Rungpur and performed the Annaprâsan ceremony.

At this time Rungpur groaned under the oppression of Devi Sing who collected the revenue. Devi Sing's view was,—

Devi Sing.

'It is a matter of great difficulty that in comparison with other places of Bengal there is great distress and lack of food-stuffs among the peasants living near Rungpur. No property is found in their houses except during the harvest. At other times, they subsist with extreme difficulty. As a result of famine, a large number has died. One or two earthen vessels and a thatched hut form their only possessions and it is a matter of doubt whether by selling up a thousand of them, rupees ten can be realised'.

The paper value of this report was not overrated by the subjects of Cooch Behar who were aware of the actual methods of

The revolt of subjects at Rungpur.

Devi Sing. At length, this patience ended, the subjects of Rungpur revolted against

Devi Sing. In January 1783 A. D. the rebels openly massed in the north of Rungpur and chose one Nuruddin as their Nawab and Dayâ Sil his Dewan. The murder of the Naib of the Zemindar of Tepa was the signal for the raiyats

of pergannas Kakina, Fatehpur, Karjir Hat and Tepa to combine in killing Naibs and Gomastas whenever found. When Gaurmohan Chaudhuri, the Zemindar of Dimla opposed the insurgents, he also was killed. They invited the subjects of Cooch Behar and Dinajpur to array themselves under their so-called Nawab. They published an order forbidding payment of revenue, and organized "Dhing Kharchâ" (subscription for revolt) to carry on their movement. Devi Sing had to seek the protection of his great friend Mr. Goodlad the Collector who sent a body of soldiers to check the revolt with the result that a very large number of raiyats was wounded, killed or taken after engagements at Patgram and Moghalhât.⁽²⁸⁾

On the 16th Agraheyan 1190 B. S. (December 1783 A. D.)

Death of the Maharaja. Maharaja Dhairyendranarâyan died of dysentery. In a letter dated the 5th December 1783 A. D. to Calcutta, Mr. Goodlad the Collector of Rungpur reported that the Maharaja had been ill for some days with dysentery and had died two days before,

It is told in the Râjopâkhyâna that in 274 Râjsaka (1190 B. S.) Maharaja Dhairjendranarâyan fell ill and that despite Kaviraji treatment the illness gradually increased. One day in the month of Agraheyan, the Maharaja asked for the image of Madanmohan, and the prince, to be brought before him, and this was done. He directed an Osianâmâ (will) to be written in the following terms,—“My last day approaches. After my death prince Bâbâ Sree Sreeman Harendranârâyan shall become the ruler of Nij Bihar and the Châklâjât. And Surendranârâyan Dewan Konwar whom we favour will be

(28). The District of Rungpore, page 20; Murshidabad Kâhini, page 522; Sambhuvansa Charita, page 21.

employed as before. So long as the Bâbâ Râjâ is not capable of managing public affairs, Maharani Kâmatesvari will conduct them. On this document many prominent persons including Surendranârâyan Dewan Deo, and Baikunthanârâyan Konwar, set their seal and signature as witnesses". The Maharaja died in the afternoon of that day.

Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet made enquiries about the will (1788 A. D.). On behalf of the Maharaja it was claimed that it was destroyed during disturbances following the capture of the

The Maharajâ's will. Maharaja, and no copy existed. However, Sivaprasad Mustafi the writer of the will deposed before the Commissioners that the will was executed on the 16th Agrahayan, two days before the death of the Maharaja. At the time he was sitting in bed supported by pillows. His mother Maharani Kâmatesvari, his sister, the mother of Kumar Harendranârâyan, Kumar Surendranârâyan and Rupchandra Bara Kâyasth Kârji the brother of the Maharani were sitting behind a *chick* (a curtain made with split bamboos). On this side of the *chick* there was no one except Sivaprasad Mustofi, Kalânath Dharmâdhyaksa and Bisnuprasad Bakshi. Mustofi was summoned inside the *chick*, wrote the will and handed it to the Maharaja. A female slave brought the seal under the Mahârâni's orders and the Maharaja sealed the will with his own hand. Kalânâth and Bisnuprasad gave corroborative evidence in the like manner. The evidence of these three witnesses did not disclose that Kumar Baikunthnârâyan and Surendranârâyan signed and sealed the will as witnesses. There was never any practice whereby documents executed by the Maharaja personally were witnessed by others, and that practice has not obtained to the present day.

Further evidence of these three eye-witnesses suggests that before the execution of the will, the Maharaja said to the

Maharani,—“Gosâin and Lahiri are not present. You are to make the boy Harendranârâyan the Maharaja and arrange for his education. Manage the affairs of the kingdom till he attains majority. Gosâin is my Guru. Let him do the work as before. Do not trust Khagendranârâyan”. The Maharaja subsequently told Dewan Surendranârâyan to “revere the Mahârâni like me”. After this the Mustofî was called inside the screen and wrote as desired by the Maharaja,—“Maharani Kâmatesvari will make the minor Harendranârâyan ruler, give him education and manage the affairs of kingdom till he attains majority. She will have special regard to the annual payment of tribute to the Company”. There was an endorsement,—“Sâksât hukum pramâna Rupchandra Bara Kayastha Kârji”, [i. e. Rupchandra Bara Kâyasht Kârji is present as proof of this personal order (of the Maharaja)]. The address is given as ‘Rajpur,’ (the palace) and the writer as Sivaprasad Sarma. Kalânâth deposed that at that time no letters were exchanged between the Maharaja and Nazir Khagendranârâyan.

An old copy of a will or Adespatra of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan is preserved in the records of the State Council. This was addressed to Maharani Kâmatesvari. It was executed on the 11th Agrahayan 274 Rajsaka; ‘Sâksât hukum pramâna Rupchandra Barakâyastha Kârji’ and written by ‘Devidatta Das’. The “order” bears a seal of the Maharaja and the names of Satyabhâmâ Devi (his mother), Bhubanesvari Devi, Kumar Surendranârâyan, Kalânâth Misra, Umânâth Pujâri and Rati Tarkasdhârâ as witnesses. The copy of this Âdesapatra reads,—“You have managed the kingdom during the time of Dharendranârâyan. Do this also during the time of Harendranârâyan. The royal seal will remain with you. Act according to the advice of Gosvâmi. Do not trust any one except Kumar Surendranârâyan and Rupchandra Kârji. Khagendranârâyan

is treacherous and Baikunthanârâyan acts against us".—There are many discrepancies between this document and the depositions of Sivaprasad, Bisnuprasad and Kalânâth.

About a century later, Colonel Houghton wrote regarding this will,—“Every one knew that Dhairyendranârâyan was mad and he was called ‘Pâglâ Râjâ’. The view of Major Jenkins was almost the same. He wrote in 1849 A. D.,—“Long before his death, the mental powers of the king were considerably diminished”. In a letter dated the 10th January 1801 A. D. from Mr. Ahmety the Commissioner of Cooch Behar to the Revenue Board, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan was deemed “unfit and unable to carry on the work of administration of his kingdom”. Whatever the arguments as to the validity of this will, there was no difference of opinion as to Kumar Harendranârâyan being the heir. In a report dated the 25th Magh 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.) submitted by the Canoongos of the Company, Laksminârâyan and Mahendranârâyan Sinha, it is also stated,—“Harendranârâyan is the real heir of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan.

When the Maharaja died, the advisers of Maharani Kâmatesvari,—Sarbânanda Gosvâmi and Kasinath Lahiri—were not in Cooch Behar as they were confined in Rungpur. Of the other officers, Sachinandan Mustofi, Sivaprasad Mustofi, Rupchandra Barakâyasth Karji, Bisnuprasâd Bakshi, Joygovinda Lahiri, Dharmanarayan Mukhopadhyaya, Raghunath Bakshi, Krisnânanda Bhândâr Thâkur and Kalânâth Dharmâdhyaksa were present, and after consultation they placed the responsibility for guarding Kumar Harendranârâyan, and the custody of the royal umbrella and the royal sceptre, upon Jitan Sing the Havildar of the Company.

When the news of the Maharaja's demise reached Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan at Balarampur, he immediately started

Another family feud.

for Cooch Behar with a force. The distant sound of his Dankâ reached the Capital Cooch Behar, and all persons in the Gosvami party fled. The Nazir arrived at the palace and passed orders for the installation of the new Maharaja, but he was ignored or regarded with suspicion. After being repeatedly summoned, Kumar Surendranârâyan went to him but Kumar Baikunthanârâyan refused. The Nazir passed the night in fruitless deliberation, and then returned to Balarampur.⁽²⁹⁾ Owing to his absence, the installation and the performance of the last rites of the late Maharaja, were held in suspension, for a Maharaja could not be installed without the Nazir's holding the umbrella, nor could the funeral rites take place except at the orders of the new Maharaja. It was to be expected therefore that the members of the royal family became increasingly anxious over the situation created by the departure of the Nazir. After much thought, Satyabhâmâ Aye Devati, the mother of the late Maharaja despatched Raghunath Bakshi to the Nazir at Balarampur, and Govinda Karji followed. They informed the Nazir inter alia of the desire of eleven queens to ascend the funeral pyre of their husband. The Nazir came to Cooch Behar on the next day.

The arrangements for installation were hurried forward. The Dewan Deo Kumar Surendranârâyan and the Chhoto Saheb

(Kumar Baikunthanârâyan) came.

Installation of Harendra
nâ: âyan. Kalânâth Dharmâdhyaksa carried the boy prince Harendranârâyan and the Nazir himself took the prince in his arms and entered the Rangamandir.

(29). The Râjopâkhyâna says that Nazir Khagendranârâyan had taken his son Birendranârâyan with him for the purpose of making him ruler, but seeing the opposition of the officers of the king, he gave up the intention and tried to enter

The throne had been placed there. At four *dandas* of the night Kumar Harendranârâyan sat in the lap of the Nazir on the throne and reclined on the 'châk-balîs'. Kalânâth Dharmâdhyakhsa placed the Râj-tikâ on the forehead of the Kumar and Brîdhâ Bhândâri a turban on his head. Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan duly declared Harendranârâyan as 'king of Nij Behar and Châklâjât'. A new seal was prepared, and Krisnâ-nanda Bhândârthâkur, the Daroga of the mint, struck coin in the name of the new Maharaja.

The long established custom whereby at the time of intsallation the Nazir held the umbrella and the Dewan the sceptre, could not be observed as the Nazir was seated. He symbolized the custom by touching the umbrella. Kumar Baikuntha-nârâyan sat on the right and Dewan Surendranârâyan on the left side of the Maharaja. Surendranârâyan following the example of the Nazir, merely touched the sceptre.⁽³⁰⁾ During the installation, there was not a large gathering in the Rangamandir. The attendants carrying the royal insignia, some officers, the guard of the Company and the Company Havildar were present.

After the installation was over, the Nazir took his own son Kumar Birendranârâyan on his lap and declared as representative of the Maharaja that he (Birendra-nârâyan) was the Yuvarâja (crown-prince).⁽³¹⁾ Under the order of the Nazir, Devidatta Wakkânavis wrote two Wakkâs, one with

The "Yuvarâja".
the inner Palace apartments with the object of seeing the prince. As the sepoys guarding the gate opposed his entry, he returned to Balarampur and on his way he made all the king's officers he met prisoners, and took them to Balarampur. Pratyaksa Khand, Adhyâya 1.

(30) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 41-42.

There is a discrepancy between this account and that written in the Râjopâkhyana.

(31) In the letter dated the 29th March 1784 A. D. of Captain Williams the account of making Birendranârâyan Yuvaraj, is supported.

the order to perform the funeral rites of the late Maharaja and the other recognising Kumar Birendranârâyan as Yuvaraja. The Maharaja was made to touch the two Wakkâs with his hand and the royal seal was set on them. In the Wakkâs of that time however, Rupchandra Barakâyasth Kârji used to write 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' and Mustofi to put down the date and the year, but as they were absent, these two items of procedure were not observed.

During the installation the young Maharaja looked ill and peevish and when the Nazir placed him in the arms of the Dharmâdhyaksa, he told the latter that he would be held guilty if the boy died. Satyabhâmâ Devi the grandmother of the Maharaja, presented valuable cloths to the Nazir and on behalf of the Maharaja, a horse. At the cremation of the late Maharaja, eleven of his queens ascended the funeral pyre. For reasons which have been already indicated, the cremation was delayed until the third day after the death. (32)

During the last year of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan's reign Captain Turner went to Tibet as ambassador of the Company *Via* Cooch Behar and Bhutan.

Captain Turner.

When he arrived at Cooch Behar in May 1783 A. D. it happened that the Maharaja was at Banesvar visiting the deity there. (33) The Dewan, the Bakshi and other officers arranged hospitality for the ambassador and the Nazir also sent a man to render assistance.

(32) It is clear that the family custom regarding cremation was strictly followed. The rulers of Cooch Behar did not observe Asaucha (period of impurity), even on the death of their Mahâguru. "Lokesâdhishthito râjâ nâsyâsaucham vidhiyate"— ("The king is born from the parts of the eight Dikpâls. For this his Asaucha should not be prescribed.") Manusamhitâ. Adhyâya V., pages 90-97. During the srâdh of His late Highness Mahârâja Jitendranârâyan (1923 A. D.) the exemption was not observed. His son His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra-nârâyan Bhup Bahadur personally performed the srâdh ceremony of his father.

(33) The Captain was requested to stay at Cooch Behar till the Maharaja's return but finding the place unhealthy, he did not agree. He has referred to the Maharaja as 'an infirm old man.' Embassy to Tibet, page 10.

During the reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan, one Guru Chiranjib Chakravarti acquired the right to realise 'Dharmadander Kari' (money for expiation ceremonies) from the Hindu residents of certain taluks during Prâyaschitta (expiation). (267 Râjsaka).

During the reign, Kasinath Lahiri was head of the Revenue Department. He collected the several allotments of the

Revenue,—5 annas 17 gandas and

Officers of the king—2 krântis for the Maharaja, 9 annas

2 gandads and 2 krântis for the Nazir and

1 anna per rupee for the Dewan. He received Rs. 101 monthly from the Maharaja as well as from the Nazir, and Rs 30 from the Dewan, his total pay per mensem being Rs. 232 in Nârâyani coin. From 1181 to 1183 B. S. Jaygovinda Lahiri Khasnavis was the Naib (Assistant) of Kâsinath. In Râjsaka 273 (1782 A. D.) Jagannath Sarmâ was appointed Talâpâtra (assistant minister) to Kâsinath. His pay was Rs. 75. Ramprasad Sarma was the Dewan (263 Rajsaka), Dhireswar Karji Superintendent of Philkhana, and Raghunath and Bishnuprasad royal Bakshis. Krishnânanda was in charge of the Bhândâr, and Kalânâth was Dharmâdhyaksha. Under Maharajas Devendranârâyan, Dhairyendranârâyan, Rajendra-nârâyan and Dharendranârâyan, there were officers holding the the following posts,—Chaudhuri, Karji, Makaddam, Canoongo, Amin, Senâpati, Bhândâr Thakur, Bhândâr Kâyet, Tarkasdhârâ, Sârengi, Deuri, Pujari, Jâmdâria, and Khândâdharâ.

At this time there was only one court in Cooch Behar. Siva Prasad Mustofi was the judge. There was no system of realising costs of proceedings. When the administration of justice.

a petition was filed, it was placed before the Maharaja, the other party was summoned and the judge, with the Pundits, enquired into the case. Security was taken from both parties. The judge

called witnesses, and after taking their evidence, decided the case according to the Sâstras. The purport of decisions was subsequently placed before the Maharaja. The Kôtwal who was responsible for the peace, had no judicial powers. He produced the charges in the criminal cases to be tried in the one court. No register of cases was maintained nor was there any system of fixing dates of hearings. The death sentence was not imposed from the time of the treaty with the Company until the end of the reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. Generally trials were held in the palace and the public were admitted.

All papers regarding revenue and finance were preserved. (34) These show that when Maharaja Dhairjendranârâyan died he left a debt amounting to 50,000 French Arcot coins.

Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet in their report of 1787 A. D. state that annually about 10,00⁰ maunds of salt 2 to 3 thousand maunds of gur (treacle) and small quantity, of iron were imported into Cooch Behar.

Imports and exports.

The merchants purchased in the different hâts about one lac maunds of tobacco, 10,000 maunds of mustard seed and some opium. These goods were collected at the "ports" of Mogalhât or Deviganj and exported by boat to Dacca or Mushidabad. (35)

The income and expenditure of Cooch Behar in Nârâyan
Income and expenditure. coin were as follows.—

	INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
1181 B. S. (1774-75 A. D.)	1,92,763	1,97,831
1184 B. S.	1,03,922	97,104
1186 B. S.	1,62,547	1,62,231

(34) Mercer and Chauvet's report, Vol. II, pp. 149, 151.

(35) Even in the 16th century, opium was cultivated in Cooch Behar. "In the 16th century, opium is mentioned by Pyres (1516) as a production of the kingdom of Coss (Kuch Behar) in Bengal and of Malwa."

Encyclo. Brit. Vol. XXX, page 130, Eleventh Edition.

Included in the income of these three years, the following sums are described as debts,—70,383; 39,811 and 18,556.

In this period slavery was customary in Cooch Behar, and there was a regular trade. Poor people mortgaged or sold themselves. Children were dressed up and sold in the hâts or bazars.⁽³⁶⁾ About

Slavery.

a hundred boys and girls were sent for sale to Bengal from Assam and Cooch Behar. Each girl fetched a price varying from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15, but a Koch boy could realize Rs. 25 and a Kalitâ boy Rs. 50. Children of the lower castes were sold to the Gâros. Some were exported to Burma through Assam. People of the neighbouring Bhot or Gâro tribe often abducted men and women from Mughal or Cooch Behar territory and made them slaves.

The condition of the people of Cooch Behar was bad compared with that of the inhabitants of the neighbouring Mughal country. Captain Turner, an

Condition of the people.

eyewitness wrote in 1783 A. D. that their few necessities of life indicated their pecuniary distress. Food was taken twice a day,—rice, vegetables, fish, salt, oil and chillies—and worth a penny. As Captain Turner proceeded to Bhutan he saw that the northern part of Cooch Behar was practically uninhabited and in comparison with the southern area, there was more fallow land and jungle.

Two powerful parties formed themselves under Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. Their rivalry threatened the country with further devastation, and the boy who was to succeed as Maharaja. Nazir Kumar Khagendranârâyan led one side and Râjguru Sarbânanda Gosvâmi the other.

(36) Old papers in the State Council; Embassy to Tibet, page 11; Eastern India, Vol. III, page 681.

Each was ever ready to provoke or oppress the other. Neither was interested in the wants and complaints of the people. In the absence of any organised Government, a practice grew up whereby the revenue officers themselves paid the revenue in advance by purchasing the future produce of the land and in due time selling it at twice or thrice the revenue advanced. (37)

In addition, a sect of hypocrites calling themselves Sannyâsis ostensibly carried on business as money-lenders and merchants, as a disguise for robbery. They plundered their debtors and exacted excessive repayments of loans or took forcible possession of mortgaged property. One of them, Nârâyan Gir (Giri) Mohant, became very influential and a favourite of Râjguru Sarbananda Gosvâmi. He was also accorded a place of honour in Durbars. (38) It was men of this type whom Gosvami produced as witnesses on behalf of the Maharaja before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet.

The officers of the Company also began a money-lending business in Cooch Behar. In 1784 A. D. Captain Duncanson lent Rs. 14,901 to the Maharaja and was apparently dissatisfied with a return of Rs. 21,060 after one year. (39) The Company's

(37) Lt. Duncanson's letter, dated, the 21st August, 1788.

"For any length of time—the Minister, having the management of that country (Cooch Behar) which lay out of the way of market, purchased the ryot's grain and borrowed money to advance their rents, and when the rivers are open, disposed of it at two hundred per cent profit." Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 74.

(38) Nârâyan Gir lent money to Gaurinath Isore on a mortgage of land in taluks Râjârbâri and Sitalkhuchi, but surrendered his interest when he learnt that land was Brahmostar of the Gosvâmi. The Nâdâbi (surrender) deed marked with the seal of Nârâyan Gir and dated the 10th Kartik, 259 Rajsaka, is preserved in the Mahafezkhana of the State Council. On the 19th Aswin 259 Rajsaka, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan granted a Brahmostar to Narayan Gir.

(39) In his letter dated the 21st August 1788 A. D. Captain Duncanson did not admit receiving this amount.

sepoys also lent money to the peasants and charged a monthly interest of two to three annas in the rupee. They forcibly realised their dues. On account of these undesirable conditions, many people left the country.⁽⁴⁰⁾ To borrow money was to be ruined. Generally the rate of interest was not less than 72 per cent per annum, and in many cases interest was charged as Rs. 360 per cent per annum (*i. e.* one rupee per cent per diem).⁽⁴¹⁾

The Sâjwals collected the revenue of Cooch Behar for some years under the supervision of the Collector of Rungpur. Debi Singh was the expert collector of revenue in Rungpur at the time. His chief assistant Hararam Sen operated in Cooch Behar. The Maharaja's collecting officers were skilled in the wiles of looting the people, and their underlings even more so. Yet another agent of oppression was the "farmer" a class referred to in the report of Commissioners Messrs Douglas (1791 A. D.) and Ahmuty (1800 A. D.).

In addition, Cooch Behar and the neighbouring districts of Rungpur and Dinajpur suffered constantly from the depredations of dacoits whose leaders Bhabani Pâthak, Devi Chaudhurani, Majnu Sâha etc, have become well-known in history. Persons

Letter from W. M. Duncanson, Comdg. to Messrs Mercer and Chauvet, Commissioners :—

" * * * * I have never received the exorbitant interest, nor have I received the original principal ; I have nominally French Arcot Rupees seventeen thousands, which deducting exchange and batta at which the Narainees were paid to me * * * * ." Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 74.

(40) Râjopâkhyân, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 4.

(41) Letter from H. Douglas, the Commissioner, to the Governor General in Council, dated, the 19th May, 1790.

"So that, in common, 72 per cent (of interest on money) has been considered as very moderate interest and, what almost exceeds belief, that, in many instances which came to my immediate knowledge, 360 per cent has been exacted." Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 29.

of influence did not scruple to lend secret support to dacoits. The Company made strenuous and continued efforts to exterminate the evil. At the beginning of 1773 A. D. Captain Thomas was killed near Rungpur in attacking a body of dacoits three thousand strong composed of Sannyâsis and Fakirs. This event led the Court of Directors to order soldires to be stationed at several places, an arrangement which resulted in some temporary relief but did not provide a permanent remedy for the problem. In 1782 A. D. a body of 700 dacoits were moving about. They had elephants, horses and camels, and were well-equipped. Lieutenant Macdonald was sent to deal with them and he dispersed them, some making for the hills in the north and the others escaping to the south-east towards Mymensingh. Again in 1786 A. D. Company's troops marched from Behrampur to Rungpur to check the activities of Sannyâsi dacoits; ⁽⁴²⁾ in 1787 A. D. Lieutenant Brenan was engaged against dacoits. This continuous campaign for over two years succeeded in scattering bands of dacoits, but it was to take longer to exterminate the Sannyâsis and Fakirs, some of whom in 1789 A. D. were openly committing dacoities. Smaller batches of Sannyâsis established Âkhrâs and preferred to be concerned with business.

One party of Sannyâsi dacoits of Nepal origin took refuge in the dense jungle of Baikunthapur in the district of Jalpaiguri. Thence they emerged to raid in Cooch Behar. The Maharaja's officers were unable to check them, and the Collector of Rungpur established two thanas at Dimla and Baikuthapur. In 1794 A. D., at the request of Mr. Bruce the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, the Company's authorities requested the king of Nepal to keep gangs of Nepali dacoits under control within his own kingdom. This could not be an easy proposition as these gangs

(42) Letter written by the Council dated the 28th January 1786 A. D.

had a base in the jungles at the fort of the Himalayas. The Sannyâsi dacoits had no wives or children, and they moved about countries on pretended pilgrimages. Generally they wore little clothing. They were bold and expert in their profession and some developed considerable business acumen. They observed caste rules and worshipped the deities. They reinforced their strength by kidnapping strong boys. Local people invested them with almost divine attributes and would not give information regarding their movements. For these reasons the Company was compelled to organize severe measures for their extinction.⁽⁴³⁾

(43) Letter from W. Hastings to J. Dupre, dated 9th March 1773. *Memoirs of W. Hastings*, Vol. I, page 303.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME BRANCHES OF COOCH BEHAR RULING FAMILY.

THE RAIKAT FAMILY (IN THE DISTRICT OF JALPAIGURI).

Raikat Sisyasinha figured prominently in the reigns of Maharajas Visvasinha and Naranârâyan. He was the step-brother of Maharaja Visvasinha. When he became Raikat, he constructed a house near Siliguri, that part of the country being given to him as "petbhata" (appanage).
Sisyasinha.

His son Mânikyadeva was the second Raikat. He was alive when Maharaja Laksminârâyan stayed in Dacca (1614 A. D.)

Mânikyadeva. After Mânikyadeva, his son Mârutideva had four sons, Sivadeva, Mahîdeva or Mahâdeva, Haraballava, and Minadeva. Sivadeva was the fourth Raikat. As his son Ratnasinha could not for some reason, succeed him as Raikat, his uncle Mahîdeva became the fifth Raikat. The two sons of Mahîdeva, Bhujadeva and Yajnadeva

Bhujadeva and Jagadeva. or Jagadeva, were the sixth and seventh Raikats. The two brothers enhanced the prestige of the Raikat family. A deed executed by Bhujadeva while in the service of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar (1697 A. D.) has been discovered. Jagadeva had two sons, Visnudeva or Bhismadeva and Dharmadeva. Bhisma

deva became eighth Raikat. He had three sons, Mukundadeva, Bhairo or Bhairabdeva and Kântadeva. After his death his brother Dharmadeva killed Mukundadeva, drowned Bhairodeva and became the ninth Raikat. Kântadeva escaped. Dharmadeva moved from Baikunthapur to Jalpaiguri where the Raikat family still lives.

Bhupadeva the tenth Raikat was the eldest of six sons of Dharmadeva. As his son Kandarpadeva was born after his death he did not succeed, but gave place to Darpadeva.

Vikramadeva the brother of Bhupadeva.

An objection was raised regarding the right of Bhupadeva the son of Vikramadeva to inherit and Darpadeva the brother of Vikramadeva became (1771 A. D.) the twelfth Raikat, and famous in the Raikat family.

Darpadeva Raikat had three sons, Jayantadeva, Pratâpdeva, and Umâdeva. Jayantadeva the thirteenth Raikat was followed on his death by his minor son Sarbadeva, the fourteenth Raikat.

Sarbadeva.

Pratâpadeva the brother of Jayantadeva was the guardian of Sarbadeva who, after some time, fled in fear of his life to Rungpur (1809 A. D.). Umâdeva the brother of Pratapadeva, an officer of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, instituted a suit against Sarbadeva (Murshidabad Provincial Court, 1811) to establish his own right to inherit as a brother, but he lost the case before the Sudder Dewani Âdâlat (19th January, 1818 A. D.). Sarvadeva was intelligent and powerful. He had nine or ten legitimate and illegitimate sons, and died in 1848 A. D.

After his death a quarrel broke out between his sons regarding the inheritance. There was definite objection against

The question of mixed marriage. the eldest son Durgâdeva, and many supported Râjrâjendradeva the minor sixth son, but Makarandadeva who was older took possession of the

Zemindary. Rājrājendradeva instituted a case against Makaranda alleging that Makarandadeva was born of a woman of Gopa (milkman) caste, but in the judgment of the Sudder Dewani Âdâlat this mixed marriage was held to be valid (8th February 1853 A. D.) and Makarandadeva became the fifteenth Raikat. After his death in 1853 A. D. his eldest son Chandrasekhardeva succeeded as sixteenth Raikat. Chandrasekhardeva died in 1865 A. D. and was followed by his youngest brother Jogendradeva as seventeenth Raikat. Fanindradeva the youngest son of Sarbadeva Raikat instituted a suit in 1866 A. D. against Jogendradeva for possession of the Zemindary, but by the decision of the Privy Council, Jogendradeva won the case in 1874 A. D. Both the plaintiff and the defendant were held to be the sons of wives married according to Gândharva rites.

Jogendradeva Raikat died in 1878 A. D. without issue. Before his death he adopted a boy named Rajeswar Das and called him Jagadindradeva. Fanindradeva the uncle of Jogendradeva instituted another case against Jagadindradeva alleging that adoption of a son was not warranted by the family custom. The District Judge of Rungpur passed a decree in this case in favour of the plaintiff Fanindradeva (11th November 1879 A. D.); but the High Court reversed the decision of the Rungpur Judge and held the adoption valid (24th June 1881 A. D.). The plaintiff appealed to the Privy Council who decided that adoption was contrary to the family custom of the Raikats. On the basis of this final decision (14th February 1885 A. D.),⁽¹⁾ Fanindradeva became the eighteenth Raikat,

(1) Privy Council decision in Fanindradeva Raikat vs. Rajeswar Das. Report in I. L. R. Calcutta Vol. XI, page 464—476; Eastern India Vol. III, pages 420—421.

and when he died in 1895 A. D. his son Srijukta Prasannadeva the present and nineteenth Raikat succeeded.

The title of 'Raikat' (Rai-kot = chief of the fort) was created in the 15th century by Maharaja Visvasinha, but succeeding

The title 'Raikat'.

Raikats tended in practice to be chief ministers of the raj. Then, after this connection with the ruling family of

Cooch Behar ceased, whoever was the Zemindar of the Pergana Baikunthapur, assumed the title of 'Raikat'. In the earlier period, the area of the petbhâta land granted to the Raikat was far larger than the present Perganna of Baikunthapur. The area dwindled owing to the attacks and encroachment of the Bhutiyas, the Malla kings of Nepal and the Mahomedan Subedars of Bengal. The Raikats had constantly to protect themselves against these powerful enemies. Later, as the power of the Cooch Behar dynasty weakened and was dissipated in family feuds, the Raikats could look for no Cooch Behar aid in times of danger. Even after the Raikats had assumed the position of ordinary Zemindars, the Company separated Mehal 'Âmbâri Fâlakâtâ' from the original Zemindary of Baikunthapur and made it over to the Bhutiyas (1784 A. D.).

It is not clear under what circumstances the Raikats were forced to pay revenue during the Mughal rule and after the

Mughal rule. Company administered the Dewani (1765 A. D.). Several sources have it

that Pergannah Baikunthapur was not under the Mughal emperors, but this view cannot be accepted. Three years before Cooch Behar came under the protection of

Rule of the Company. Supervisor of Rungpur wrote on the 20th April, 1770 A. D. to the Resident of the

Murshidabad Durbar that the Zemindaries of Boda and Baikunthapur had long been included within the district of

Rungpur.⁽²⁾ The statement of the Rājopākhyāna,—“During the reign of Mahindranārāyan, the king of Cooch Behar (1682—1693 A. D.) the Raikats began to pay revenue to the Mughal emperor”—cannot be accepted as correct. Perganna Baikunthapur is to the north of the Boda Chakla of Cooch Behar. Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva fought for a long while with the Mughals up to the beginning of the 18th century for the possession of Boda Chakla.⁽³⁾ After the establishment of the Mughal supremacy over Boda Chakla, it may be that Perganna Baikunthapur was also subdued. The view that during the reign of Maharaja Birnārāyan, the then Raikat discontinued payment of tribute to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar,⁽⁴⁾ is not supported by proof. Nor indeed is any proof forthcoming that the Raikats paid any tribute to Cooch Behar other than their dues as Jaigirdars.

When the Raikats passed under the protection of the Company, they used to pay Rs. 10,000 as peshkash (tribute).

Peskash and revenue. After the treaty concluded in 1774 A. D. by the Company with the Devarāja of Bhutan, the revenue of Pergana Baikunthapur was fixed at Rs. 25,000 and after a year at Rs. 30,000. Later this became 25,935 sikka rupees permanently. As Rs. 32,000 had at one time been realised, the Pergannah is also known as ‘Batris Hājāri’.

At times the Raikats had designs on the throne of Cooch Behar. Though such attempts were wholly unwarranted by the law of inheritance, they were perhaps not unreasonable or

(2) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page vi; The Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, page 19.

(3) A detailed account has been given in the Chapter ‘Mahomedan connection’.

(4) Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 236.

unjustified judged by contemporary circumstances. The ambition of Raikats Bhujadeva and Jagadeva was not forgotton by Darpadeva the grandson of Jagadeva, for, as has already been mentioned, at the time of occupation of Cooch Behar by the Bhutiyas (1770 A. D.), Darpadeva Raikat assisted them.

Ambition of Raikats.
Despite their periodically disloyal intentions, the Raikats were ubliged for many years to admit the overlordship of the rulers of Cooch Behar, and this relationship did not disappear until 1774 A. D.⁽⁵⁾ Up to that time the position of the Raikats was less like that of the Zemindars of Rungpur, and more like that of feudatory chiefs; for according to the rule prevalent at that time, they were not compelled to give an account of their collection of revenue to the Company.⁽⁶⁾ After the treaty with Bhutan (1774 A. D.) the Company was not so concerned about protecting the borders of their territory, and the position of the Raikats correspondingly depreciated.

The Raikats held the umbrella over the head of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar at the time of installation, and they are still known by the people 'Chhatradhâri Rajas'.

Chhatradhâri Raja.
Even after they became ordinary Zemindars, they were still addressed as 'Rajas' by the authorities of the Company and their officers. They

(5) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page 10; Eastern India, Vol. III., page 421.

(6) "Thus, in Rungpore, we have what, for want of better terms, may be styled the semi-feudatory estates, such as Bykuntpore and Chaklas." The District of Rungpore, page 28.

"They (Zemindars of Boda and Bykuntpore) pay a certain sum annually without giving an account in what manner their collections are made". Letter from Mr. J. Gross, the Supervisor of Rungpore, dated the 20th April 1770, to the Durbar Resident of Murshidabad.

Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page vi.

were accorded a special status when, before the war between China and Nepal, the king of Nepal sent elephants to the emperor of China through the Zemindary of Baikunthapur. In acknowledgment of the Raikat's assistance in this matter, the emperor of China honoured him with presents sent through the Governor General of the Company (1783 A. D.).

THE FAMILY OF THE RAJAS OF PANGA (IN THE DISTRICT OF RUNGPUR).

The Pangas sprang from Narasinha, the eldest son of Visvasinha. One of the sons of Narasinha was Vyasketu and he had a son named Madhusudan. In

Madhusudan.

1614 A. D. when Laksmînârâyan the

Maharaja of Cooch Behar was imprisoned at Dacca, Raja Madhusûdan took up arms against the Mughals, though unsuccessfully in so far as he was compelled to acknowledge fealty to the Mughal emperor. He had two sons Pasupati and Lambodar, with whom he engaged in many military expeditions in Kamarupa and Assam on behalf of the Mughals. The Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi a contemporary work, emphasized their valour. Raja Vasudeva was the son of Pasupati, and Raja Ram-

chandra the son of Vasudeva. Ramchandra

Ramchandra.

had two sons Karâli and Kapardi. The manuscript 'Bhâgvatsâr' written by Raja

Ramchandra gives in the colophon a table of the five generations preceding Raja Ramchandra.⁽⁷⁾

(7) After Raja Ramchandra, the genealogical table of the family is uncertain. The table now in possession of the 'Sâhebs of Panga' is not identical with that recorded by Raja Ramchandra. The latter lived probably in the beginning of the 18th century. He himself claimed to be the sixth generation from Raja Narasinha. In the contemporary 'Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi' Madhusudan is referred to as the brother's son of king Laksmînarayan. This agrees with the colophon of the Bhâgvatsâra and the genealogical table of the Cooch Behar ruling family.

After Ramchandra his son Karindranârâyan became Raja of Pangâ. He adopted Pratâpnârâyan a son of a relation. Raja

Inheritance by a daughter's son. Pratâpnârâyan adopted Sivaprasad who died without leaving a son. Kaliprasad Ishore the son of a daughter of Kandarpa-nârâyan another son of Pratâpnârâyan,

succeeded to the Zemindary. Thus, from this time, the Pangâ line was distinct from that descended from Visvasinha. Some time before 1840 A. D. Parvatanârâyan, a relation of Kandarpa-nârâyan, instituted a suit against Karindranârâyan and others (the sons of Kaliprasad Isore) before the Court of the Chief Sudder Amin of Rungpur questioning the inheritance, but he lost the case. After Kaliprasad, his two sons Karindranârâyan and Kamalnârâyan became respectively the Zemindars of Pangâ. When they died without issue, Rani Laksmîpriyâ the widow of Kamalnârâyan adopted Gajendranârâyan. Raja Jogendranârâyan the adopted son of Gajendra, married Maharakumari Ananda-mayi the daughter of Maharaja Narendranârâyan (the step-sister of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan). A few days after the marriage, she died, but she had executed a will (14th February 1887 A. D.) bequeathing the Zemindary to her step-brother Maharaja Nripendranârâyan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar. Rani Laksmîpriyâ, mother of Raja Jogendranârâyan, objected to the will and filed a suit which was compromised, the Zemindary being divided in two equal parts between the plaintiff and the defendant. From that time, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar has been the owner of half of the Pangâ Zemindary, and Rani Laksmîpriyâ became the owner of the other half by adopting Devendra-nârâyan.

When the case against Kaliprasad Ishore was pending, Sarvadeva the Raikat of Jalpaiguri assisted the plaintiff Parvatanârâyan and after the case, gave that branch of the family an estate in Jalpaiguri for their maintenance. Kumar

Harendranârâyan and his son Matindranârâyan who are descended from this branch of the Panga family are now living in the north-west of the town of Jalpaiguri. Kumar Harendranârâyan is locally known as 'Pângâr Sâheb'.

It is not now possible to determine the original area of the Jaigir of Panga. The area of the present pergannah is about 44,000 acres.

KÂCHHÂR RÂJ-FAMILY.

Kamalnârâyan or Gohâin Kamal the brother of Maharaja Naranârâyan was at first the proconsul of the Mahaîaja in the Morangi country (in the district of Laksmpur). Afterwards, transferred to Kâchhâr, he went to Khâspur and was the first 'Dheyân' (Dewan) Raja of Kachhar. Of quiet and religious temperament, his territories dwindled as they were encroached upon by raiding hill tribes.

He had established a colony of Brahmins on the banks of the Tikal river. During his reign, the deities Syâmâ, Kânchâkanti, Ranabâuli, Andheri, Chândâi, Mâl, Bhairav etc. were worshipped.

He divided his tribe into eighteen classes of men and allotted them different occupations. This classification is still followed in the territory in and about Kâchhâr.

Two kings of the Kamalnârâyan dynasty reigned in Khâspur.
The end of the dynasty. The second was cruel and intractable. His oppressions became intolerable, and eventually some leading personages engaged in a plot whereby he was taken to a dense forest on the pretext of hunting, and killed by setting fire to the forest.

About the beginning of the 17th century when the dynasty of Kamalnârâyan was extinguished, Khâspur was conquered by Tâmradhvaja, and Senâpati Udit (Nârâyan) who belonged to the same tribe as Kamalnârâyan was appointed Governor. From his family successive Governors were taken,—Bijoy, Dhîr, Mahendra, Ranajit, Narasinha and Bhimsinha. Then about 1745 A. D., as Bhimsinha had no son, his son-in-law the Kâchhâr prince Laksmichandra assumed charge of Khâspur.⁽⁸⁾ After Laksmichandra, his son Krishnachandra (1780—1813 A. D.) and then Govindachandra (1813—1830 A. D.) ruled in Kâchhâr. After Govindachandra was assassinated, the Kâchhâr raj passed into the possession of the East India Company.

DURRUNG RAJ FAMILY.

In the first part of the 17th century A. D. when Raja Pariksitnârâyan was defeated by the Mughals, taken prisoner and his raj included in the Mughal dominion, his brother (the first Raja) Balinârâyan established himself to the west of the present district of Durrung, and a new 'Durrung' raj came into being. The friendly Âhom king gave Balinârâyan the title of 'Dharmanârâyan'. After Balinârâyan, his son Mahendranârâyan succeeded, and after him, his son Chandranârâyan, and after Chandranârâyan, his son Suryanârâyan. When Suryanârâyan was captured in battle with the Mughals,

(8) Kâchhârer Itihâs, pages 40, 42, 99, 115, and 121; Srihatter Itivritta, Bhaga II, Khanda IV, page 14.

his brother Indranârâyan was a minor, and the Âhom king seized the opportunity to establish his own influence in the Durrung raj. During the time of Indranârâyan, the Durrung territory extended on the east to the Dikrai or Subarnasî river, on the north to 'Gohâin Kamal Âli', on the west to the Baranadi and on the south to the Brahmaputra.

After Indranârâyan, his son Âdityanârâyan became the sixth Raja, but at that time the old family feud reappeared and the raj was divided into two parts, Modnarayan the brother of Âdityanârâyan being assigned a second and smaller raj. Thenceonwards, the Rajas of Durrung were the mere creatures of the Âhom king and the downfall of their raj had begun.

We propose to distinguish between A and B branches of the family.—After the death of the Bara Raja Modnârâyan (sixth A) his son Mahatnârâyan (seventh A) succeeded and after Mahatnârâyan, Hansanârâyan I (eighth A) the son of Raja Dhîrnârâyan (B). After Hansanârâyan, Hainârâyan (ninth A) the grandson of Raja Dhvajanârâyan (B) became Raja and after Hainârâyan, Samudranârâyan (tenth A) the son of Raja Mahatnârâyan. When Raja Samudranârâyan died, his son Premnârâyan, (eleventh A) followed and after Premnârâyan his kinsman Jagatnârâyan the son of king Hansanârâyan II (B).

After Chhoto Raja Adityanârâyan (6 B) his brother Dhvajanârâyan (7 B) was driven out by a cousin, Dhîrnârâyan (8 B), who himself occupied the gadi. After Raja Dhîrnârâyan, Durlabhnârâyan (9 B) the brother of Raja Mahatnârâyan (A) succeeded and after the death of Durlabhnârâyan, his son Hansanârâyan II (10 B). After Raja Hansanârâyan II, there followed

The second branch.

his kinsman Visnunârâyan (11 B) the grandson of Raja Dhirnârâyan and after Raja Visnunârâyan, Krishnanârâyan (12 B) the brother of Raja Jagatnârâyan (A). After Krishnanârâyan came Mukundanârâyan (13 B) the son of Raja Hansanârâyan I (A) and after him Bijoynârâyan (14 B) the great-grandson of Raja Dhirnârâyan.

Kumars Khagendranârâyan, Bhupendranârâyan and Chandranârâyan the great-grandsons of Raja Jagatnârâyan the last Raja of branch A, and Kumar Dharmânârâyan the great-great-grandson of Raja Dhirnârâyan the eighth Raja of branch B, are now living.

The family was constantly engaged in quarrels and dissension regarding the succession. In the two branches twenty one

The last stage of the Durrung Raj. persons became Râjâs in name or in reality, but only seven had a claim by paternal succession. Taking full advantage of the situation, the Âhom kings

gradually took possession of the whole of the Durrung territory, except the Petbhâtâ lands. When in 1792 the Moâmâria revolt began in Assam, Raja Krishnanârâyan (12 B) declared his independence, but ultimately he was defeated.

Under the East India Company the Petbhâtâ lands were assessed at half rates. Since then a large portion of the family land assessed at half rates, has been transferred to others, and little now remains in the possession of the raj family.

BIJNI RAJ-FAMILY (IN THE DISTRICT OF GOALPARA).

The Bijni and Beltala families sprang from Kumar Chandranârâyan alias Bijitnârâyan the son of Pariksitnârâyan. When

Bijni raj.

Pariksitnârâyan was taken by the Mughals

Kumar Chandranârâyan was a minor, but later, after endeavouring to fight the Mughals, he had perforce

to accept a Sunnid for the Bijni raj from the Mughal emperor. To the last he did not give up hope of recovering his rights. When he was killed in battle, his son Jaynârâyan succeeded, and after him, his son Sivanârâyan. Raja Sivanârâyan began to pay tribute to Devarâja of Bhutan in acknowledging Bhutan supremacy over Bijni Duar.

Agreement to pay tribute to Bhutan Duar.

After Sivanârâyan, his son Bijoy-nârâyan and after Bijoy-nârâyan, Mukundanârâyan, Balitnârâyan, Indranârâyan and Amritnârâyan were the successive Rajas of Bijni. When Mukundanârâyan was minor,

The two separate Pergannas.

the Pergannas of Mechpârâ and Châpar were separated from Bijni to form a separate Zemindary. Raja Amritnârâyan was childless and adopted Kumudnârâyan. After Raja Kumudnârâyan, his Rani, Abhoyesvari, managed the Zemindary for a long time. When Rani Abhoyesvari died, Jôgendranârâyan the nephew of Raja Kumudnârâyan became Raja.

At first the Raja of Bijni paid Rs. 5,998 as peskash to the Mughal emperor, but this was changed to a promise of 68 elephants. Up to the time of the East India Company, these elephants had been

Peskash.

collected, but as it was inconvenient for the Company to receive elephants, the tribute was compounded, in 1788 A. D. at Rs. 2,000. Later, including Rs. 850 on account of the Sâyer Mehal, it was fixed at Rs. 1,150.

Formerly the Bijni territory covered almost the whole of the district of Goalpara, but to-day it is limited to Pergannas,

The present Zemindary.

Khutâghât and Hâbrâghât to the east of

Goalpara district. The present area of these Pergannas is 943 square miles and the revenue Rs. 2,357-1 anna. If the 240 square miles of the Bijni Duar be included, the total area is 1183 square miles.

The Raja of Bijni has also a Mehal in the 'Gâro Hills' district. The area under the Raja of Bijni is about the same as that of Cooch Behar State.

There are differences of opinion as to the political status of Bijni. One line of argument is the amount paid by the Estate should not be regarded as "revenue" but

Political status. as 'peskash' (tribute).⁽⁹⁾ During the

Mughal regime, the rules enforced on other ordinary Zemindaries of Bengal in the matter of filing Hastbood and determining the revenue etc., were not applied to Bijni. The East India Company introduced no change of principle. The Company did not want elephants, and changed the tribute to cash payment. "Two years later, the Raja agreed to pay another thousand rupees a year, but this offer was declined by the Governor General, on the ground that the chance of losing the attachment of a Zemindar in possession of a border estate should not be risked for the sake of Rs. 1,000".⁽¹⁰⁾

BELTALÂ RAJ-FAMILY, (IN THE DISTRICT OF KAMRUP)

The Beltalâ family originated with Raja Jaynârâyan the grandson of Pariksit. Harnârâyan alias Gajnârâyan the son of Joynârâyan founded a separate raj under the Âhom ruler in Beltalâ to the south of the present Gaubati. After Raja Gajnârâyan, his son Sibendranârâyan and after Sibendranârâyan his son Gajendranârâyan succeeded. Lambodaranârâyan the son of Gajendranârâyan and his son Lokpalanârâyan followed. Raja Lokpalanârâyan had three sons,—Kumars Laksmînârâyan, Chandranârâyan and Amritnârâyan. Kumar Upendranârâyan

(9) The Koch Kings of Kamarupa, page 45.

(10) The Koch Kings of Kamarupa, page 45.

the son of Laksmînârâyan, Kumar Rajendranârâyan, B. L., the son of Chandranârâyan and Kumar Pabindranârâyan are living. The area now in their possession is small and their rights are for the most part resemble the Mouzâdâri rights prevalent in Assam. It is learnt that a branch of the family also lives in Sâtgâon.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE MAHOMEDAN CONNECTION.

1. MUHAMMAD BAKHTIAR KHALJI (1205 A. D.)

History is almost silent regarding the time and manner in which the Mahomedans first came to Kâmarupa. As far as can be ascertained, it was at the beginning of the 13th century A. D. that Muhammad Bakhtiar Khalji the conqueror of 'Nowdia' sought to conquer Tibet through Kâmrupa and set forth with a picked cavalry force ten thousand strong from Devkot (in the district of Dinajpur). On the way he made friends with a leader of the Koch or Mech tribe who embraced

Islam and took the name of 'Ali Mech.'

Friendship with Ali Mech.

With the help of Ali Mech, Muhammad Bakhtiar reached the town of Mardhan-

kot on the banks of a large river. Advancing for ten days along the banks, he passed an old village and crossed the river over a stone bridge with his force. Progressing slowly he was forced at length to return owing to the natural difficulty of the terrain,

and want of rations. His line of communica-

Expedition to Tibet.

tion was cut by the people of Kâmarupa who attacked him after demolishing the

bridge. For a time Muhammad took shelter in a temple. His cavalry became suddenly demoralised with fear and attempted to cross the river. Most of them were drowned or killed. Muhammad himself barely escaped and with only a hundred attendants. With this remnant of his force he returned to Devkot, after being somewhat restored by the hospitality of Ali Mech.⁽¹⁾

(1) Tabkat-i-Nâseri, pages 147-157.

This account of the expedition of Muhammad Bakhtiar to Tibet was first written in a Persian history, the *Tâbkât-i-Nâserî*.

Tâbkât-i-Nâserî.

Minhâj Serajuddin the author derived his information from a soldier who accompanied Bakhtiar. He wrote his chronicle between 1258 and 1259 A. D. There is however difference among historians regarding the route followed by Muhammad Bakhtiar. Some scholars have inferred that it was through Darjeeling, others that it was through Assam and others favour Sylhet.

Recently, an old inscription in Sanskrit has been discovered on a rock called 'Kânâi Barsi' on the north of the Brahma-

The route of the expedition to Tibet. putra near the town of Gauhati. It mentions that on the 13th Chaitra 1127

Sâka (1206 A. D.) the "Turuskas" (Turks or Mahomedans) were annihilated when they came to Kâmarupa.⁽²⁾ In Mouza 'Si'sundarir Ghopâ' some miles to the north-west of Gauhati, the foundations of a stone bridge 146 feet long, were to be seen up to the earthquake of 1827 A. D. There were twenty-two arches in it.⁽³⁾ And it has already been stated that up to the middle of the 16th century the Brahmaputra river flowed in a circular bend in that region (near Hâjo).

In the sixteenth century, Dhubri was well-protected on the banks of the Brahmaputra. At Rangamati some miles to the north, the Mughal Fouzdar had his capital, a very ancient site on a tilâ or hill on the banks of the Brahmaputra. The vânsâbali of Kharganarayan records that Rângâmati was the capital of Kâmarupa during the reign of Asur Sambara. If therefore we assume the town of Mardhankot mentioned in *Tâbkât-i-Nâserî*

(2) "Sâke 1127.

Sâke turaga-jugnese Madhumâsatryodase.

Kâmarupam Samâgatyâ turuskâh Ksyayamâyayuh.

Kâmarupa Sâsanâvali (Kâmarup Râjâvali), page 44.

(3) The Kamrupa District Gazetteer. page 60.

to be Dhubri or Rangamati, the large river as the Brahmaputra and the temple as the temple of Kamakhya, we can connect the stone bridge with the ruins of a bridge mentioned in the Tâbkât-i-Nâseri. Âli Mech may well have lived anywhere between Rângâmati and Devkot. The distance of the bridge from Dhubri would be about 120 to 125 miles, and could perhaps be covered by cavalry in ten days though during his invasion of Assam in 1662 A. D., Nawab Mir Jumla was unable to advance more than three or four miles a day because of the difficulty of negotiating rivers and jungle.

After Muhammed Bakhtiar Khalji, Ajuddin Muhammed Siran became the Governor of Gauda. He is reputed to have been defeated in battle and to have escaped towards Cooch Behar,⁽⁴⁾ where he was killed in a quarrel (1209 A. D.)

2. HASEMUDDIN EWAZ GEYÂSUDDIN 1226 A. D.)

In 1226 A. D. Geyasuddin Khalji the then Governor of Gauda entered Kâmarupa and advanced as far as Sadia. The entire valley of Brahmaputra passed under his control and the contemporary ruler of Kâmarupa paid him tribute.

3. EKHTIARUDDIN TUGRIL KHAN MALEK EWUJBAK (1257 A. D.).

Ekhtiaruddin Tugril Khan after becoming Governor of Gauda also had designs on Kâmarupa. He rejected a treaty proposal initiated by the ruler, proclaimed,—‘ the whole of Kâmarupa has come under the kindom of Gauda ’ and ordered the construction of a mosque in the capital of Kâmarupa. The ruler escaped to the hilly country and his kingdom came temporarily under Tugril Khan. When the rains rendered

(4) History of Bengal, page 58. In the work Tabkat-i-Naseri the name “ Cooch Behar ” does not appear ; but it has been mentioned that Shiran went to Mâkidâ and Mantos (in the district of Dinajpur) and that he died there, (page 158).

the roads impassable the people of Kâmarupa "blockaded" the Mahomedans and attacked them simultaneously from all sides. Most of the Mahomedan soldiers were imprisoned and Malek Ekhtiaruddin himself was killed.

4. SOLIAN MAGISUDDIN TUGRIL (1278 A. D.).

The conquest of Kâmarupa by Soltan Magisuddin Tugril is merely referred to by the chronicles, and no detailed account is available.

5. MALEK KHUSRU (1337 A. D.).

Under orders from Muhammad Salha, the emperor of Delhi, his sister's son Malek Khusrû set out to conquer China with a Cavalry force composed of a lac of soldiers (738 Hijri). The accepted view seems to be that this expedition passed through Kamarupa. Most of Khusrû's men, either died or were decimated by the attacks of hill tribes. He was compelled to abandon the campaign.

6. SULTAN SEKENDAR SAHA (1357 A. D.).

Sekendar Saha the Governor of Bengal conquered Kâmarupa either in 1357 A. D. or some time before. The only details known are derived from a coin which has been discovered. It was struck in 759 Hijri in 'Kâmrû alias Châulistân'.

7. ISMAIL GAZI (1460 A. D.).

8. RAHAMAT KHAN (1460-1474 A. D.).

9. HOSAIN SAHA (1493 A. D.).⁽⁵⁾

10. TABARAK KHAN (1506 A. D.).

11. TABARAK KHAN (second time) (1532 A. D.).

The attack of Assam by Tabarak Khan the General of Nawab Khalachh Khan (?) finds place in the Assam Burunjee.

(5) Expeditions by Ismail Gazi, Rahamat Khan and Hosain Saha have been described in foot note (2) of Chapter IV and in the same Chapter of this work.

He won this battle (1506 A. D). At this time, the celebrated Hosain Saha was the ruler of Gauda.⁽⁶⁾ In 1531 A. D. General Tabarak Khan again attempted to establish his authority in Kāmarupa, but the powerful Maharaja Visvasinha was reigning in western Kāmarupa, and in 1533 A. D. as a

Defeat of Tabarak Khan.

result of an attack by Ahoms (and probably also by the ruler of Kāmata) Tabarak Khan was defeated and killed.

Many of his men were imprisoned and the rest expelled.⁽⁷⁾

12. KĀLĀPĀHĀR (1553 A. D.).

In about 1553 A. D. the well-known Kālāpāhār penetrated into Kāmarupa and destroyed the principal temples and images there. Maharaja Naranārāyan was ruling and it is said that he twice attacked Gauda. He was defeated in his first effort and the Mahomedans pursued him to Tezpur in Assam and destroyed images in famous places.⁽⁸⁾

(6) The Mahomedan historians have not mentioned this invasion.

(7) The descendants of the Mahomedan soldiers who were imprisoned are now known as ' Maria ' in Assam. The Mariyās are braziers. Soldiers sent by Hosain Saha were also imprisoned in Assam.

Tarikh-i-Āsām, page 59.

(8) History of Assam, page 54. The Assam Burunjee says that in 1553 A. D. Kālāpāhār concluded a treaty with Maharaja Naranārāyan and entered Kāmarupa and when he began to destroy the images of deities, the ruler did not dare to oppose him (Page 59). This version cannot be regarded as acceptable. In the Visvakos, it is written that this incident was in 1564 or 1566 A. D.

The account of the death of Kālāpāhār while destroying the temple of Hājo (Koch Kings of Kāmarupa, 34) is not true. Kālāpāhār of Gauda came a second time to Cooch Behar after (about) 1574 A. D. and was killed in the fort of Rohtas in 1578 A. D. in a fight between the Mughals and Pathans.

Kālāpāhār is however a name not confined to one person. It was a kind of title, and associated with any person who engaged destroying temples or images of deities. Mia Muhammad Formuli the nephew of Bahūl Lodi the emperor of Delhi derived the name ' Kālāpāhār ' in this manner.

13. SOLEMAN KARARÂNI (1568-69).

In 972 Hijiri (1564-1565 A.D.) Soleman Kararani succeeded his brother in Gauda. The condition of Gauda deteriorated seriously between 1555 and 1564 A.D.

The condition of Gauda.

Maharrja Naranârâyan extended his dominion far to the south and west of his own territory. The rulers of Gauda were very apprehensive of the rising power of emperor Akbar, and did not dare embark on wars against their neighbours. Soleman Kararâni did however attack Kâmatâ once in 1568-69.⁽⁹⁾

The Mughal General Monayem Khan defeated Soltan Daud Khan and took the capital of Gauda (1575 A.D.). He died shortly afterwards, and Daud Khan re-

Conquest of Gauda by the
Mughal emperor.

covered the city, but only to be defeated and killed by Hosain Kuli Khan Khan

Jahan in the battle of Rajmehal (1576 A.D.). The authority of the Mughal emperor was thus again established in Gauda itself, but before it could be extended Khan Jahan died, and Muzaffer Khan was appointed Mughal Subedar. He was killed by rebels, and Raja Todarmalla who was to be Subedar could not reach Gauda for various reasons. Later (1583 A.D.) Mirza Aziz Koka came to Gauda as Subedar and he proved able in some measure to control the Pathan leaders.

A nominal Mughal supremacy in Gauda had been established by Monayem Khan and Khan Jahan, so nominal that Raja Todarmalla contemplated bringing five lacs of rupees from Delhi to meet expenditure;—Khan Jehan had made no contribution to the imperial treasury.

In 1583 A.D. Jaberî the leader of the Pathans was under the protection of the ruler of Kâmatâ and took possession of Ghorâghât, Purnea and Tâzpur. Between 1584 to 1587 A.D. Sahabaz Khan and in 1589 A.D. Kumar Jagatsinha were fighting

(9) Akbarnâma, page 716. Visvasinha-charitam.

the rebels of Ghorâghât. About the same time (1582 A. D.) Todarmalla was preparing in Behar the revenue papers of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The Kâmatâ territory to the east of the Kusi river and north of Ghoraghât was included in his celebrated ' Âsal Jamâ tumâr' under the same elaka as Purnea, Tâzpur Pânjra and Ghorâghât Sarkar. Sarkar Ghorâghât was formed with 84 Pergannas between the old Trisrota and Brahmaputra with a revenue of Rs. 2,09,577 (80,83,072 Dam), (or according to another view, with 88 pergannas with a revenue of Rs. 2,02,077). The Sarkar Ghorâghât pergannas in the Jamâbandi papers of Todarmalla are now the districts of Rungpur, Dinajpur, Rajsahi, Malda, Bogra and Mymensingh.

Formerly the Mughal thana had been near Harial on the banks of the Chalan Bil (in Pabna), but probably Raja Mansinha removed it to Salimnagar (Sherpur in the District of Bogra). Before the capital of Bengal was transferred to Dacca Salimnagar was an important place on the borders of Mughal territory. The Jaigir lands in Ghoraghât which were granted to the Pathan Sardars to resist advances by the " Nârâyan " rulers of the Visvasinha dynasty, extended to Salimnagar.

Sarkar Purnea was formed with nine pergannas between the rivers Kusi and Mahânandâ and the annual revenue was fixed at Rs. 1, 60, 219 (64, 08, 775 Dam).

Three Sarkars. The revenue of Sarkar Tâjpur was to be Rs. 1,62,096 (64, 83, 857 Dam) and the 29 pergannas on the east bank of the Mahânandâ river were included in this elaka. The 21 pergannas stretching to the banks of the old Tista on the north-east of Dinajpur came to be known as Sarkar Panjârâ and their annual-revenue was Rs. 1,45,082

(58, 03,275 Dam). At this time the Tista river flowed east of pergannah Boda (now in the district of Jalpaiguri).⁽¹⁰⁾ The Boda perganna was included in the Cooch Behar raj up to the beginning of the 18th century. At the end of the 16th century, the northern part of the present districts of Dinajpur and Purnea, that is to say a considerable proportion of Panjara, Tajpur and Purnea Sarkar, was within the kingdom of Kâmatâ (or Cooch Behar). The river Mahânandâ flowed between the two Sarkars of Purnea and Tajpur. By the middle of the 11th century, owing to the activities of Raja Dinanath of Dinajpur, the authority of the Nârâyan rulers disappeared in this territory. Much of the country occupied by the Pâthâns and over which the Kâmata rulers established their suzerainty in the beginning or middle of the 16th century were included in the Sarkars.

The Jamabandi papers of Râjâ Todarmalla were based on a good deal of conjecture with reference to north Bengal.

He recorded also that the territory under the ruler of Tripura on the east

bank of the Meghna river was under the Mughal dominion and named it 'Sonargân and Châtigân Sarkar'. Land to the east of the Surma river and the Jaintia raj have also been included in the papers as 'Sarkar Sylhet'. That Mughal supremacy was established at that time in Chittagong, is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, the Râjmâlâ (the history of Tripura) and by the European traveller Ralph Fitch. Raja Todarmalla included other places on the borders of Bengal as being within the Mughal empire, but even during the time of the Emperor Jahangir the Mughals had no hold on these parts.

(10) In Major Rennel's map (prepared in 1779 A. D.) the main current of the Tista river has been shown up to the Padma through the Atrai river. Afterwards, as a result of the flood in 1787 A. D. its course changed towards the Brahmaputra.

It is said that these papers were copied from the Sherista of the Pâthâns, or were collected by Srihari (Vikramâditya the father of Pratâpâditya) and Janakiballav (Basanta Ray) officers of the Revenue Department of Daud Khan. The papers cannot be regarded as sufficiently determining the boundaries of the dominion of emperor Akbar.

According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, when the territory of Visvasinha was divided, his eldest son Naranârâyan acquired sovereignty over the vast area bounded on the east by the Sankos river, on the south by Ghoraghat and on the north by the base of the Himalayas. According to Sir William Hunter, after the death of Ser Saha the Pathan influence disappeared over territory near Rungpur and that of Cooch Behar was extended over it. In 1584 A. D. it was absorbed in the Mughal kingdom. But before the time of emperor Aurangzeb (1660-66 A. D.) this territory could not have been completely under the Mughals.⁽¹¹⁾

14. ISÂ KHÂN MASNADE ALI (1584 A. D.)

About 1584 A. D. the south-eastern portion of Kâmatâ was invaded by Bîrabhuiyâ Isâ Khân, and Raghudevnârâyan the nephew of Maharaja Naranârâyan, escaped after being defeated in battle by Isâ Khân.

15. RAJA MANSINHA (1596 A. D.)

Raja Mansinha arrived at Patna in 1589 A. D. having been appointed Subedar of Bengal and Bihar. At that time unrest prevailed every where in Bengal. The Mughals and Pathans and the neighbouring rulers of Bengal were all engaged in militant quarrelling. In 1587 A. D. Naranârâyan died and his son

(11) Statistical Account of Rungpore, page 156.

Laksminârâyan succeeded. Raghudebnârâyan the nephew of Naranârâyan was a tributary chief in the territory to the east but he denied the overlordship of Laksminârâyan. He attacked the kingdom of Laksminârâyan with the help of Isâ Khân. Laksminârâyan sought the help of the emperor of Delhi. The Pathan chieftains who had resisted the Mughal power of Gauda for about half a century, took refuge in Kâmatâ. Mansinha came to Kâmatâ to aid Laksminârâyan, but after his departure, Raghudevnârâyan again arose against Laksminârâyan. Then the Mughal Generals Fateh Khan Sur and Jujhar Khan assisted Laksminârâyan (3rd May 1597 A. D.) and fought Raghudev who was defeated. Many valuable properties belonging to him fell into the hands of the Mughals.

Defeat of Raghudev.

16. DURJJAN SINHA (1597 A. D.).

In 1006 Hijri (1597 A. D.) Raghudevnârâyan made extensive plans to attack Kâmatâ with Mâsum Khan and Isâ Khân Kâbuli. When the Mughal General Durjjan Sinha joined Laksminârâyan, the combined Mughals and Kâmatâ forces were routed in the battle of Katrâbhu. This victory however was not palatable to Isâ Khân for he was still bound by treaty to the Mughal emperor. He therefore deserted Raghudev and sent the properties left by Durjjan Sinha with a letter of explanation to Râjâ Mânsinha, and released prisoners he had taken. ⁽¹²⁾

(12) Akbarnâmâ, page 733. The situation of Katrâbhu has been estimated to be on the bank of the Laksyâ (Sitalâksyâ) river near Khejarpur to the south-east of Dacca. (Dhâkâr Itihâs, vol. 1, page 448). In the map of Vanden Brouck (1600 A. D.) Katrâbhu has been shown almost in the same locality.

17. MOKABAM KHÂN (1612 A. D.)

Sheikh Âlâuddin Eslâm Khân became Subedar of Bengal in 1608 A. D. He transferred the capital from Râjmehal to Dacca and renamed Dacca Jahangir-subedar and Laksminârâyan. In June 1609 A. D. he proceeded to Ghoraghat to invest Laksminârâyan as ruler of Kâmatâ. Pariksitnârâyan the ruler of Kâmarup readily acknowledged obedience to the Mughal emperor. Eslam sent messengers to the two rulers and Laksminârâyan responded with presents through Raja Raghunath of Susang (north of Mymensing). Pariksitnârâyan however dismissed the ambassador with a defiant reply. The Subedar deputed Abdul Wahed Jami to subdue Pariksitnârâyan.

He escaped to Fatehpur where he was imprisoned under the orders of the emperor.⁽¹³⁾ The vanity and arrogance of Pariksitnârâyan were stimulated. He attacked Raja Raghunath of Susang the friend of Laksminârâyan and brought back his family as prisoners. The Subedar received a complaint regarding this outrage⁽¹⁴⁾. Thereafter Pariksit endeavoured unsuccessfully to increase his prestige by concluding a treaty with the Âhom king. The negotiations proved abortive.

The independence of Raghudevnârâyan and his son Pariksit was a humiliation to Laksminârâyan. Moreover, before their repeated attacks he was conscious of a danger which

(13) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, page 14 Kha. At this time Fatehpur Sikri situated to the south of Agra was the temporary Capital.

(14) The account has been given in the Bâdsâhanâmâ and the Sâhajahânnâmâ but not in the Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi. Shetab Khan the writer of the Bâhâristân was present in Bengal at this time. He has given detailed descriptions of many hitherto unknown, and unimportant events regarding Pariksit. In 'Kâmrupar Burunjee' it is mentioned that Raja Raghunath complained, "Pariksit is committing much oppression", (page 9).

compelled to subdue himself to the emperor of Delhi. Considering all the circumstances, his desire for revenge was not very unnatural. His obsession was to destroy Pariksit, and an opportunity came his way. The Subedar was an old enemy of Pariksit and Laksminârâyan instigated him to attack Pariksit by a policy of cunning incitement.

Treaty with the Subedar.

Eslam Khan however was not deceived as to Laksminârâyan's purpose. He agreed

to dethrone Pariksit and give Kamarup to Laksminârâyan,⁽¹⁵⁾ but declared himself unable to engage in the task immediately. About two to three years elapsed before he subdued the Bârabhuiyâs,—Raja Anantamânîkya of Bhulua, Râjâ Ramchandra of Bâklâ, Râjâ Satrâjît of Bhusanâ, Musâ Khân of Sonârgân, Majlis Kutab of Fatehâbâd,

Bâra Bâniyâ.

Baijid of Srihalta, Râjâ Pratâpâditya of Jessore, Osman Khan of Bokâinagar,

Raja Purashottamdeva of Khurdâ (Orissa), Bir Hâmbir of Birbhum, Samas Khan of Pâchet, and Salim Khân of Hijli.

About November 1612 A. D. Eslam sent Sheik Kamal and Raja Raghunath under his son-in-law Mokarram Khan with

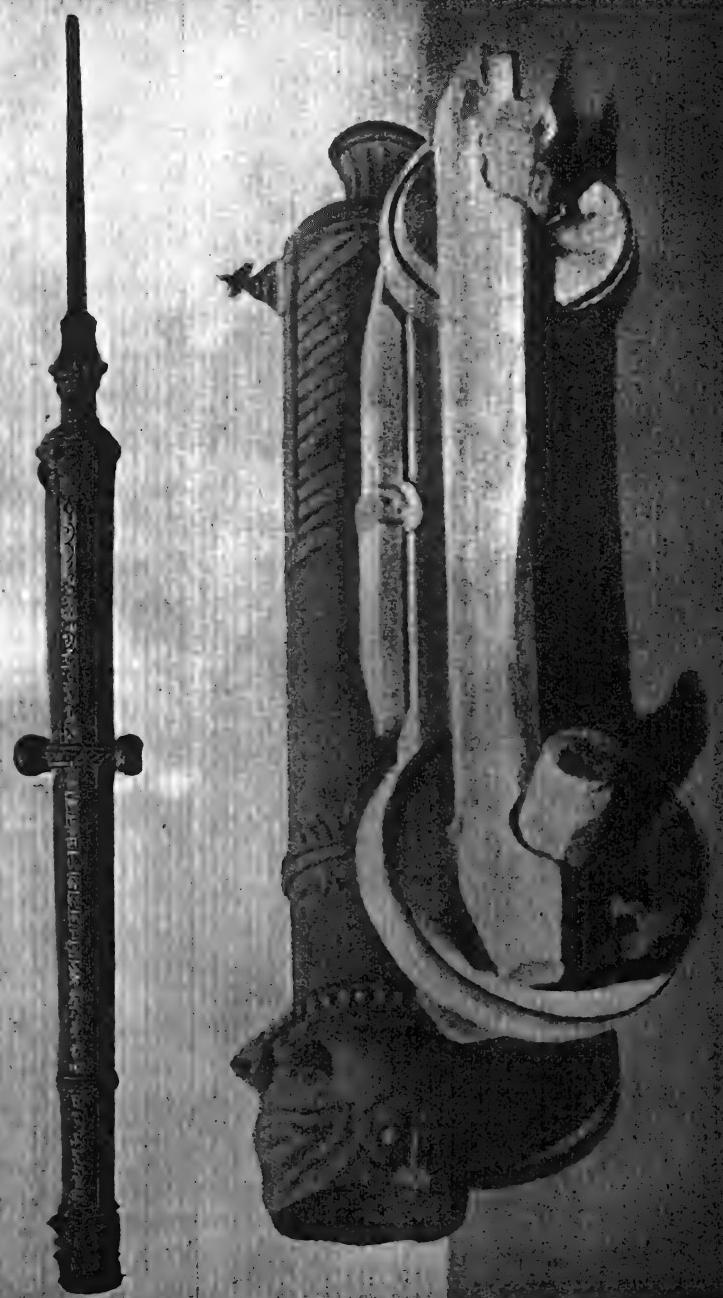
Expedition against Pariksit.

five thousand infantry, three hundred elephants and five hundred warboats to reduce Pariksit. Maharaja Laksminârâyan joined the Mughal force.⁽¹⁵⁾

Shetab Khan the writer of the Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi also was one of the Generals in the battle which ensued. The zemindars Râjâ Satrâjît, Bâhadur Gâzi, Majlis, Bâijid and Sona Gâzi, the zemindar of Sarâil (in the district of Tippera) also fought on the Mughal side with their

(15) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, page 151 Kha.

(16) In September 1932, a brass naval gun of Maharaja Laksminârâyan, constructed before this battle (1611-12 A. D.), was discovered. It was buried two or three feet under the earth in Taluk Ichâmâri Châpâguri seven or eight miles to the north-west of



A naval gun of Maharaja Laksminarayan and a gun of Raghudevanarayan. To face Page 310



forces. The Mughal "Nâwârâ" (naval force) went up-stream in the Brahmaputra river. The first clash between the three hundred warboats sent by Pariksit and the Mughal Nâwârâ took place near Karâibâri to the south-east of Rungpur. Pariksit's force was overwhelmed and many of his boats fell into the hands of the Mughals. After this engagement the Mughal army entered the territory of Pariksit.

The fortress of Dhubri the principal fort in Kâmrupa was situated at the confluence of the Brahmaputra and Gâdâdhar rivers. It was guarded by 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry

Attack on Dhubri fort. soldiers. General Shetab Khan first subdued the zamindars of Bahârband and Bhitarband Pergannas on the west of the Brahmaputra and stationed posts in different places to keep them under control. Then the Mughal soldiers encamped near Dhubri and began to invest the fort. Fate Khan Salka the Commander of the fort frustrated the besieging army with great valour, but after the siege had continued for three and a half months, many of the defenders had been killed or had deserted. At last the son of Fateh Khan became a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals and Fateh Khan himself was forced to surrender in March 1613 A. D. (17).

the capital of Cooch Behar. The length of the gun is 6 feet 8 inches, the bolt at the breech being 1 foot 10 inches. The diameter of the muzzle is 2 inches. The weight of this piece of ordnance is 171 pounds (2 maunds 5 seers.). The following is superscribed on it in a single line in raised letters in very clear and beautiful old Bengali characters.

"Sreekrisnapadanakhachandra-prakâsa-manovilâsa-Sree-Sree Laksmînârâyan-Bhupâ-nirmitam, Saka 1533". ("Constructed by Sree Sree Laksmînârâyan whose mind delights in the gleam of the moon of the nails of the feet of Sree-krisna, Saka 1533"). Each letter of the inscription is exactly one inch long. The naval gun mentioned before (Footnote 6 Chapter III) was constructed about the same time (1513 A. D.).

(17) "Fate Khan is mentioned as a General of Pariksit in the Purani Asam Burunjee, Kamarupa Bansâvali and Kamarupar Buranjee. The date of the siege is given as a month in the Bâdsâhanâmâ and Sahajâhân-nâmâ. The number of soldiers engaged does not agree in the Bâhâristân-i-Ghaibi, Bâdsâhanâmâ and Sahajâhân-nâmâ.

The backbone of Pariksit's resistance was broken by the conquest of Dhubri. He was at that time at 'Ghilâ', 10 or 12 miles to the north of Dhubri. When the Mughal Generals directed him to escape or surrender, he accepted the latter alternative and admitted obedience to the emperor after handing over Rs. 8000 and two elephants. He also proposed through an Ukil to present a lac of coin, 100 elephants and 100 hill ponies to the Subedar and to give his daughter in marriage to the Mughal emperor. A promise to release the family of Râjâ Raghuṇath was also given.⁽¹⁸⁾ His two main conditions were that the kingdom of Kâmarupa would remain as before and that he should be relieved of the obligation of being personally present in the Durbar of the emperor. When Ramdas the Ukil of Pariksit laid these proposals before the Mughal General Mokarram Khan the latter advised him to go to Dacca with the presents and settle these matters personally with the Subedar. Accordingly, Ramdas accompanied by Sheik Kamal, Mirza Hîsen Mesudi and Râjâ Raghuṇath intended to go to Dacca.

Eslam Khan however when he was informed of the proposals, rejected them, censured Sheik Kamal and ordered him to

make Pariksit a prisoner without delay.

Refusal by the Subedar. The presents were confiscated under orders of the Subedar. Sheik Kamal returned, and Lâksminârâyan attacked Khutâghât the kingdom of Pariksit. Pariksit counterattacked. The severity of the fight which took place between uncle and nephew has not been equalled in any other battle in the history of Kâmarupa.

(18) Bâharistân-i-Ghâibi, page 114 Ka. The Sâhajâhannâma and Bâdsahnâma are silent about the marriage proposal. There is a difference of opinion regarding the nature and amount of the presents.

Laksminârâyan fought doggedly from the back of an elephant for seven days and nights and had ultimately to seek reinforcements from the Mughals.

Battle lasting a week. However when Râjâ Satrâjît joined Laksminârâyan, Pariksit escaped towards 'Ghilâ'.

As the mouth of the Gadâdhar river was closed by warboats of the zemindars subordinate to the Mughal emperor,

Pariksit was practically besieged in the Pariksit in naval fight. town of Ghilâ. He did not on this

account lose heart, but sallied out with his entire force. He sent boats to the mouth of the Gadadhar under his son-in-law the Râjâ of Dimruâ. Under cover of darkness his seven hundred warboats advanced towards Dhubri and to supplement this flotilla, fifty elephants went by road. He himself pushed towards the fort of Dhubri with 5000 infantry, 500 mailed soldiers, three hundred elephants and a large body of men armed with bows and arrows.⁽¹⁹⁾

The nocturnal attack of the naval forces of Pariksit, created consternation in the Mughal flotilla. The Victory of Pariksit. night passed and the whole of the next day saw neither side victorious. Then Purandar

the Commander of Pariksit's naval force boarded the ship of the Commander of the Mughal flotilla and struck off the head of the enemy leader. Purandar was immediately run through by the swords of the Mughals.⁽²⁰⁾ Though the Commanders on the both side were killed, the battle continued, but the naval

(19) In Bâhâristân the number of Kândi (armed with bows) soldiers has been given as 1,56,000 (page 115 K.). This appears to be a mistake of the copyist. In the Bâdsahanâmâ and Sâhâjâhânnâmâ it is said that Pariksit had 490 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. The Bâdsahanâmâ records that he brought twenty elephants to the field of battle.

(20) There was a General named Purandar during the time of Pariksit's father (Kâmrupâ Burunjee, page 7). The Commander of the Mughal naval force killed by Purandar has been given as Kuber Khan. Kâmarup Vansâvali.

force of Pariksit gradually gained the upper hand. At night they took possession of a Mughal outpost on the Gadâdhar river, destroyed fifty boats and made four hundred Mughals prisoners. The Mughal General Laksmi Râjput was wounded. The zemindars Bîhâdur Gazi and Sonâ Gâzi fled for their lives. When the fort was re-taken, Pariksit's Generals sent fifty elephants inside to trample wounded Mughal soldiers to death.

Pariksit after despatching his naval forces, had himself proceeded to the scene of battle; a broken bridge and an

Chhatra Nâzir Nitai.

unmanageable elephant delayed him and he did not reach Dhubri until night fall.

He reached the battle-field after dawn.

His Commander-in-chief Chhatra Nâzir Nitâi was conducting operations and was surrounded by four or five thousand soldiers armed with bows and arrows. The Mughal General Shetab Khan has recorded that Nitai was seated on an elephant named Gopikanta "as high as the Alburz mountain". Gopikanta became restless with wounds from arrows and tried to run away. Nitai dropped to the ground in self-protection, and was immediately taken prisoner by the Mughels⁽²¹⁾. Pariksit was not disheartened and directed the battle personally during the whole day. At evening, a soldier of the Râjâ of Dimruâ and a naval leader were wounded by shot from Mughal guns

Escape of Pariksit

and later men of the naval force and the Râjâ of Dimruâ himself were wounded.⁽²²⁾

Pariksit's flotilla became disorganised in the absence of a leader. Adequate command had also been lacking on land. In these circumstances, and as the night

(21) Bâhâristan-i-Ghâibi, page 116 Ka. Chhatra Nazir Nitai is also referred to in the Kâmrupar Bhrunjee and Kâmrup Vansâvali.

(22) This 'Mirbahur' (naval Commander) as mentioned in the Baharistan (page 16 Ka) and the Purandar Laskar as given in the Vansâvali appear to be different persons.

advanced it became impossible to restore confidence on both the land and river forces.—Tired on body and mind Pariksit retired towards Ghilâ.

Soldiers of the emperor pursued him, and after he had been attacked simultaneously from two sides, he had no alternative but to leave Ghila, and cross the river Mânasa to Bâranagar. Râjâ Satrâjît arrived too late to block the way. There was no possibility of his being captured, for escape was also open to him to the north and east. However, he deemed it advisable to surrender himself to the Mughals and he sent an ambassador to the Mughal camp to obtain a promise that his life and honour would be respected. Mokarram Khan the Commander-in-chief of the Mughal army gave this assurance on oath, and in July 1613 A. D., Pariksit formally surrendered.

The Commander-in-chief delegated the Government of Kâmrupa to Laksminârâyan.⁽²³⁾ Pariksit went to Dacca

Aquisition of Kâmrupa by Laksminârâyan. with Mirza Hosan Bakshi and Râjâ Raghunâth. At that time Subedar Eslam Khan was hunting in the

Bhowal jungle near Dacca. He sent information to Pariksit that he would see him there, but before Pariksit arrived, the Subedar was suddenly taken ill and died. Pariksit had boasted that he was the ruler of an independent royal dynasty ruling for a century, and Eslam had had it in mind that he would make Pariksit bow down his proud head in the Durbar of the emperor.

Eslam's subordinate officers then enacted a dramatic farce whereby they concealed the news of death of the Subedar from Pariksit and held a Durbar in which Pariksit offered obeisance (Kurnis) to the corpse of Eslam Khan. They also attempted

(23) Baharistan-i-Ghâibi, page 151 Kha,

to imprison Pariksit, but were opposed by Mokarram Khan. Afterwards, orders were solicited from the Mughal Durbar as to what should be done with Pariksit.⁽²⁴⁾

In May 1614 A. D. Kasem Khan the brother of Eslam Khan arrived at Dacca as the new Subedar.. He received

Subedar Kasem Khan.

Pariksit and his son with great honour and offered them seats on the same level

as his own. When Laksminârâyan

reached Dacca, he was kept under surveillance. Orders were also passed that Pariksit should be similarly treated, but with limited effect owing to the strong protest of Mokarram Khan who had bound himself by oath to protect Pariksit. The Subedar therefore had recourse to a strategem.

Laksminârâyan and Pariksit
nârâyan made captives.

He arranged for Pariksit to be separated from Mokarram Khan, made Pariksit a

prisoner and appointed Abdul Nabi to take charge of him. Mokarram Khan was very mortified by this treachery and was even inclined to take up arms against the Subedar. He desisted from such a course as he realised the weakness of his position and apprehended the anger of the emperor. Kasem Khan set himself to the cynical role of instructing Pariksit in the etiquette of the Delhi Durbar. After some time, the royal captives were sent to the Durbar at Agra.

Kâsem Khân endeavoured to attract the favour of the Durbar by showing an increase in the Mughal dominion as represented by the territories conquered by Eslam Khan, but he had neither the experience nor the political sagacity necessary to protect the newly acquired borders of the empire.

(24) Bâhâristân-i-Ghâibi, pages 140 Kha and 141 Ka. It is written in the Bâdsâhanâma that the officer who was in charge of the office of the Subedar being unable to decide what to do with Pariksit, sent a letter to the Durbar soliciting instructions, and in pursuance of the orders of the emperor, Pariksit was sent to Agra.

He was inconsiderate and cruel. He did not understand that his administration would be undermined if undertakings given by the previous Subedar and the higher officers engaged in the conquest of Kâmrupa, were disregarded. Blinded by conceit, he insulted and oppressed his officers. The Bâdsâhanâmâ records Mokarram Khan's disgust with Kasem, in consequence of which he journeyed to Agra *via* Ghoraghât to prefer a complaint. Kâsem Khân's policy was frustrated. He was unable to establish peace and order in Kâmarupa, and though he thought to rule the country from a centre at Jahangirabad (Ghilâ), the fire of revolt was soon kindled on all sides.

The protracted warfare between Pariksit and Laksminârâyan caused great hardship to their subjects but none of them desired to see either ruler deposed. On the other hand, the relationship of the two rulers with their subjects was close and the dynasty inspired loyalty because it had sprung from the people of the country. When it became known that Pariksit was a prisoner and that Laksminârâyan had fallen into the same plight, revolt spread through Kâmarupa and Kâmatâ. Begun at Khutâghât by Revolt in Kâmarupa. the people of Uttarkula, it was taken up by the inhabitants of Daksinakula, and culminated in wave of hatred against the Mughals which rolled as far as Morung.

'Naba Râjâ' and 'Hâmân Raja' led the rebels of Uttarkula. The influential Sanatan supported them. Samrud Kâyasth⁽²⁵⁾, Parâsurâm, Mangovinda (the uncle of Pariksit), Jadu Nâyek and the ruler of Dimrua in Daksinakula took up arms. Most of the leaders of the Nâmdâni (low lands) of Daksinakula

(25) 'Barakâth Sumra' under orders of Raghudevnârâyan the father of Pariksit-nârâyan constructed the temple of Hayagrîva Mâdhava of Hajo. Vansâvali of Samudranârâyan, page 88.

(Kaltâkâri the Raja of 'Rani', his son Thânâ, Âkhrâ Râjâ, Rupâbar Râjâ, Bako Râjâ, Kanul Râjâ etc.) openly or clandestinely conspired against the Mughals. Balinârâyan the brother of Pariksit secured the aid of the Âhom ruler.

Kasem Khan hurriedly despatched troops and transferred officers again and again in a desperate effort to control the rising. His generals were unable to launch a successful operation. Many of his officers disapproved of him.

Natural obstacles in Kamarupa. The configuration of the country presented serious natural obstacles. The great Brahmaputra flooded the country. Uttarkula was a land of rivers. During the greater part of the year, an army could only move with difficulty. The dense forest of the Bhutan hills extended from east to west. The hinterland of Daksinakula was also hilly and covered with impenetrable jungle.

Unrest in Bengal. While the north-east of Bengal was in this condition, the southern and eastern borders were in a state of anarchy owing to the constant degradations of Burmese and Portuguese bandits who perpetrated outrages by land and water.

Kasem Khan's incompetence was manifest and his officers were exasperated. Mokarram Khan had already laid a complaint against him before the emperor. Dewan Mokhles Khan also complained against the Subedar, and at the beginning of 1617 A. D. he was removed from the post of Subedar and simultaneously an order was issued to reduce his Jaigir and Mansab. ⁽²⁶⁾

(26) Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, page 197 Kha. According to the Badsahanama and Sahajahannama, Kasem Khan was dismissed for the defeat of the Mughal army in Assam.

The Emperor appointed Ibrahim Khan Fatheljang in his place. Ibrahim Khan was Governor of Behar and there was some delay in his reaching Bengal. In the meantime the revolt in Kâmarupa became more complicated.

Subedar Ibrahim Khan.

Sheik Ibrahim Krauri the chief officer in the imperial revenue Department in Kâmarup misappropriated seven lacs of rupees and seeking the protection of the Ahom ruler took up arms against the emperor in the hope of becoming ruler of Kâmarupa.

The son of Raja Pratâpâditya of Jessore, Laksminârâyan the ruler of Kâmatâ and Pariksit of Kâmrupa were living under surveillance in Agra. The emperor had expressed a desire to realease them but up to that time it had not been imple-

mented. Before going to Bengal, Subedar Ibrahim Khan sponsored their release. He wrote to the emperor that if the son of Pratâpâditya were sent back to his own country there would be possibility of stopping the depredations of the Burmese and the Portuguese. There was also a probability that Laksminârâyan and Pariksit could establish peace in Kâmarupa. The emperor appreciated the soundness of the request and sent Laksminârâyan with honours to Bengal.

Release of Laksminârâyan. Orders regarding Pariksit were conveyed to Mir Kâymaddowla, that the kingdom of Kamarup would be returned to him when the promised peskash of seven lacs of rupees had been realised from him. (27)

(27) Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, page 234 Kha. It is not clear from the Baharistan whether Pariksit really came to Bengal or not. In some of the Vansavalis it is said that he came to Dacca and again went to Agra and died on his way there. It is written in the Kâmarupan Burunjee that when he was going to Agra he learnt at Tribeni in Frayâg (Allahabad) that if a person gave up his life in that place, no sin would accrue from suicide. Page 11.

The new Subedar Ibrahim Khan was a just, energetic and sagacious officer. He was well aware of conditions in the country. He discarded the policy followed by Kasem Khan and tried to establish peace.

Madhusudan had occupied Karai'bari. Ibrahim Khan sent Musa Khan the son of Isa Khan and other zemindars to him.

They took him to Khejerpur after making Obedience of Madhusudan. him admit obedience to the emperor. He was imprisoned there at first but afterwards released. Ibrahim appointed the old and experienced officer Sheik Kamal as Governor of Kâmarupa (1618 A. D.), and began to subdue the revolt in Kâmarupa with the help of Laksmînârâyan.

18. SÂHAJÂDÂ MOHAMMAD SUJA (1649-58 A. D.)

During the time of Soltan Mohammad Suja the son of emperor Sahajahan and Subedar of Bengal, part of Cooch Behar was recorded in his Duftar (register) as belonging to the Mughal Empire⁽²⁸⁾ but no evidence is available of any place in the raj being occupied by him. In 1658 A. D. he had Jamâbandi papers prepared to correct Raja Todarmalla's ' Âsal Jamâ tumâr '. An additional 15 Sarkars and 668 Pergannas were included. The papers record that there were 34 Sarkars and 1350 Pergannas in the whole of Bengal, the total revenue being Rs. 1,31,15,907. The Sarkars of Kochbihar, Bângâlbhum, Dhubri (Dhekri), Daksinakula and Uttarakula were specified.⁽²⁹⁾ Soltan Suja renamed ' Hajo ' ' Sujâ-âbad '. He increased the revenue by twenty-four lacs of rupees above

(28) Riaz-us salâtin—Bengali Translation, page 197.

(29) During the time of Suja, some portions of Assam came under the emperor. Ahom Burunjee, MSS. B. (b), page 1. Sheik Ibrahim Krauri divided the kingdom of Kamrupa of Pariksit into four Sarkars (Sarkar Kamarupa, Sarkar Dhekri, Sarkar Daksinakula and Sarkar Bangalbhumi) and 75 Pergannas. Kainrupar Burunjee, page 28.

that recorded by Todarmalla. Some of this increase consisted of revenue from lands taken from Orissa, Tripura and Cooch Behar and the income from the mint.

Sarkar Kochbiliar.—This Sarkar was divided into 246 Pergannas and its revenue was to be Rs. 3,27,791. It covered most of the territory in the north-east of Bengal which had come under the Mughal empire. The present district of Rungpur and the greater portion of the ancient zemindary of Fakirkundi were included. Many portions of this Sarkar were taken from the possession of ruler of the Cooch Behar.

Sarkar Bângâlbhum.—Sarkar Bângâlbhum was formed with Pergannas Baharband and Bhitarband⁽³⁰⁾. Even today these two Pergannas remain substantially the same. The Revenue of this Sarkar was fixed at Rs. 1,37,728. It was within the old kingdom of Cooch Behar and is now in the district of Rungpur.

Sarkar Daksinakula.—Sarkar Daksinakula was created with a revenue of Rs. 27,821, and in the main comprised the three Pergannas Karaibari etc. on the east bank of the Brahmaputra.

Sarkar Dhubri.—Sarkar Dhubri or Dhekri was mainly two Pergannas on the banks of the Brahmaputra to the north of Daksinakula and extending to Goalpara in the east, with a revenue of Rs. 6,126.

Sarkar Uttarkula or Kamarupa.—This Sarkar was situated on the west and north of the Brahmaputra. It was divided into three Pergannas, and its revenue fixed at Rs. 31,451.

(30) According to another view, Perganna Gaybari and Chowki Baritala were Sarkar Bangalbhum. Kamrupar Buranjee, page 103.

It has already been mentioned that in 1532 A. D. Rāja Todarmalla created Sarkar Ghoraghat—84 Pergannas, Sarkar Purnea of nine, Sarkar Tajpur of twenty-nine and Sarkar Janjara of twenty-one Pergannas. Many parts of Kāmatā or Cooch Behar were in all these Sarkars.

Sirkar Bangalbhumi, Daksinakula, Uttarakula and Dhubui were conquered from Pariksit and included in the Mughal domain (1613 A. D.) The territory to the north of Pariksit's raj has now been divided in five "Duars", Bijni, Sidli, Chirang, Ripu, and Guma (1005 square miles) and within the Khas Mehal of district Goalpara. The remaining territory (2384 square miles) have in modern times been divided into several Pergannas and included within that district. They are Bijni, Gouripur, Parbatjoar, Chapar, Mechpara and Karaibari zemindaries⁽³¹⁾.

In connection with the attack on Cooch Behar by Subedar Mirzumla (1661 A. D.), the Tārikh-i-Āsām and Alamgirnāmā say that at that time Baharband, Tājhāt,(?) and Bākduār were to the south of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. They mention Baritalā on the banks of the Brahmaputra (to the southeast of Bāhārbānd and near Chilmāri) and a strong *Bund*, *Bāndh*, or *Ail* (earthen wall). The then capital of Cooch Behar was 48 miles to the

(31) The present zeminder family of Gauri-pur is descended from Kavindra Patra, the Commander-in-chief of Maharaj Naranārāyan. Bulchand Barua of this family first gained the zemindary during the time of the East India Company. It is divided into several Pergannas and its area is 494 square miles. The area of Parbatjoar Perganna is 276 square miles. The first zemindar was Hātibar Chaudhuri and to the present it is in the possession of his descendants. At the end of the 18th century, Mechpara and Chapar Perganna were separated from Bijni. Thana Kamallochan acquired Mechpara, and Jaynarain Sarma, Chapar. Even now these two Pergannas are in the possession of their descendants. Their areas are 399 and 201 square miles respectively. The area of Karaibari Perganna is 51 square miles. This was purchased from Mahendranarayan by Ramchandra Lahiri a former Dewan of Cooch Behar.

north of this *Ail* and the Subedar took six days from that place to reach the capital of Cooch Behar. The *Baharband* and *Bhitarband*. portion of the kingdom within this *Bund* or rampart, was known as " *Bhitarband* " and that outside, as " *Baharband* ". Outside the rampart there were 77 Pergannas in five Châklâs, and inside, 12 Pergannas.

At the end of the 15th century, after conquering Kâmatâpur, the Pathan chiefs gave *Biharband*, *Bhitarband*, *Patildaha* and *Swarupapur* Pergannas to a Brahmin named Jagat Ray to protect the frontier; but after the death of Ser Sah most of them were retaken by the " Nârâyan " rulers. Later, when the Mughal rule was strongly established in those Pergannas, jaigirs were sometimes granted to officers. The practice was to grant Jaigirs in disturbed areas or near the frontier. During the time of Sah Suja, Chand Ray became the first zemindar of *Baharband*. Raja Raghunath Ray of Bardhankuttir disputed his possession and acquired the zemindary by a decision of emperor Aurungzeb. Subsequently, Raja Ramkanta Ray of Natore inherited it from his wife Rani Satyabati. The celebrated Rani Bhabani the wife of Raja Ramkanta gave it to her son-in-law Raghunath Ray. After the Company was granted the Dewani (1765 A. D.), the Governor General Warren Hastings transferred the Perganna to Raja Loknath Nandi the son of his Dewan Krisnakanta Nandi (Kanta Mudi) of Kasimbazar. Later still it passed under the Collectorate of Rajsahi with the Perganna of *Bhitarband*. In 1772 A. D. *Baharband* was under the Collectorate of Rungpur and in 1786-87 A. D. *Baharband* and Idrakpur were amalgamated to form a separate district named Ghoraghat but was a short-lived arrangement. After the Permanent Settlement, *Bhitarband* has come within the district of Rungpur. The present area of the zemindari including *Baharband*, *Goygâri* and part of *Bhitarband*, is 350 square miles.

19. MIRZUMLA NAWAB MOAZZAM KHAN (1661 A. D.)

During the illness of emperor Sahajahan, Soltan Suja the Subedar of Bengal, at first exultant with the hope of usurping the throne of his father, subsequently lived in fear of his life. At that time the administration of Bengal was very weak.

Independent rulers on the frontier began to enter the Mughal territory either to recover lost territory or to extend their influence. In 1657 A. D. Maharaja Prannârâyan of Cooch Behar and some time after him the Âhom king Jaydhvaj Sinha invaded and occupied lower Assam. The Assamese themselves conquered territory up to Karaibari, about five days' journey north-wards of Dacca, and established a thana at Hâtsilâ. They took a large number of Mughal prisoners and sent them to Assam.

Prannârâyan, the ruler of Cooch Behar attacked Ghoraghât and brought some male and female captives to his own kingdom.⁽³²⁾ He attacked Dacca by river. En route, his soldiers fired villages

on the banks of the Brahmaputra. He sacked Dacca the Capital of Bengal in 1661 A. D.⁽³³⁾ It was to this state of anarchy that Mirzumla Nawab Moazzam Khan the Subedar newly appointed by emperor Aurungazeb came to Dacca. He first concentrated on retribution for the acts of the rulers of Assam and Cooch Behar. A large fleet, with cannon and other war material was sent by water to Cooch Behar, and

Military preparations by the Subedar.

the Nawab himself set out with twelve thousand cavalry and considerable infantry to attack Cooch Behar by land route. Learning this news, the Âhom ruler hoped to place all blame

(32) Riaz-us-salâtin, Bengali Translation, page 206. Târikh-i-Âsâm, Introduction, page 8.

(33) Marshman's History of Bengal, page 55. The Mahomedan historians do not say that Dacca was conquered by Prannârâyan.

upon the "Bara Dewani" of Cooch Behar and sent a Vakil with a letter to the Nawab, but the Nawab disregarded the letter and imprisoned the Vakil.

Under Subedar's orders one thousand cavalry under Raja Sujan Sinha and Mirza Beg started first as an advance guard.

Expedition to Cooch Behar. But owing to small strength, they were compelled to halt in Bakduar outside the

limits of Cooch Behar. The Nawab followed immediately and reached Baritala near the boundary of Cooch Behar. At that time there were three (according to another view four) routes through Morang, Bakduar and Rangamati respectively into Cooch Behar. That Bakduar (Kâmatâpur Ghoraghât Road) was well-known, and was protected by a very strong rampart from which the then capital of Cooch Behar was 48 miles or 6 days' journey. Under orders of the Subedar, Raja Sujan Sinha was to protect the route at Ghoraghât whither the family of the Subedar and excess baggage were sent.

Ordering the fleet to wait in a channel flowing from Ghoraghât to the Brahmaputra, the Subedar followed a little-known path through jungle. On the 14th

Conquest of Cooch Behar. December 1661 A. D. the Mughal army entered Cooch Behar territory. By this

ruse the Subedar frustrated the previous dispositions made by the ruler. When the Mughal army was three days' journey distant, the ruler escaped to the Bhutan hills, and on the 19th December Nawab Moazzam Khan occupied the capital of Cooch Behar without a battle⁽³⁴⁾.

(34) It is written in the Burunjee of Rudrasinha (page 177) that on Friday the 19th Magh 1583 Saka (27th January 1662 A. D.) Cooch Behar was conquered by Moazzam Khan. It has been ascertained by calculation that this date was really a Friday. The following differences of opinion are noted.—

1. 19th December 1661 A. D. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 180; 7th Jamâdiyâl Âwâl, 1072 Hijri (19th December 1661 A. F.) Alamgîrnâmâ and Târikh-i-Asâm.

Nawab Mirzumla renamed the capital 'Alamgir Nagar'. From the ruler's armoury, 106 cannon, 145 jamburak (small cannon), 11 ramchingi (?) 123 guns and other pieces of ordnance and many animals fell into the hands of the victor. Under his orders the royal properties were plundered. The main temple was converted into a mosque. Isfendiar Beg was appointed to garrison the country temporarily with one thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry. Saiyad Mohammad Sadek was appointed Chief Justice, Asgar Khan the Fouzdar, Kazi Sammu the Dewan and Mir Abdur Rezzak and Khaja Kesridas Assistant Dewans. Bholanath the former Minister of the ruler had escaped to Morang country and the Nawab sent Isfendiar Beg and Farhad Khan to search for him. Reza Kuli Khan captured him and brought him before the Nawab under whose orders he became a prisoner in irons. Men were sent to Kantalbari to the north to seize the ruler himself without success as he moved into Bhutan. The Nawab then sent a letter to the Dharmaraj of Bhutan to send the king to him, but the Dharmaraj paid no heed to the demand. After arrangements for establishing justice in the newly conquered kingdom had been made, the Subedar started on the 4th January 1662 A. D. to conquer the kingdom of Assam. While in Cooch Behar, he punished several of his soldiers for looting and compensated the subjects concerned. (35)

After his departure the people were oppressed by Isfendiar Beg and Mohammad Sadek, and rallied to the side of the ruler. Continual fighting weakened Isfendiar Beg and he was compelled to leave Cooch Behar. He made for Ghoraghat

2. 27th Rabiol Awal 1072 Hijri (10th November 1661 A. D.) History of Bengal, page 325.

(35) Alamgir-Nâma, pages 689, 694; Mâsir-i-Alamgiri, page 39; Tarikh-i-Âsam, Introduction page 13.

with his attendants. The Subedar had sent a force under Asgar Khan from Assam to Cooch Behar but they were waiting outside Cooch Behar territory for reinforcements. Then the Nawab died, and receiving no assistance from the temporary Subedar Daud Khan, Asgar Khan could not maintain himself outside the Ail (Bund or Bândh) except in Fatehpur Chakla.⁽³⁶⁾ Afterwards, when a treaty was concluded between Nawab Sayesta Khan and the ruler of Cooch Behar, the Mughal army was withdrawn from this place (1665 A. D.).

20. RÂJÂ RÂMSINHA (1668 A. D.)

With the death of Nawab Mirzumla Moazzam Khan, the results of his conquest of Assam disappeared. The Ahom ruler denounced the treaty and began to quarrel with the Mughal Fouzdar of Gauhati.

Raja Ramsinha and Cooch Behar.

It appears that Modnârâyan the ruler of Cooch Behar attended to the repairs of the southern Ail (rampart) and the forts strengthening the southern part of his kingdom. When Subedar Sayestâ Khan was unsuccessful in Assam, the emperor sent Ramsinha the Raja of Amber with 18,000 cavalry and 33,000 infantry. Raja Ramsinha was related to the ruler of Cooch Behar and took Cooch Behar soldiers with him to conquer Assam.⁽³⁷⁾

21. BHABANIDAS (1685 A. D.).

Bhabanidas (the son of Todarmalla) the Naib Subedar of Bengal attacked Cooch Behar about 1685 A. D., and the ruler, defeated in battle, escaped to the forest. There was a fire in the Mughal camp, and Bhabanidas with four thousand of his soldiers perished. After this fire, the ruler recovered his kingdom.⁽³⁸⁾

(36) History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 218. An account is given in the Ain-i-Akbari of a Mehal named Fatehpur Sarkar Ghoraghat.

(37) Burunjee from Khunlong and Khunlai, Manuscript Book III, Vol. II, page 39; Assam Burunjee, Manuscript Book VIII, page 100.

(38) Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri, page 123. The fresh attack of the Mughal army immediately

22. EBADÂT KHÂN (1687 A. D.).

Ebadat Khan the Fouzdar of Ghoraghat invaded Cooch Behar in 1094 B. S. (1637 A. D.). He crossed the Ail at the boundary. It is said that as there was scarcity of water in the place where he pitched his camp, a tank was hurriedly excavated, and that for this reason, this place is even today known as "Sadyapuskarini". Thence he advanced eight

Mâhiganj, Nababganj and Mogalhat. miles to the north and established two bazars, "Nababganj" and "Mâhiganj:"

(Rungpur), and when Chakla Kakina was conquered, he established a Hat which has come to be known as Mogalhât. (39)

Owing to constant attacks by the Mughals and internal unrest, the Cooch Behar officers who were entrusted with the charge of the Chaklajat and who had already in practice though not in name assumed independence, began now to side with the Mughals. Owing to this combination, the Raikat and the Chhatra Nazir, advanced against the Fouzdar and opposed the vast Mughal army with great valour for a considerable time.

The Mughal Fouzdar was never able to subdue them, and even when Raja Mahindranârâyan died, and the Raikats were disputing the Cooch Behar *gaddi* with Chhatra Nazir Yajnanarayan, they did not cease to engage the Mughal army. Fouzdar Nurulla Khan fought them continually from 1095

after this incident appears to be in retribution for this fire. In no other history is there mention of the incident, nor is it indicated in which reign Bhabanidas attacked Cooch Behar.

Todarmalla the Minister of Akbar died a very old man in 998 Hijri (1590 A. D.), There was another Todarmalla who was an officer under emperor Sahajahan.

(39) Sambhu Vansa Charita, page 9.10.

"The Mohammedians at first called their new conquests in Kochwarah by the name of Fakirkundi and they probably made their first entry near where Mâhiganja now stands confronting Kundi which they already held, on the opposite side of the Ghaghpat."

Rungpore District Gazetteer, page 146.

to 1100 B. S., when Nurulla Khan was dismissed under orders of the Nawab and Jabardast Khan was appointed in his place.

Jabardast Khan.

He carried on the hostilities, and having forcibly acquired a Jaigir, lived there for two years and ten months. When he

left, it was to quell the revolt of Sobhasinha and Rahim Khan. Ibrahim Khan came to Ghoraghât. He was there from 1102

Valour of the Raikats.

to 1104 B. S. At this stage the Raikats Jagadev and Bhujadev re-established themselves in their lost domain, the

Mughal army being completely defeated by them. After Ibrahim Khan, Sâyâdat Ali Khan was Fouzdar until 1105 B. S. and Sâmsuddowla Khan until 1106 B. S. but neither was able to recapture the territory formerly in Mughal possession, and Raikats Jagadev and Bhujadev maintained this independence. They repulsed Saiyad Yazed Khan the Dewan of the Fouzdar and Raja Devakinandan. It was after this that Ali Kuli Khan was appointed Fouzdar (1106 B. S.).

Raikats Jagadev and Bhujadev were both killed in battle with Yajnanârâyan. In Cooch Behar the latter was succeeded by Rupnârâyan to whom the Debraj of Treaty.

Bhutan gave assistance in his endeavour to restore peace and order in a country devasted by continued civil war.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The ruler of Cooch Behar and Ali Kuli Khan concluded a treaty which determined the present State of Cooch Behar with the three Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabhadag. The remaining Chaklas of Fatehpur,

(40) The Mughal General Moazzan Khan advanced and erected a fort on the banks of the Dharla near Patgram.

This place is said to have been named ' Mundamâlâ ' as the heads of the Cooch Behar soldiers killed in battle were hung up on bamboo poles there. A place to the east (to the south-east of Dinhata) where a large number of Mughal soldiers were killed, has been called ' Turuk-kâtâ ' (Râjopakhâya, Narakhandâ, Adhyâya 10).

Kakina and Karjirhat came within the imperial jurisdiction, and former Cooch Behar officers were appointed Chaudhuris of them. The officers of the Cooch Behar Chaklas were described in the Rajopâkhyâna. "The officers of the Pergannas Karjirhât, Kâkinâ, Tepâ, Manthanâ, Kunri (Kundi?) etc. became treacherous to the king, and agreeing to pay revenue every year to the Subedar for the territories under them, themselves became zemindars and took out Sunnuds".⁽⁴¹⁾

Subsequently Fatepur Chakla was divided into the zemindaries of Fatehpur, Bamandanga, Manthanâ, Panga and Gharialdanga in the district of Rungpur. During the last century the Maharaja of Cooch Behar acquired a small portion of Fatehpur zemindary by purchase and half of the Panga zemindary by gift. Reference has already been made to Indranarayan Chakravarti the Chakladar of Chakla Kâkinâ. During his time (166 Rajsaka=1676 A. D.) or some time before Raghuram was in service in this Chakla, Raghabendra-narayan and Ramnarayan the sons of Raghuram joined cause with the Fouzdar, with the result that Raghavendra was appointed Chaudhuri of Perganna 'Bâsatti' and Ramnarayan Chaudhuri of Chakla Kakina (1687 A. D.).⁽⁴²⁾

Chakla Karjir Hat or Kajir Hat was formerly known as Chakla Padmanarayan. At the beginning of the 18th century,

(41) Narakhanda, Adhyâya 10.

"When the Moslems settled their new conquest of Serkar Kochvihar, they gave the Zemindaries or management of the soil to various officers and servants of the Raja by whose treachery they probably had been assisted." Eastern India, Vol. III, page 421.

No proof is available that Kunri or Kundi Perganna was at that time within Cooch Behar.

(42) The descendant of Raghavendranârâyân Chaudhuri are now zemindars of Perganna Bâsatti (Ghomialdângâ). The area of this Perganna is about 25 square miles and of Kakina Chakla about 250 square miles. Ramnarayan Chaudhuri was the first of the Kakina zemindar family.

It is said that in 1736 A. D. Rudra Rai Chandhuri the son of Ramnarayan Chaudhuri gained much land as Petbhâta (rent-free) in several Taluks. This land was

Arif Mohammad a former Cooch Behar officer joined the Fouzdar and was appointed 'Chaudhuri' of this Chakla. Later the Chakla was divided into the zemindaries of Kajirhat, Mahipur, Tushbhandar, Tepa, Dimla etc. ⁽⁴³⁾

Ali Kuli Khan's treaty with Cooch Behar was not approved by the Nawab, and he was dismissed and replaced by Ali Ijjat Neyamatulla Khan (1711 A. D.). Neyamatulla Khan remained in the post until 1120 B. S.

Breach of the treaty.

(1713 A. D.). He reversed the terms of the treaty and he objected to the

previous settlement and demanded revenue for Chakla Boda, Patgram and Purbabagh. War broke out again. Sheik Iar Mohammad attacked Cooch Behar with a considerable force. The Cooch Behar troops were defeated and the three Chaklas passed into the dominion of the emperor. When excessive revenue was realised to maintain Iar Mohammad's soldiers many people left the country. Neyamatulla Khan made a land

subsequently confiscated, but in 1763 A. D. restored. During the time of Rasik Ray Chaudhuri the son of Rudra Ray Chaudhuri, the Cooch Behar officers attached this land. In 1770 A. D. it was released to his widow. Mahimāranjan Rai Chaudhuri the great-great-grandson of Rasik Ray (1874 A. D.) lost the land which was included in the Kheraji land. He was given possession of 6727 Bighas on condition of paying revenue at half rates during his life-time. After his death his son Raja Mahendraranjan Rai Chaudhuri has it on revenue at $\frac{1}{2}$ ths rate during his life-time.

(43) The area of Chakla Karjir Hat is about 719 square miles.

The descendants of Arif Mohammad are now the zemindars of Mahipur in Rungpur. Arif Mohammad retained a $4\frac{1}{2}$ anna share of the Chakla in his own possession and gave the remainder to others. Sitaram Ray the founder of the zemindar family of Tushbhandar received a two annas share of Karjir Hat. Sitaram was an officer of the ruler of Cooch Behar, and a descendant of Murari Bhattacharya. Murari Bhattacharya was granted an 'Upanchowki' Taluk by the ruler (1634 A. D.). Mahadev Ray the founder of the zemindar family of Tepa was Khasnavis (1704 A. D.) under the Cooch Behar raj. Even after the Mughal supremacy was established in Karjir Hat, he and his descendants worked for the raj.

settlement about the time (1712 A. D.) that emperor Bahadur Sah died. Khan Jahan Bahadur the temporary Naib Nazim of Bengal determined to establish his authority over the three Chaklas by force. At the end of this war, a treaty was again concluded, and whereby Chhatra Nazir Kumar Santa Narayan took Ijara on behalf of the Maharaja of the Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabhabag nominally acknowledging the supremacy of the emperor. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ Mutsuddi Raghunandan Ray fixed the ' Saranjami costs ' at a low figure, without ' Rasum '. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

It is clear that from the beginning of the Moghul supremacy over the three Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabhabag, until their possession by the East India Company, they were semi feudatory estates. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

The Chaudhuris of the Chaklas instituted a case against Chhatra Nazir Khagendra Narayan before the Collector of Rungpur regarding the possession of the three Chaklas. The decision in this case in 1778 A. D. was based on papers 66 year old in the Dufter of the Canoongo. From them it appears that when the war ended in 1712A. D. the ruler of Cooch Behar and the

(44) "The three Chaklas were nominally ceded, but were still held in farm by Shanta Narayan on behalf of the Cooch Behar Raja." The District of Rungpore, page 13.

(45) The above account is written mainly from a copy of the decree of the Chaklasat case tried in 1778 A. D by the Collector of Rungpur.

It is written in the Rājopakhyāna that the war for the Chaklas and the treaty took place in the time of Jabardast Khan in 1118 B. S. (1711 A. D.). Narakhanda, Adhyāya 11.. This account is not correct. This mistake has been followed in the Murshidabader Itihas' (Page 357).

(46) "Thus in Rungpore we have what, for want of better terms, may be styled the semifeudatory estates, such as Baikuntapur, and the Chaklas of Boda, Patgram and Purub bhag, held by the Raja of Kuch Behar; the subfeudatory estates or the rest of Kuchwara, held by descendants of Kuch Behar officers." A Statistical Account of Rungpore, page 318.

Moghul representative agreed to make Chhatra Nazir Kumar Santanarayan the zeminder of the Chaklas but "he did not become so. Accordingly this was changed to his remaining with the Suba. At this, he agreed to take Ijara". This Ijara was actually taken, but no documentary proof exists. The judgment also says,—“He acts as Naib over all persons who became zemindars. The Naibs and zemindars of these places do not go to the Nawab. The subordinate zemindars did not get Rasum.”

Saranjami costs were levied at low rates upon the Chaklas, and submission of Hastbud (accounts and total amount of revenue realised) to the imperial Canoongo of the emperor was waived. The reason given in the judgment was that the ruler may give up the Chaklas and there might again be war.

Whatever may have been precise implication of the words ‘zemindar’ and ‘Ijardar’ at that time, it is clear that Kumar Santanarayan was not the zemindar of the Chaklas but occupied superior to the zemindars of the area *qua* ‘Ijardar’. The terms of the imperial Sunnuds granted to the zemindars of Bengal for occupying their zemindaries were not uniform. Changes were made according to circumstances. The East India Company followed this practice for some time. Because of his status Kumar Santanarayan was more influential than the local zemindars. The phrase in the judgment,—“The Naibs and zemindars of these places do not go to the Nawab”, suggests that Santanarayan wielded considerable powers in the administration of the Chaklas.

Half a century after the establishment of Mughal supremacy in Chaklas Boda, Patgram and Purbabagh (1765 A.D.), the

The three Chaklas under the Company. East India Company was invested with the Dewani of ‘Sube Bângâlâ’. In 1770

A. D. Mr. Grese was supervisor of collection of revenue in Rungpur. Before him Mirza Hosain Reza,

and before the latter, Madangopal were collectors. Up to the time of Mr. Grose, the Chhatra Nazir had had almost absolute authority in the three Chaklas and was not responsible to the officers of the Company.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The peskash (tribute) which he paid was different in form from the revenue payable by other zemindars, and no Hastbud was filed by him according to the prevailing practice of the time.

Though Mr. Grose was not satisfied with these special rights of the Chhatra Nazir, his superior officer M. Richard Becher the Resident at the Durbar of Murshidabad was not in favour of taking them away.⁽⁴⁸⁾

There were twenty-two conditions in the Patta (Aumil-Nama or Lease) given to the zemindars of Rungpur during the time of Mr. Hastings (1777 A. D.) and thereby their powers were completely curtailed. Moreover they were compelled to give information to the Sudder regarding theft and murder, and the death of any person without heir who had buried treasure. If any zemindar refused to pay revenue as fixed by the Collector, his zemindary was farmed out to another and more amenable

(47). " * * * * as I knew they (zemindars of Rungpore) were so easily to be obtained, and without interfering the least with the collections, to which they all readily complied, except the Zemindars of Boda and Bycuntapore, who in manner deny our authority, alledging they are answerable to the Cooch Behar Raja for their proceedings, another reason they give for not complying with my orders, is that, it has never been heretofore customary, which is true as they have always been able to buy themselves off with the several Aumils who have been sent up here." Extract from the letter, No. 8 dated the 21st July, 1770, from John Grose Esq. to Richard Becher Esq., Resident at the Durbar. 'Bengal District Records, Rungpore', Vol. I, page 10.

(48). "Agreeable to your desire I shall desist from pressing the Zemindars of Boda and Bycuntapore for any papers or accounts, tho' must beg leave to observe that these two places have long since been annexed to this District. They pay a certain sum annually without giving an account in what manner their collections are made." Extract from the Letter No. 2, dated the 20th April, 1770 from John Grose Esq., to Rechard Becher Esq., 'Bengal District Records, Rungpore,' Vol. I, page V.I.

person.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Chaklajat zemindary of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar was however not subject to these conditions, but when Maharaja Dharendranârâyan died, the authorities of the Company issued a Sunnud to Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan in respect of the zemindary in 'Sarkar Kochbihar' directing the ruler to pay revenue regularly and to refrain from realising prohibited taxes. The ruler's authority in other matters was not limited. It was written in the Sunnud that he was empowered to prevent theft and plunder, and to punish thieves and robbers.⁽⁵⁰⁾

(49). Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, pages 19, 53.

(50). Translation of a Sunnud under the seal of the Honorable English Company, dated, the 13th of February 1776 A. D. corresponding with the 4th of Falgoon, 1182 Bangala, and the 22nd of Zilhij of the 17th year of His Majesty's reign.

"Be it known to all Matsuddis at present holding important trusts, or who may be here, after appointed thereto and to all Kanangoes and Moqudums and ryots and cultivators and other inhabitants and natives of Sirkar Cooch Behar, in the Soobah of Bengal, the Paradise of Countries, that as the orders of the Gentlemen in Council have been issued, that a Sunnud for the Zemindari of the above Sirkar should be granted to Dhurjindr Narain, accordingly (the above person) having agreed to pay the Peshkush of Government of Fifty Gold Mohurs agreeably to the order, the office of Zemindar of the above Sirkar, vacated by (the death of) Durindar Naryan, has been granted, confirmed to and bestowed upon Dhurjindr Narayan that observing the duties and usages of the office and the rules of the truth and dignity, he depart not in the minutest particular from a vigilant and prudent conduct, but avoiding sloth and consulting the interest of the ryots and inhabitants, conciliating their affections, that he so conduct himself that his utmost endeavours may be exerted for the increase of cultivation and the improvement of the revenue. He must further pay great attention to expelling and punishing offenders, so that the least vestige of thieves and robbers may not be found within his limits; and take particular care of the highways, so that travellers and strangers may go and come with perfect confidence and safety. God forbid that the property of any one should be stolen or plundered, but should such a case occur, he must seize the thieves or robbers and the property, delivering up the goods to the owner and the offenders to justice; and if he can not find (the thieves and the goods), he must answer for the party himself. He must also take care that no one indulged in forbidden practices within his limits. He must pay the revenues, regularly year after year at the stated period, and at the end of the year according to custom, he will receive credit for his payments. He will further abstain from the collection of

Owing to the continual opposition of the Collectors of Rungpur the ruler's rights did not remain long unimpaired.

Policy of the Collectors.

In 1778 A. D. the Governor General in Council conveyed orders to the ruler that Hastbud should be filed.⁽⁵¹⁾ In the Sunnud given by the Collector of Rungpur on the 28th May 1784 A. D. to Maharaja Harendranârâyan the son of Dhairyendranârâyan, under orders of the Governor General in Council, it was stated that the zemindary was "personally settled in his name" and that there was no other condition except "payment of revenue according to the settlement by the Government."

From 1789 to 1800 A. D. the East India Company managed the Chaklas on behalf of the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan.

In 1790 A. D. their revenue was fixed Settlement of the zemindary. as 97,001 French arcot rupees and the amount payable by the raiyats including Abwabs was 1,25,652 French arcot rupees. From the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793 A. D. the revenue was as Rs.1,00,910-1 and considered to be on the same basis as that of other zemindaries. Under Regulation II of 1819 A. D. extra revenue amounting to Rs. 291-13-5 was levied upon the three Debutter Mehals within the Chaklas.

all exactions or * * * forbidden by government. You are hereby required to acknowledge the above person as Zemindar of the above Sirkar, and to consider him as vested with the powers and appendages thereof. On this point paying the strictest obedience, you will act as above directed.

On the 17th of February, 1776 A. D., corresponding with the 8th Falgoon, 1182 Bangala, and the 26th Zelhij in the 17th year of His Majesty's regin, the copy was received in the Difter."

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 293.

(51). Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, page 91.

When Boda Chakla was within Cooch Behar, it was divided into the several Pergannas Guagaon, Kajaldighi etc. and

Previous history of Boda Chakla.

Gomastas were engaged on behalf of the ruler in different parts of the Chakla.

Binode Chakravarti the son of Sanjib Chakravarti was the Hisabnavis of the three Chaklas. Binode joined with Jabardast Khan and was employed as Chaudhuri of the seven anna share of Boda Chakla under the emperor. Prior to this, revenue was not realised on behalf of the emperor. During the war between the ruler and the emperor regarding the Chakla, the revenue was recorded in the Dufter of the imperial Canoongo (1114 B.S.) as Rs. 8,795-4 Annas 13 Gandas 1 Kara. About $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the Chakla (Nazirpur, was occupied by the Fouzdar of Purnea and on this account Rs. 1,000 was deducted from the total revenue which was fixed as Rs. 7,795-4 Annas 13 Gandas 1 Kara. A seven anna share of this at a Jama of Rs. 3,410-6 Annas 19 Gandas 1 Kara was settled in the name of Ramnarayan Chaudhuri the son of Binode Chaudhuri. Of the remaining nine annas, three annas were in the name of Ramnath Chaudhuri and three in that of Kandarpa Chaudhuri and three in that of Jaysinha Chaudhuri.

During the Cooch Behar occupation of the Chakla, Ramdhan Sarma was the Gomasta of Guagaon Perganna and after his death, his father Ramnath. At the time of Jabardast Khan's attack Ramnath joined him and was appointed Chaudhuri of the three anna share of Boda. He lived in Perganna Salbari to the south of Boda.

One Ananta had been engaged by the ruler as Patwari and his son Kandarpa succeeded him. When Perganna Kajaldighi was invaded by Jabardast Khan, Kandarpa joined him and was appointed Chaudhuri of the three anna share of Boda and according to circumstances, sometimes he professed loyalty

to the ruler and sometimes to the emperor. After Kandarpa, his son Satanjīva was appointed Chaudhuri. A 'Pattak patra' executed by Satanjīva Das on behalf of the ruler in 1115 B. S. (1708 A. D.) has been discovered. After Satanjīva, his brother Sudhārām was appointed.

Under Raikat Jagadev, Sriram Sarma was the Gomasta of Butris Hajari Perganna, and under him Joysinha, son of Ramsinha, was Tehsildar of three or four villages at Jasigram in Nazirpur Perganna in Sarkar Panjārā. Jabardast Khan won over Joysinha and "bidding him welfare like a son" employed him as Chaudhuri of the three anna share of Boda. Fakirchand and Harinarayan instituted a case in the Court of the Company at Rungpur claiming that Boda Chakla was the zemindary of their grandfather, but the proceedings went against them (1778 A. D.).

Sheik Haru was a Cooch Behar official, and Sheik Jamal was his son. Jan Mohammad the son of Jamal at first worked as Sardar Paik and afterwards as Jamadar. History of Purbabhab Chakla. They lived in Maypur in the north of Rungpur, and afterwards at Majigram. When Purbabhab Chakla was threatened by the Fouzdar, Jan Mohammad deserted and was appointed Gomasta of that Chakla under the Fouzdar. In the 35th year of the reign (Jalusi) of emperor Aurungzeb Nurulla Khan appointed him Tehsildar. In the following year he was appointed 'Chaudhuri', and war had broken out between the ruler and the emperor. In 1114 B. S. and until 203 Rajsaka (1712 A. D.), the revenue of Purbabhab was Rs. 43,569-8 annas 2 (?). Jan Mohammad continued in the Chakran land granted by the Cooch Behar raj.

In the 9th year of the reign (Jalusi) of emperor Muhammed Sah (1726 A. D.) Fouzdar Khosal Sinha employed Ali Mohammad the son of Jan Mohammad as Chaudhuri of

Purbabhabag. Ali Mohammad Chaudhuri could not resist the temptation to institute a suit before the Collector of Rungpur as 'Khod Zemindar' of the Chakla, but he lost the case (1778 A.D.). Previously, in the 4th year of the reign (of the said emperor) (1722 A. D.) Fouzdar Kasem Ali Khan appointed Khalak Mohammad as Chaudhuri of Chakla Purbabhabag, and later in the 11th Jalusi Fouzdar Sayyad Mohammad Khan gave him the land occupied by Jan Mohammad. Later still, in 225 Rajsaka (1734 A. D.) under Kumar Santanarayan, Khalak Mohammad was Amin of Boda, Patgram, Puababhabag and Kakina Chakla, Goybari Perganna and Mehal Kapasi with a salary of Rs. 50. ⁽⁵²⁾

Certain Taluks in Goybari Perganna adjacent to Purbabhabag Chakla were occupied by Nazir Santanarayan in the name of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. The zemindar of Baharband Loknath Nandi, instituted a case against Nazir Khagendra-narayan in 1186 B. S. (1779 A. D.) claiming those Taluks. ⁽⁵³⁾

Ramgovinda Sarma was a Cooch Behar officer at Patgram, and when Cooch Behar was attacked by Ebadat Khan, he joined the Mughals. After the treaty

The previous history of
Patgram Chakla. Harideb Sarma the son of Ramgovinda was engaged as Chaudhuri of Chakla

Patgram. The revenue of Patgram was then (1118 B. S.) Rs. 1,856-13 Annas 10 Gandas. After the death of Haridev in 1143 B. S., Nazir Santanarayan appointed Deviprasad the son of Haridev as Chaudhuri. Formerly the family had lived in Karjir Hat, and now they moved to Patgram. Deviprasad in conjunction with Ali Mohammad and Fakirchand instituted a case to establish his zemindary rights over Chakla Patgram but did not succeed.

(52). An authenticated copy of this Amni Parwana is preserved among the old papers of Cooch Behar State Council.

(53). Bengal District Records, Rungpore, pages 96, 101.

In 1722 A. D. Nawab Murshed Kuli Khan revised the settlement records of Sah Suja and prepared the 'Jama Kamel Tumari'. He divided the country, including the territory conquered from Cooch Behar, into 13 Chaklas and 1660 Perganas. The revenue, including the revenue of the Jaigirs, was fixed as Rs. 1428,81,86. (54) In 1728 A. D. Nawab Sujauddin made slight modifications in this settlement. In the last settlement (1761 A. D.) Nawab Kasem Ali Khan made no change except to increase the revenue. None of these settlements affected Cooch Behar.

23. SAIYAD AHMED (C. 1736 A. D.)

Maharaja Upendranârâyan of Cooch Behar having no son, adopted his relative's son Dinnarayan who enlisted the help of Saiyad Ahmed the Fouzdar of Rungpur in the hope of becoming the ruler. At that time Sayed Ahmed was oppressing the Raja of Dinajpur. With troops from Nawab Sujauddin, he defeated the Maharaja, who took refuge in the forest. The Fouzdar received a title and Khilat from the Nawab; afterwards he was defeated and he had to retire from Cooch Behar.

(54). There are discrepancies in later works regarding the amount of revenue.

CHPTER XV.

NÂRÂYANI COINS.

There is no historical evidence as when coins were first used in old Prâgjyotis or Kâmarupa. The coins of Maurya,

Kusan and Gupta kings, and of the Hun kings who destroyed the Gupta

empire have been discovered. Those of the kings of the Pâla and Sena dynasty who flourished after the Guptas and ruled temporarily over Kâmarupa have not all been discovered. The oldest surviving coins of the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal are those of Geyasuddin Iwaz (617 or 619 Hijri=1220 or 1222 A. D.). Coins of the next ruler, Samasuddin Ilias Sah, have been recovered with other coins from Kâmatâpura (Gosanimari) in the State of Cooch Behar. In August 1863

Coins in Gosanimari.

A. D. a find was made on the banks of the Dharla to the south-east of the temple of Kâmatesvari. The Cooch Behar State retained a small number of these coins but Colonel Houghton the Commissioner of Cooch Behar sent 13500 of them to Calcutta to be credited against the tribute due to Government. Colonel Guthrie and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra deciphered the coins. Among them were coins of the Pathan rulers of Gauda and Delhi.⁽¹⁾ 176 coins of them are now preserved in the State Treasury in Cooch Behar.

(1) The Initial Coinage of Bengal.

Coins struck by Sekendar Sah the son of Samsuddin Ilias Sah in 759 Hijri (1358 A. D.) with the inscription of 'Kâmru *al as Chaulistan*' have been discovered.⁽²⁾

Coins inscribed "Kâmarupa". When Kâmatapura was conquered by Hossain Sah the ruler of Gauda in 1493

A. D. his coins declared him "the conqueror of Kâmru, Kâmatâ Jâjnagar and Orissa". Some coins of this type struck in 899, 915 and 919 Hijri (1493, 1509 and 1513 A. D.), have been found in various places.⁽³⁾ Nilâmbara who was the ruler of Kâmatâpura immediately before the conquest of Hosain Sah, has bequeathed none of his coins to us, nor have those of his predecessors been discovered up to the present.

After Nilâmbara, Visvasinha was ruler of Kâmatâpura. Neither the Durrung Vansâvali nor the Rajopâkhyâna of

Account of the coin of Visvasinha. Cooch Behar say whether Maharaja Visvasinha struck coins in his own name.

None have been discovered, a fact which may well lead us to speculate as to the degree of independence enjoyed by that ruler, since the first right of an independent chief was to issue coins in his own name. But it is written in the Assam Burunjee,—“Moreover, before king Visvasinha, there was no coin (current) in Behar”,⁽⁴⁾ and Durgadas Mazumdar

(2) Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, page 152, and Part II, Plate II, No. 38.

The meaning of 'Chaulistan' is 'land of paddy'. Inside the rampart of Kâmatâpura, there is a place named 'Chauler Kuthi'.

(3) It is inscribed on the coins that they were struck in Fatehabad, Hosainabad, Khâjnâkhâna and the chief mint.

Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam, pages 148—152.

Numismatists have assumed in one Fatehabad coin the Hijri year 899, (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, page 173, Part II, Plate V, No. 175) but in this coin, only the figures '89' are visible.

(4) Assam Burunjee by Rai Gunabhiram Barua, page 249.

says.—“In 13 Saka, Maharaja Visvasinha acquired the royal throne and struck coin in his own name”.⁽⁵⁾ In Saka 1419 (1497 A. D.) the meeting between Maharaja Visvasinha and Suhung Mung the king of Ahom has been described in the verse of Durgadas,—

“Hearing this, king Visvasinha with his mind filled with great delight immediately presented a purse of coin struck in his own name. He gave 500 coin, and five horses.”

When the coins and the five horses reached the Ahom king,— “His mind was greatly delighted at seeing the horses. Further, he was astonished at the coins. ‘Thirteen kings of my dynasty,’ he said, ‘have reigned and ascended the heavens but none struck coins. I find these coins to be very extraordinary’. And so the king of Assam brought Brahmin Pundits and struck Mohurs”.⁽⁶⁾

The Barunjee of Rudrasinha mentions that presents were made by Visvasinha to the Ahom king in 1405 Saka (1483 A. D.) but does not specify them.

MAHARAJA NARANÂRÂYAN.

In a history written in Persian there is a reference to Nârâyani coins,⁽⁷⁾ and the tradition is that the ‘Narayan’ kings issued gold, silver, brass and copper coins, though up to date no gold or brass have been discovered. The following silver

(5) Rajvamsâvali, page 16.

(6) Rajvansâvali, pages 17—18. ‘Jarab’ is an Arabic word. Its meaning is ‘striking’. As coins are prepared by stamping dies, these are said to be ‘Jarab’. Coins dated 1543 issued by the Ahom king Suklen Mung have been discovered. (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Vol. I, page 298, Plate XXIX). It is not impossible that coins issued by Maharaja Visvasinha will be discovered if the ruins of Kâmatâpura the ancient capital of Cooch Behar be properly excavated.

(7) Riaz-us-sâlâtin, Bengali Translation, page 7.

coins of Maharaja Naranârâyan the son of Visvasinha have been discovered.—

Serial No.	Numbers of coins.	Place where preserved.	Date.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
1	1	Asiatic Society (Calcutta).	1555 A. D.	Sree Sreeman-naranârâyanabhupâlasya sake 1447,	Sree Sree Siva-charana kamala-madhu karasya,	Unknown.
2	1	Cooch Behar Palace.	Do.	Do.	Do.	158·5
3	1	Shillong Cabinet.	?	Sree Sreeman-naranârâyanabhupâlasya sake 14..	Do.	Unknown.
4	1	Do.	1555 A. D.	Sree Sreeman-naranârâyanasya sake 1477.	Do.	Unknown.
5	1	Asiatic Society.	Do.	Do.	Do.	157·5

A facsimile of the first coin has been printed in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society.⁽⁸⁾ The third and fourth are in the possession of the Assam Government. The Government manual on these coins has photographs of them. The second line of the reading of the obverse has been printed as 'Mallavanârâ' and the second line of the reverse as 'Haracharana'

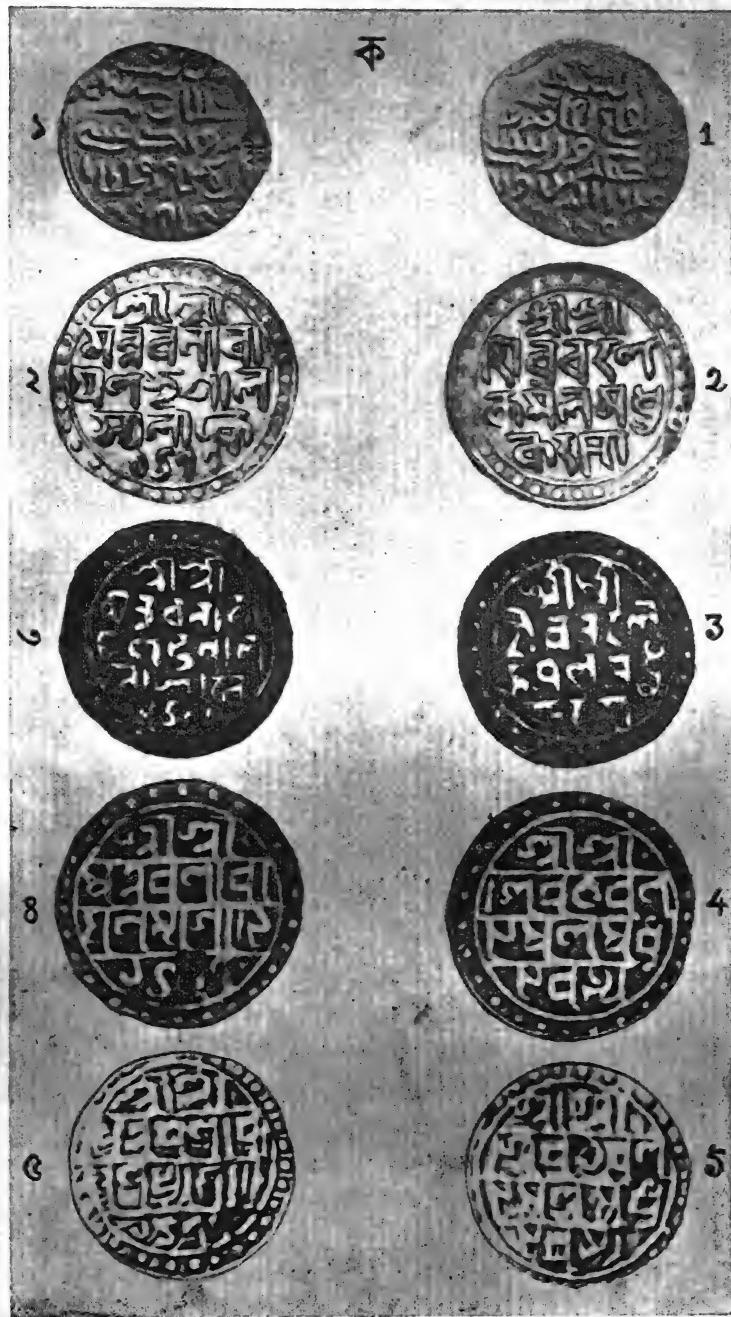
Coins of Naranârâyan.

but the correct readings should be 'Mannaranârâyan' and 'Sivacharana' respectively.

Only two dots are seen in the digits and tens of the year in the third coin. The reading '77'⁽⁹⁾ is therefore not without doubt. The word 'Bhupâla' does not recur in the fourth and fifth coins. The stamping and arrangement of the second, third and fourth coin are not uniform and it is clear also from the photographs that they

(8) J. A. S. B. 1856, page 457.

(9) Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam pages 211, 363, Plate III.



1. Coin of Hossain Saha Page 342
2. Coin of Maharaja Naranârâyan (Serial 2 Page 344)
- 3-4 , , , (Serials 3 and 4 Page 344)
5. Coin of Maharaja Naranârâyan discovered at Mahanad (District Hoogly) To face Page 344



were prepared from different dies. No reproduction of the fifth coin has been printed.⁽¹⁰⁾ Another coin of Maharaja Naranârâyan was formerly in the Cooch Behar Treasury⁽¹¹⁾ but is not there now.

Raghudevanârâyan the nephew of Maharaja Naranârâyan assumed independence and issued coins in his name. Reproduction of his coin dated 1510 Saka (1588 A. D.) and of one of his son—Pariksita-

Coins of Raghudeva and
Pariksita.

nârâyan dated 1525 Saka, have been printed in the aforesaid work on the coins of Assam. The reading on the obverse of these two coins is merely an imitation of that in the first and second coin of Naranârâyan. On the reverse is written: "Sree Sree Haragauri-charana-kamala-madhukarasya". The weight of Raghudeva's coin is 161.3 grains.

MAHARAJA LAKSMINÂRÂYAN.

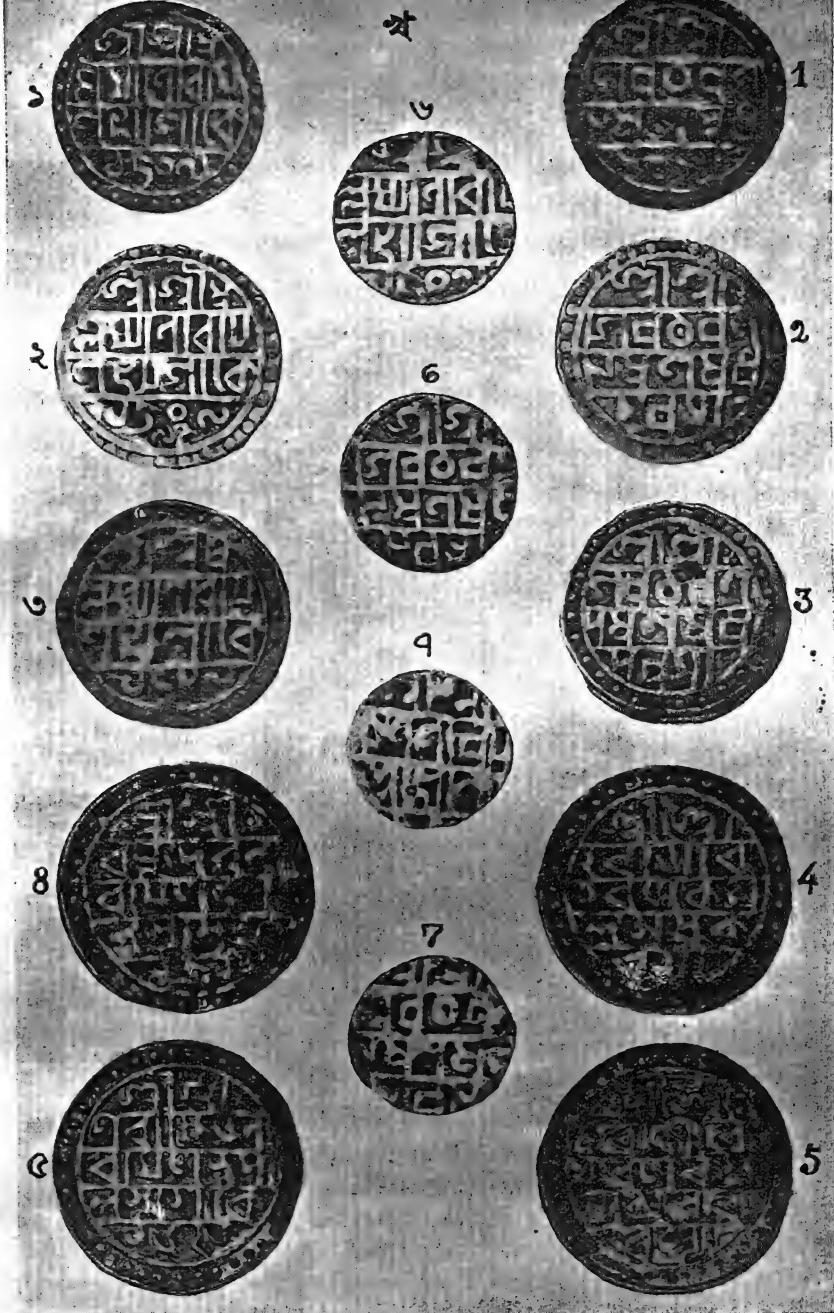
The following coins of Maharaja Laksminârâyan have been discovered.—

Serial No.	Number of coins.	Place where kept.	Date. A. D.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
1	2 full coins.	British Museum.	1587 Do.	Sree Sree ma llaksminârâya nasya sâke	Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu 1509.	155.5
2	1 full coin	.....	Do.	Do	Do	152.4
3	Do	Cooch Behar Palace.	Do	Do	Do	150.4
4	Do	In possession of Upendranath Sarkar, pleader of Tufangunj.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.

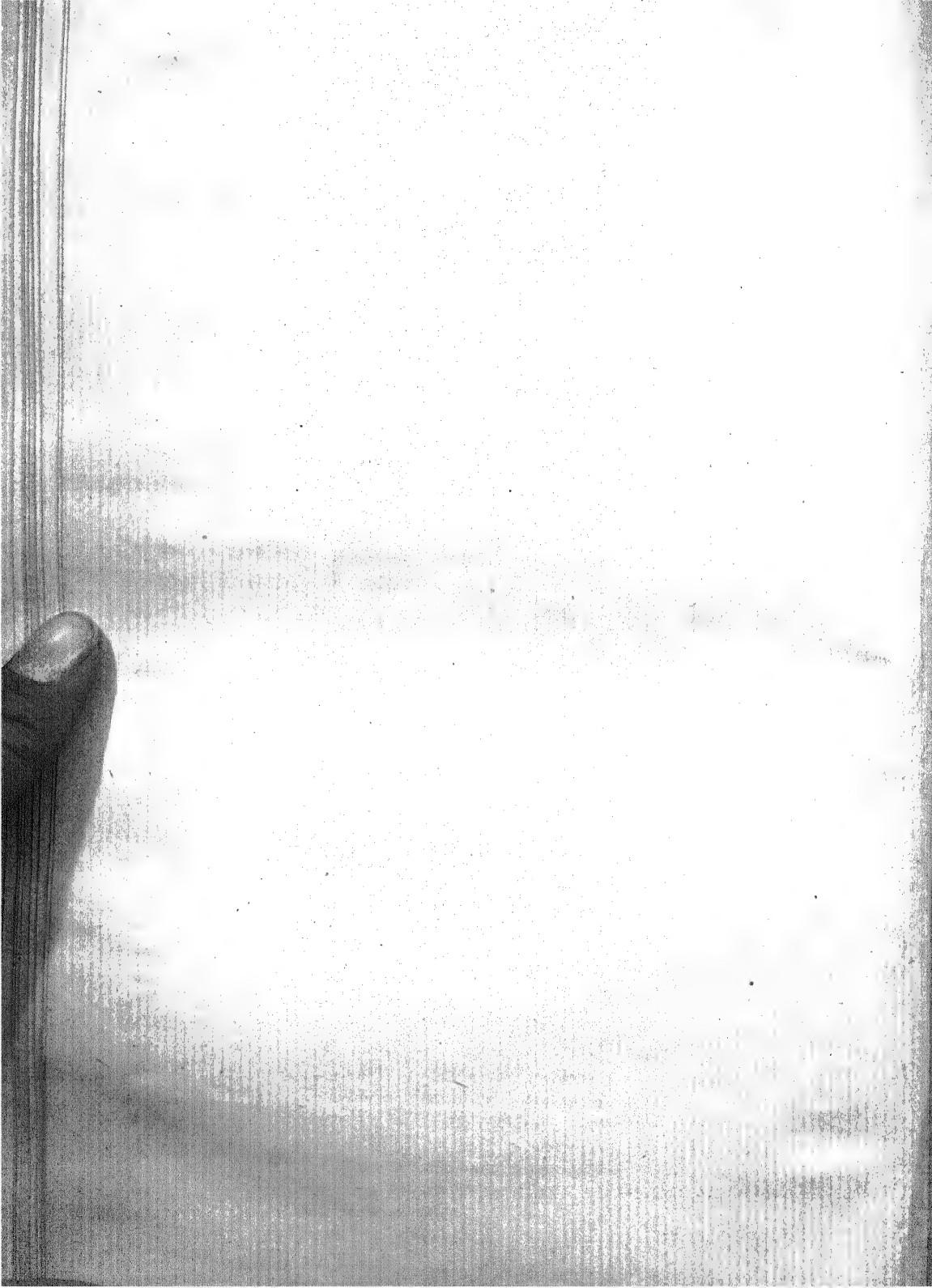
(10) J. A. S. B., 1874, page 306.

(11) Kochbihar Hitaisini Sabhâr Kâryavîvarani (Lecture by Babu Ananda Chandra Ghose, 1865 A. D.), page 167.

Serial No.	Number of coins.	Place where kept.	Date.	Reading on obverse.	Reading on reverse.	Weight in grains.
5.	Do	Shillong Cabinet.	1587 A. D.	Sree Sree ma llaksminārāya nasya sāke 1509.	Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu karasya.	Unknown.
6.	One half coin.	.....	Do	Do	Do	85·1
7.	Do	Shillong Cabinet.	Do	Do	Do	72·9
8.	2 half coins.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	Do	Do	Do	78·7 (of one).
9.	1 full coin.	British Museum.	Do	Do	Do	153·5
10.	Do	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.
11.	Do	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	150·3
12.	Do	With Bhagbin Chandra Cha- kravarti of Cooch Behar.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.
13.	5 full coins.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	Do	Do	Do	152·4 153·5 147·9 152·6 155·4
14.	2 half coins.	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	75·4 72·9
15.	2 full coins.	.....	1637 A. D.	Sree Sree ma llaksminārāya- nasya sāke 1549.	Do	151·0 152·0
16.	1 full coin.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	Do	Do	Do	153·8
17.	1 half coin.	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	74·6



1. Coin of Maharaja Laksminârâyan (Serial 3 Page 345)
2. Coin of " " (Serial 11 Page 346)
3. Coin of " " (Serial 16 Page 346)
6. Coin of " " (Serial 8 Page 348)
- 4-5 Coins of Raghudevanârâyan and Pariksitnârâyan (Page 345)
7. Undeciphered Half-coin (Page 350) To face Page 346



Mr. Stapleton has published reproductions of the second and the sixth coin.⁽¹²⁾ Thirty eight coins of Maharaja Laksminârâyan and Prânnârâyan were found under ground in the town of Tufangunj in Cooch Behar. These coins are now in the custody of the Cooch Behar Sâhitya Sabhâ.⁽¹³⁾ They include the eighth, thirteenth and the sixteenth coins in the above table. In the coins under serials 9—14, "92" appears under the year 1509.⁽¹⁴⁾ and perhaps the only presumption is that 1509 is the Saka and 92 the Rûjsaka Cooch Behar year.

In Maharaja Prânnârâyan coins, after

Coins of Laksminârâyan. the word Sâke, either the Sakâbda or the Rajsaka of Cooch Behar (*e. g.* 140)

is inserted a practice common to many old Cooch Behar deeds. Some Narayani coins were discovered in the bed of a river in the north-east of the State, including the two coins in serials 11 and 12. Mr. Marsden has published a picture of one of those in serial 15. The reading of the year has been suggested as 1649, and Sir Edward Gait has supported this interpretation; but according to the contemporary method of writing, the figure following 1 should be 5 and not 6.⁽¹⁵⁾ Laksminârâyan was alive in 1549 Saka (1627 A. D.). The figure 4 resembles that figure in the sixteenth and the seventeenth coins but differs from the 4 in the coins of the previous Maharaja Naranârâyan and the following Maharaja Prânnârâyan.

(12) J. P. A. S. B., 1910, Vol. VI, Plate XXII.

(13) Kochbihar Sahitya Sabhâr Astambârsika Kâryavivarani, page 7 (1330 B. S.).

(14) Rakhal das Bannerjee formerly Superintendent of Government Archaeological Department and numismatist has also supported this reading.

(15) Numismata Orientalia, No. MCCIII. A brass cannon of Maharaja Laksminârâyan has been discovered. (See Note 16, Chapter XIV). For similar reasons many learned gentlemen of Cooch Behar read 1533, the Saka year of its preparation as 1633 and at first it was this date that was published. The fact is that formerly Maithil characters were everywhere in use in Bengal. The Maithil figure 5 is mistaken for the figure 6 in modern Bengali characters. Even now the Brahmin Pundits call the characters in the old manuscripts of Bengal and Assam 'Tirute' characters ('Tirhutia' or characters of Tirbhukti or Mithila country).

MAHARAJA PRÂNNÂRÂYAN.

While we have no coin of Maharaja Birnârâyan the son of Maharaja Laksminârâyan, a large number of coins of Maharaja Prânnârâyan the son of Birnârâyan has been discovered. Among them, the following are worthy of analysis.—

Serial No.	Number of coins.	Place where kept.	Date. A. D.	Reading on obverse. Sree Sree ma t Prânârâya nasya sâke 1554.	Reading on reverse. Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu karasya.	Weight in grains.
1	1 full coin.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	1632 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prânârâya nasya sâke 1554.	Sree Sree Sivacharana kamala madhu karasya.	153 3
2	Do	Do	1633 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prânârâya nasya sâke 1555.	Do	153·1
3	2 full coins.	British Museum.	Do	Do	Do	146·0 148·5
4	1 full coin.	With Bhagban-chandra Chakravarthy of Cooch Behar.	Do	Do	Do	Unknown.
5	3 full coins.	.....	Do	Do	Do	148·0 146·5 142·0
6	6 half coins.	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	Do	Do	Do	76·9 (of one.)
7	1 half coin.	Cooch Behar Treasury.	Do	Do	Do	61·3
8	Do	Shillong Cabinet.	Do	1559?	Do	73·1
9	Do	Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha.	1637 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prânârâya nasya sâke 1559.	Do	78·07
10	1 full coin.	British Museum.	1649 A. D.	Sree Sree ma t Prânârâya nasya sâke 140.	Do	142·5

The first, second, sixth and the ninth coins are among those found in the town of Tufangunj. The half-coins vary in size. The figure 1 in the half coin referred to in serial 9 in the list is a matter of inference but it bears some similarity to figure 9 in the coins of Maharaja Laksminârâyan. Mr. Marsden examined the three coins (serial 5) of Prânnârâyan and has published a picture of one of them. The reading of its Sakâbda is given as 1666⁽¹⁶⁾ but all the figures 6 should be 5. A similar mistake in reading has already been mentioned in connection with the 15th coin of Maharaja Laksminarayan. Besides these coins there are some half-coins of Maharaja Prânnârâyan in the Cooch Behar Treasury. Two are in the Cooch Behar Palace and one with the Cooch Behar Sâhitya Sabhâ. In sixteen of the half-coins in the Treasury, Rajsaka '14—' (140) to '—59' (159) is uniform.

The writer of this work has a half-coin, been purchased from the Cooch Behar Treasury and apparently struck in Râjsaka 161. Its weight is 72·66 grains. The half-coin of the Shillong Cabinet (serial 8) was presented in 1909 A. D. by the authorities of the Cooch Behar State to the Assam Government. Its date has been read as 1551 Saka but appears to be 1559 Saka.

At the end of the reign of Maharaja Prânnârâyan (in 1661 A. D.), during the time of Aurungzeb the emperor of Delhi—Alamgir Badsah, Cooch Behar was temporarily occupied by Nawab Mirzumla Moazzam Khan the Subedar of Bengal who renamed the town of Cooch Behar—'Alamgir Nagar'. An imperial copper coin struck in Alamgir Nagar has been discovered.⁽¹⁷⁾

(16) Numismata Orientalia No. MCCV.

(17) In this coin the name of the emperor Alamgir is written in Bengali character. There is no date. Rakhaldas Bannerjee obtained it from a shröff in

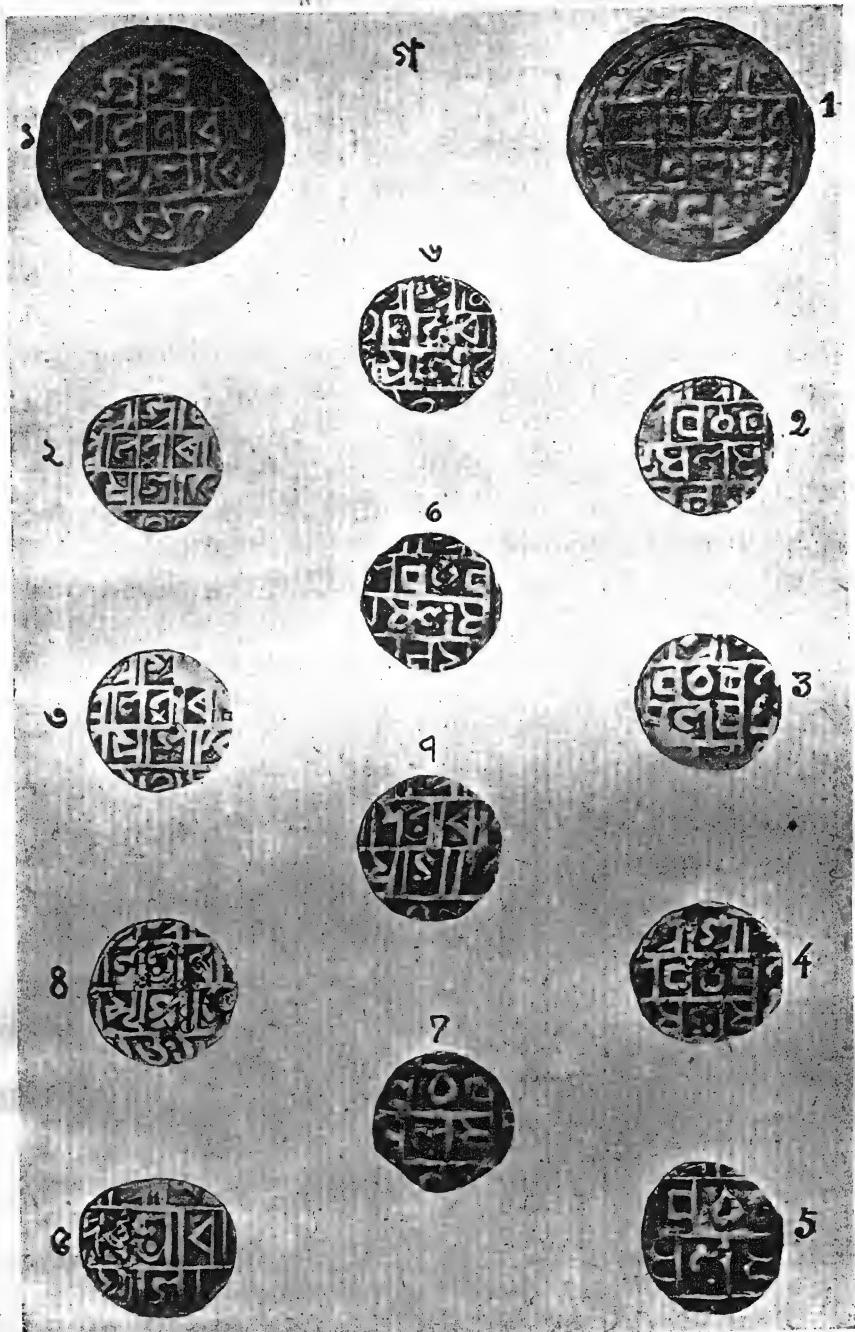
The Rājopâkhyâna records that Maharaja Laksminârâyan of Cooch Behar promised the emperor Jehangir that thenceforth he would only mint Nârâyanî half coins. Minting of half coins. and subsequent historians have accepted this story. However, the terms of the treaty between Laksminârâyan and Subedar Mansinha during the time of Akbar Sah, have not been preserved in writing, and in the account of the meeting between Maharaja Laksminârâyan and emperor Jehangir (1618 A. D.) in the 'Tozak-i-Jâhangiri', there is nothing about a treaty promise restricting minting. Many full coins of Maharaja Prânnârâyan the grandson of Laksminârâyan are extant and were struck in the reign of emperor Sahajahan the son of Jahangir. In these circumstances the story regarding the striking of half coins by Laksminârâyan is open to grave doubt, and Mr. Stapleton has expressed a similar view in the matter.

MAHARAJA MODANÂRÂYAN.

The coins which have been discovered of the rulers following Maharaja Prananârâyan are all half coins. No full coin of any of these rulers has been found. The writer of this work purchased from the Cooch Behar Treasury a half coin of Maharaja Modnârâyan son of Prananârâyan dated '—79' (179)

Coins without date. Calcutta and published a picture of it in the monthly journal 'Prabasi' (Page 382, 1323 B. S.). In his opinion, it was struck in Cooch Behar, but there is no proof to support this view. It has to be remembered that at the time there was another well-fortified Alamgirnagar under the emperor at the junction of the Brahmaputra and the Padma river. (History of Bengal, page 335). Indeed there were many mints in different places in the Mughal empire. And even Rakhaldas Bannerjee admitted that up to the present no other imperial coin has been discovered bearing the characters of a provincial language.

The historian Khafi Khan stated (1732 A. D.) that Mirzumla after conquering Cooch Behar struck coins in the name of the emperor.



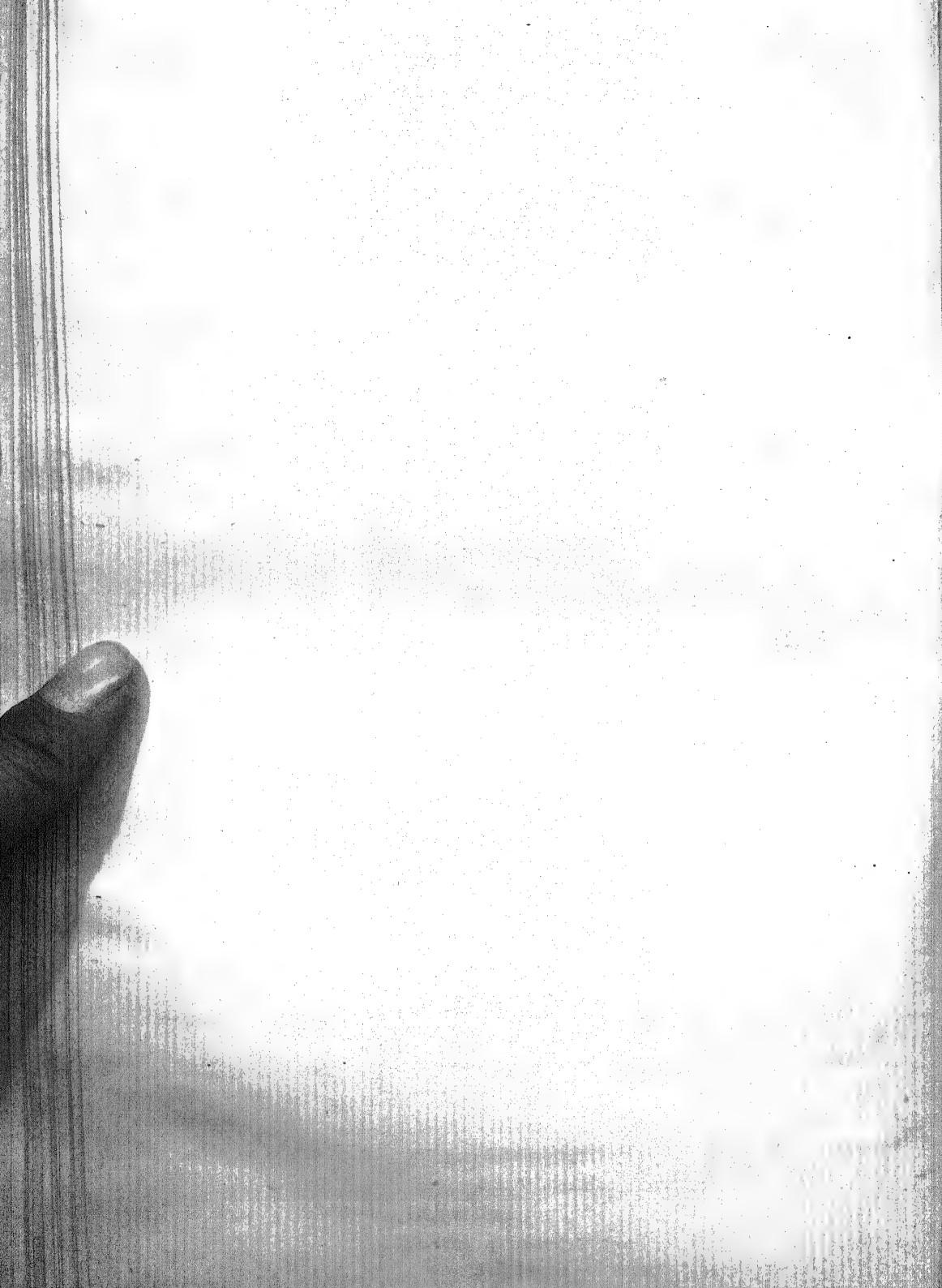
1. Coin of Maharaja Prannârâyan (Serial 1 Page 384).

2, 3, 4 and 6 Half coins (Page 350)

5. Half coin of Maharaja Vasudevanârâyan (Page 351)

6. Half coin of Maharaja Modnârâyan (Page 350)

To face Page 350





1. Half coin of Maharaja Rupnârâyan.

2. " Upendranârâyan.

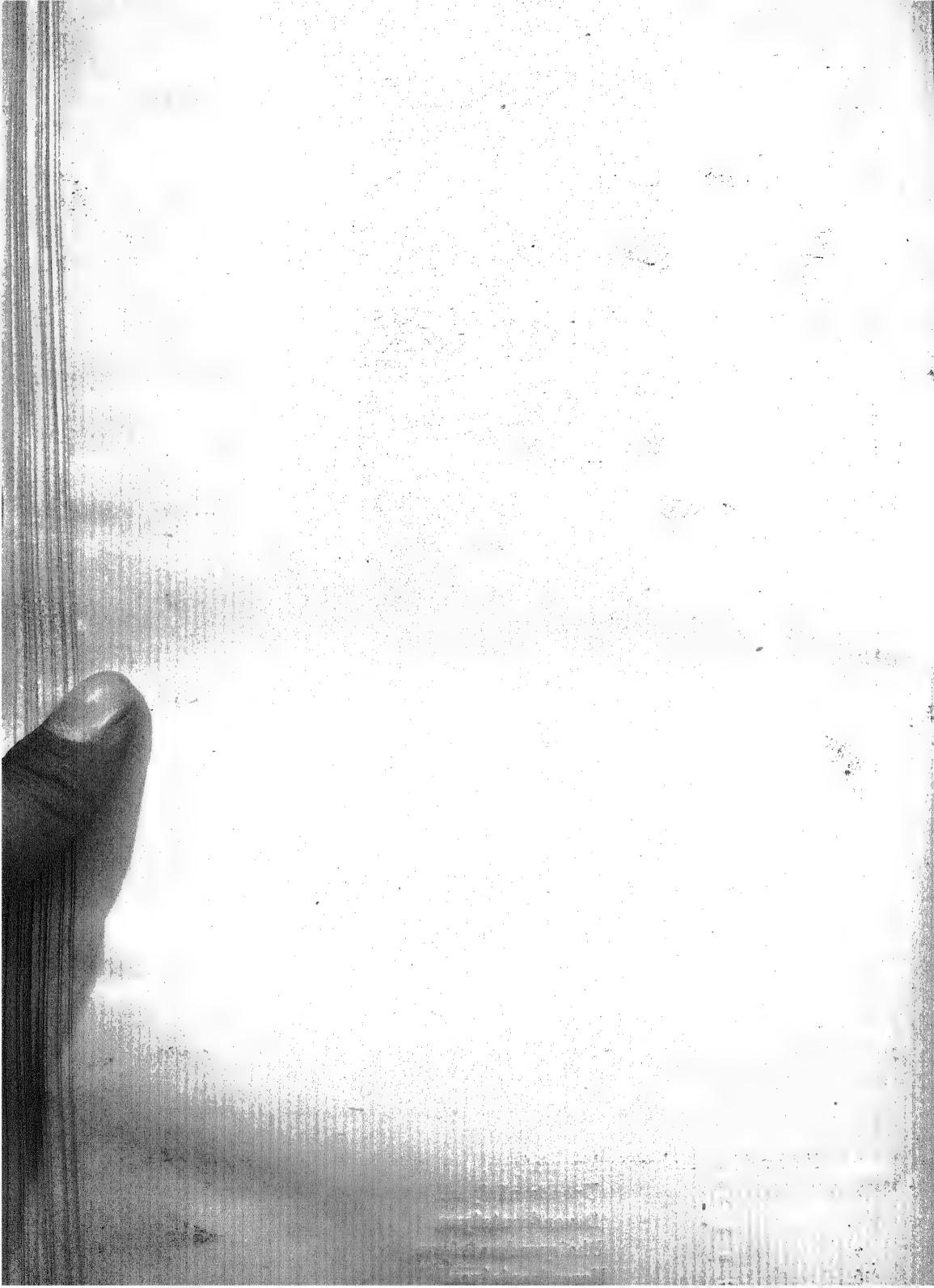
3. " Devendranârâyan.

4. " Dhairyendranârâyan.

5. " Harendranârâyan.

6. Undeciphered copper coin (Page 351).

To face Page 351



Rajsaka. Its weight is 75.28 grains. In none of the coins of any later ruler is a date found.

A half coin of Vasudevanârâyan is in the Cooch Behar Treasury. No coin of Mahindranârâyan has yet been found. One half coin in Cooch Behar Treasury can be read both as Laksminârâyan or Jagga (Yajna)—nârâyan⁽¹⁸⁾. Several half coins of Maharaja Rupnârâyan who succeeded Mahindranârâyan have been found. Two are in the Cooch Behar Palace and others in the Treasury. Four half coins of Maharaja Upendranârâyan are also in the Cooch Behar Palace, and some are in the Cooch Behar Treasury. Three half-coins of Devendranârâyan the son of Upendranârâyan are in the custodoy of the Palace. There are others in the Treasury and one in the Thakurbari (temple of Madanmohan in the town of Cooch Behar). A half coin of Rajendranârâyan or Dhairyendranârâyan is in the Palace; some are in the Treasury and two in the Thakurbari. Judged by the contemporary style of writing, these half coins belong either to the reigns 'Rajendra' or 'Dhairjendra' (Dhairyendra)—(nârâyan). Rajendranârâyan's reign did not last more than two years, but Dhairyendranârâyan reigned for a longer period. If these half coins appertain to Rajendra-nârâyan, no coin of Dhairyendranârâyan is extant.

Three copper coins have been discovered. One is with the Cooch Behar Sâhitya Sabhâ, one with the writer of this work and one in the possession of the Assam Government. The weight of the first is 45.35 grains. The inscription on it is very difficult to decipher. Their size indicates that none of them is older than the time of Dhairyendranârâyan.

(18) Re-Yajnanârâyan, *vide* the account of the reign of Maharaja Mahindra-nârâyan (Chapter XI).

No coin of Dharendranârâyan the eldest son of Dhairyendra-nârâyan has been found. That it is easy to confus the names

'Dharendra' and 'Harendra' on coins, is

Coins of subsequent rulers. illustrated by two half coins in the Palace.

Others are in the Treasury and three in the Thakurbari. From the time of Maharaja Sibendranârâyan the son of Maharaja Harendranârâyan, coins were inscribed in modern Bengali character on the obverse, the reverse being as before in Maithili character. Coins of this kind were struck up to the time of Maharaja Nripendranââyan. Eleven gold coins (half Mohurs) of Maharaja Sivendranârâyan are in the Treasury and five in the Thakurbari. Of the silver half coins of this ruler two are in the Palace and some are in the Treasury. Nine gold coins (half Mohurs) of Maharaja Narendranârâyan the next ruler are in the Treasury and three in the Thakurbari. Four silver half coins of the same reign are in the Thakurbari and one at the Palace. Five gold coins (half Mohurs) of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan are in the Treasury and one in the Thakurbari. Two silver half coins of this Maharaja are in the Palace and more than one thousand in the Treasury. Gold and silver half coins of rulers after Maharaja Nripendranârâyan, Maharajas Râjrâjendra-nârâyan, Jitendranârâyan and Sree Sreeman Maharaja Jagaddipendranârâyan Bhup Bahadur, are stored in the Treasury.

In the reign of Maharaja Râjrâjendranârâyan, the practice of inscribing coins with the Coat-of-arms including the rampant

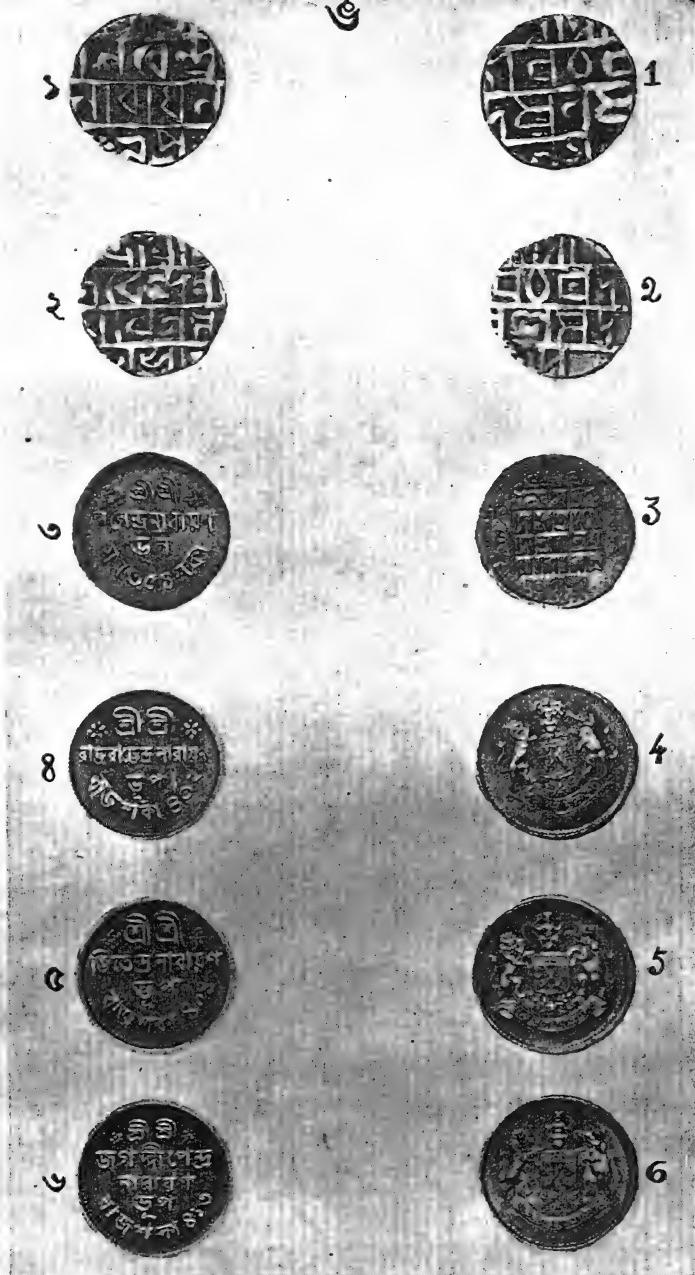
lion, the elephant and the Sanskrit

Change of die.

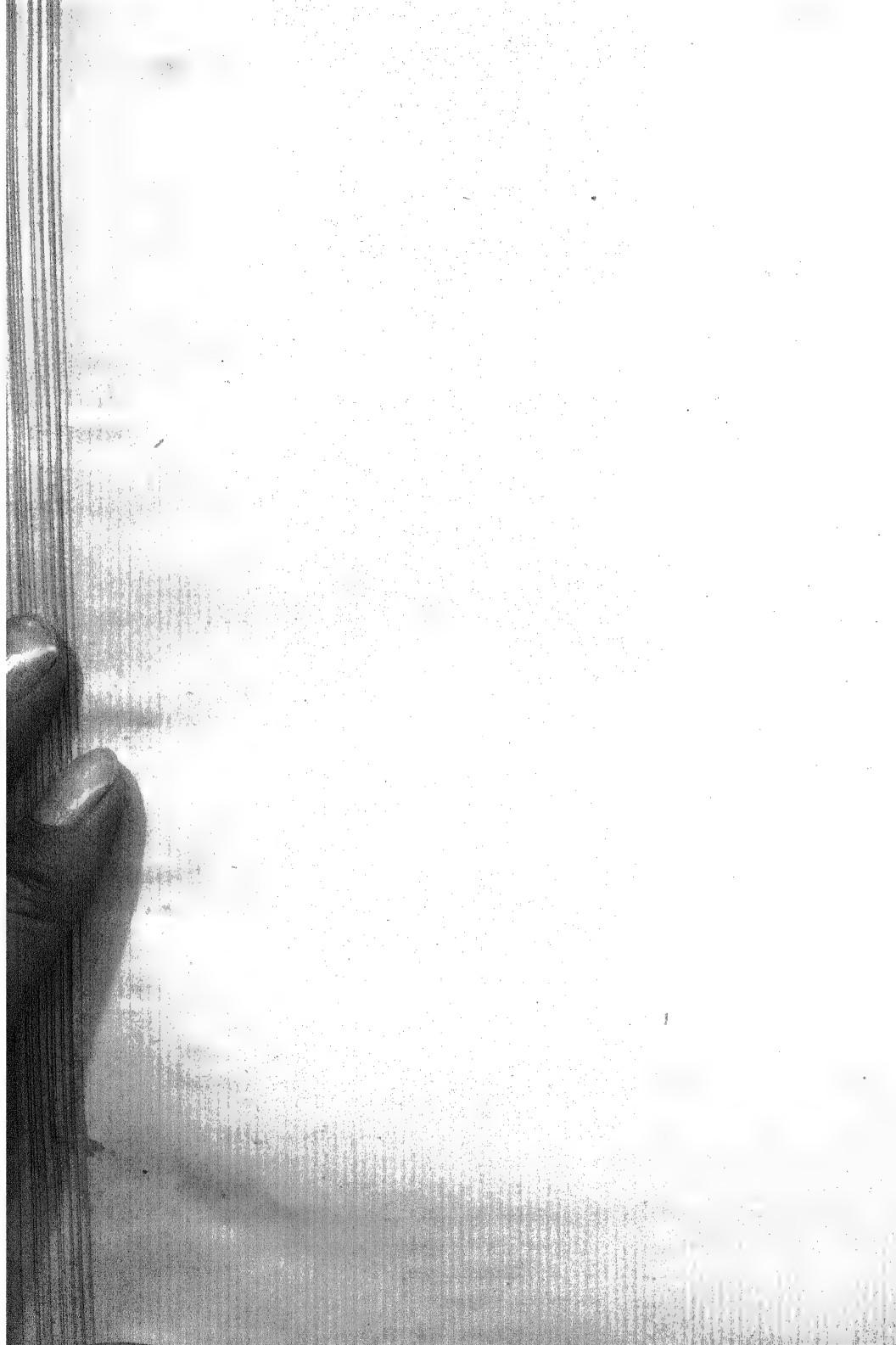
motto "Yato dharmastato jayah" in modern Bengali character, was first in-

troduced in place of the name of Siva.⁽¹⁹⁾ The coins of the next two Maharajas were struck in the same style.

(19) Maharaja Naranârâyan promulgated a seal with the figure of a lion. This came to be known as the Sinha-châp or Sinha-chhâp (Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyaya I.). From 1929, the figure of a tiger had been used in the Coat-of-arms instead of the figure of a lion. (The lion has however been re-introduced recently under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur (Translator)).



1. Half coin of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan.
 2. " Narendranârâyan.
 3. " Nripendranârâyan
 4. " Râjrâjendranârâyan.
 5. " Jitendranârâyan.
 6. " Jagaddipendranârâyan.
- To face Page 352.



According to the view of the numismatist Mr. Stapleton, the coins of Hosain Sah were in use in Cooch Behar when the rule of the Narayan dynasty of kings was established, and the Narayani coins were designed in imitation of those of Hosain Sah. This inference seems reasonable. It is stated in the Alamgirnâmâ however that as the protecting deity of the Cooch Behar rulers was Narayan, their coins came to be known as Nârâyani coins. This view is un-supported. If the coinage was dedicated to any deity, it was to Siva whose name was always printed on their coins. It was a very ancient

practice in India to connect the symbol
or name of Siva, or the joint names of
Hara and Gauri, with coins. In early
times, such coins were called 'Sivânka' tanka. Thus the Cooch Behar coins came to be known as Nârâyani from title 'Nârâyânî'
borne by the Maharajas of Cooch Behar. This is the view of the Râjopâkhyâna.

During the conquest of Assam, Maharaja Naranârâyan prohibited the ruler of Jayantia from striking coins in his own

name. The Vansâvali of Samudra
Coins of the Jayantia nârâyânî says that Maharaja Nara-
nârâyânî's order was,—“You shall strike

coins mentioning Jayantânarâyan”. This statement in the manuscript has been supported by the discovery of Jayantia coins dated 1592 and 1630 Saka. They are very similar to Nârâyani coins. They are inscribed,—‘Jayantâpura-purandara’ (ruler of Jayantâpur) without the name of a particular ruler.⁽²⁰⁾ Their description is,—

On the obverse—

Sree Sree Ja-
yantepura
purandarasya
sâke 1592.
Sree Sree Si-
vacharanka
malamadhuka
rasya

On the reverse—

(20) J. P. A. S. B., 1910, page 158, Plate XXIII, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Vol. I, page 307, Plate XXIX.

Historians like Sir Edward Gait and Mr. Stapleton have agreed from this numismatic evidence and from other accessory proof that the Jayantia chiefs respected the Maharajas even when the Cooch Behar power and influence waned.

Nârâyani coins were current in the whole of northern Bengal, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet and Assam. Though they had their own coinage, the Ahom chiefs realized revenue in Nârâyani coin up to the beginning of the 19th century. (21) The Bhutiyas made over silver for coins to be prepared from the mint of Cooch Behar. (22) In 1770 A. D. in the course of their inroads into Cooch Behar, they removed a die of Nârâyani coins to Bhutan and issued a coin called 'Debtâkâ', but the Bhutiyas were not enamoured with their native issues, and the Bhutan mint was not permanent. (23)

Even today the people of Cooch Behar respect Nârâyani coins and hang them on the necks of infants as a protection against the 'evil eye'. The Arcot and Sikkim rupees issued by the Company could not oust the Nârâyani coinage from northern Bengal and the Company's special efforts, were necessary to stop the local issue. During the last half century Nârâyani coins have been sold, destroyed or lost in circulation, and so, at

(21) Petition dated the 18th May 1853 by Balaram Fukan and others to Government.

(22) Letter dated the 22nd January 1785 written by Mr. Goodlad the Collector of Rangpur to the Board of Revenue.

(23) Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 48; Embassy to Tibet, page 143.

the present time, very few are seen in the State of Cooch Behar.

Special signs were inscribed in the coins of Pathan and Mughal rulers. One hundred and forty-six different Symbols have been discovered in the Mughal coins. Symbolism in Badsahi coins. Numismatists have decided that they are ornamental. In the Nârâyani coins also four variations of a sign are found under the letter 'Na' of "Nârâyân." It is first seen in a coin of Maharaja Prananârâyân dated 140 Râjsaka (1649 A. D.), and is merely a dot (•). Coins of this ruler prior to this date and coins dated 1554 and 1555 Râjsaka (1632 and 1633 A. D.) bear no special mark. In one coin of Prananârâyân dated 152 Râjsaka there is a cross-mark (×) in place of the dot; in coins dated 161 Râjsaka, the half moon (☽) is found, but the date of this is not free from doubt. From Maharaja Modnârâyân to Maharaja Devendranârâyân the half moon was in vogue.

In those of Maharaja Dhairyendra (Dhairjendra)-nârâyân, the cross-mark and half moon are joined (✗).

Some signs of Nârâyani coins. says that a flower was inscribed on coins of Maharaja Râjendranârâyân. The

half moon only appears in the coin of Dharendra or Harendranârâyân, and no mark was placed on the coins of the later rulers. There is great similarity between the signs of the Nârâyani and some Bâdsâhi coins.⁽²⁴⁾ The old custom of using the sign (☽) to mean lordship was customary before the names of living rulers of Cooch Behar and it has been found in documents dated 135, 166 and 188 Râjsaka.

(24) Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. III, pages 358—368. Pictures of the 7th, 29th, 33rd, 44th, 69th and 91st Badsahi coins printed in the pages.

Under the treaty of 1773 the State of Cooch Behar was afforded the protection of the East India Company. At the time of the treaty the Bhandar Thakur

Number of coins minted.

supervised the minting of 40 to 50 thousand Nârâyani silver coins at a place

called Tâkâgâch. In the account given in 1788 A. D. by Krishnânanda Bhandar Thakur to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, it has been stated that the same number of coins was not struck each year. In years during which the rate of discount was favourable, a larger number was issued. In 1787 A. D. 28 to 30,000 half coins were struck. At that time the weight of a hundred French arcot rupees was equal to that of $118\frac{1}{2}$ Nârâyani rupees. $30\frac{1}{2}$ tolas of copper were mixed

with this quantity ($118\frac{1}{2}$) of Nârâyani

Discount and alloy.

coins. Subject to a varying of discount, a hundred French Arcot rupees were

equal to $147\frac{1}{2}$ Nârâyani rupees or 295 Nârâyani half coins. No gold coin was manufactured at this time. In the market 115 to 119 Narayani rupees were considered equivalent to 100 Sikka rupees, but in calculating the peskash, the Company took 137 Narayani rupees (i. e. 18 to 22 more than the market rate) in lieu of 100 Sikka rupees. In Bhutan, Assam and other neighbouring countries spurious Nanayani coins were secretly manufactured.⁽²⁵⁾ On this account the content of pure silver varied.

When the terms of the treaty were settled, the Maharaja proposed that the right to strike his own coins should remain

Right of minting.

unimpaired. The Company's view was

expressed in a letter dated the 5th January 1773 A. D. to the Circuit Committee of Rungpur.—

"If the Rajah of Cose Behar can be prevailed upon voluntarily and cheerfully to relinquish the privilege of coining we would be glad to have

(25) Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 110.

it effected, but if he yields to it with reluctance, which we imagine will be the case, we would not wish to insist on it." (26)

Thereafter the treaty was concluded and did not specify that the right to mint was abolished. In 1774 A. D. the Governor General and the Revenue Council promulgated orders prohibiting acceptance of new Nârâyani coins. (27)

Old Nârâyani coins were not so open to objection as the new. Those of Maharajas Rupnârâyân, Upendranârâyân and Devendranârâyân were deemed 'old'.

Old and new coins.

Even the local zemindars objected to new Nârâyani coins. As Nârâyani coins

were current in Bhutan, Devaraj protested against the Government order, and the Revenue Council agreed to deliver from the Rangpur Treasury a quantity of Nârâyani coins necessary to the Bhutiya traders.

During the second reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyân the Company fixed the maximum number of coins to be struck annually at 12,000, but the Cooch Behar officers paid little attention to this limit and the Company authorities took security

from them. (28) In Rungpur, three kinds of coin, the Sikka, Nârâyani and French Arcot, were current, and the public suffered much inconvenience in the confusion of discounts. During the time of Devi Sing this was considered a cause of great loss. (29) The authorities of the Company were therefore increasingly opposed to the Nârâyani coins. They inaugurated a definite policy of checking the circulation. In 1777 A. D.

(26) Bengal Secret Consultation 1773.

(27) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I., page 41.

(28) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 24.

(29) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, page 79; The Rungpore District Gazetteer, page 105.

Mr. Purling the Collector of Rungpur, reported to the Board that the Company would be free of the burden of discount if the Cooch Behar mint were closed and the Nârâyani coins in stock be gradually disposed of.⁽³⁰⁾ In 1779 A. D. the remittance of Nârâyani coins to Murshidabad was stopped.

After the treaty, in 1789 A. D., though the authorities of the Company admitted the right of the king to strike coins in unequivocal terms, they expressed their desire that it should be curtailed.⁽³¹⁾

When the Company managed the affairs of the State as guardian of the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan, they almost stopped the Nârâyani issue. Afterwards, after receiving powers of administration, the Maharaja sought to affirm his right of minting. A Resolution of Government dated the 26th August 1802 A. D. admitted the right,⁽³²⁾ but in their reply dated the 13th November 1805 A. D. to a letter from the Maharaja, it was stated.—

“As serious inconvenience would be experienced from that measure in the British Territories, my public duty will not permit me to concede

(30) Bengal District Records, Rungpore, Vol. I, page 16.

(31) “It was so expressly declared that this tribute should on no account be increased, and the Rajah was subsequently allowed to retain the right of coining money and administering justice in his own name.

“9th. That the Commissioners be directed to report to the Board any abuses which may appear to have been practised in the Mint, and the best mode of preventing them in future, and whether any bad consequences would result should the Rajah be restricted to coining a small number of rupees annually, which, without entirely depriving him of the privilege of coining money, might obviate the evils arising from the unlimited exercise of it.”

Government Resolution of 13th May, 1789; Mercher and Chanvet's Report Vol. II, pages 202, 204.

(32) “That the Rajahs of Cooch Behar have not only been permitted, subsequently to the date of the Treaty, to coin money, to administer justice, and to exercise other powers of sovereignty, but that their right to the exercise of such powers has been fully and unreservedly acknowledged by the British Government in India.” Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 133.

that point to your wishes. On this subject, I request you to consider my determination to be final, and I, accordingly, expect that you will not have recourse to that measure." (33)

In 1821 A. D. the Maharaja again raised the question. At that time the attitude of the Government had become more unfavourable, and expressed in their reply to the Commissioner dated the 22nd October in that year.—

"2. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that, to allow this coinage to be renewed, after it has been for 21 years prohibited, will be opening the door to abuses not easily controlled, besides being on other accounts objectionable. Since therefore, the Raja cannot claim it as a matter of right and is not entitled by his late conduct to any favour or indulgence." (34)

On the 3rd February 1828 A. D. the Government were again addressed in the matter but they were not disposed to modify this determination.⁽³⁵⁾ Moreover they urged the ruler to stop the use of Nârâyani coins. Till then the tribute was paid annually in Nârâyani coins. Government orders were issued in 1836 A. D. and prohibited the practice.⁽³⁶⁾ Colonel Jenkins the Agent of the North-east Frontier Province in his letter No. 476 dated the 16th November 1837, requested the Accountant General to reconsider that order.—

"I thought it proper to recommend to Government that their order, prohibiting the payment of his (Raja's) tribute in Nârâyani rupees should be suspended for the present or during the life-time of the present Raja.

(33). Cooch Behar Select records, Vol. I, page 161.

(34). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 41.

(35). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 52.

(36). Letter dated the 13th February 1837 A. D. to the Agent from the Government. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 73. From 1838 A. D. the use of Sikka rupees has been prohibited in the Company's dominions. The coin of the East India Company was first struck in 1835 A. D. Before this (*i. e.* after 1765 A. D. when the Company acquired the Dewani) they struck coins in the name of the Mughal emperor. These were known as 'Kaldâr' (machine-struck) coins and were struck in Murshidabad, Benares and Farakkabad.

His life is not likely to be long protracted, and on the succession of a new Rajah (we) would be able without difficulty to arrange for the complete suppression of this currency." (37)

In letter No. 2969 dated the 27th December 1845 A. D. Government ordered the Agent to close the mint in Cooch Behar. (38) During the minority of Maharaja Nripendranârâyan, the charge of administration was vested in Government (1864 A. D.) and in 1865 A. D. they ordered that the use of Nârâyani coins should cease also in the State of Cooch Behar. At that time the Colonel Haughton submitted a proposal to the Government proposing the manufacture of Nârâyani coins with the Maharaja's name on one side and the figure of the Queen of England on the other, but this was not accepted and from 1866 A. D. Government coins have been legal tender in the State of Cooch Behar. (39)

At the installation of Maharaja Sivendranârâyan 1001 silver and some gold half coins were struck. Five of these were sent to Government. During their installations, the subsequent Maharajas of Cooch Behar have issued commemorative gold or silver half coins but these have not been recognised as currency.

(37). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 75.

(38). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 123.

(39). Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 416.

CHAPTER XVI.

CLASH BETWEEN NAZIR AND GOSVAMI.

It was an evil day in 1765 A. D. when Maharaja Devendranârâyan was killed by an assassin and his uncle's son Kumar Dhairyendranârâyan ascended the throne.

Character of Dhairyendra
nârâyan.

Evil begat evil for in the history of Cooch Behar there is no ruler so misguided or weak-minded as Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan.

He had a ready ear for false reports and for the advice of his bad counsellors. He very soon committed himself to the crime of fratricide and as a result worked out his disgrace as a prisoner in Bhutan for four years. He was largely responsible for Cooch Behar being devastated by the Bhutiyas, and being reduced to the extreme limits of degradation.

Though both the ruler and the kingdom had escaped from the clutches of the Bhutiyas in 1774 A. D. the distress of the people continued. Repentance from crime often takes the form of exaggerated religious devotion and this was the case with Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. His own people came to call him the 'Pâglâ Râjâ'. His chief consort Maharanî Kâmatesvari Devi was a lady of great influence, and as the mental condition of the Maharaja deteriorated, the administration fell to her hands. She had great faith in Rajguru Sarbânanda Gosvami and

believed him to be a good man and a faithful well-wisher of the ruling family.

Maharanî and Sarbânanda
Gosvami.

In these circumstances Gosvami gradually assumed the position of 'Mokhtâr' (representative) of the Maharanî.⁽¹⁾

(1) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 11, 24, 152; Letter dated 4th Falgun 271 Rajsaka written by Devaraj of Bhutan to Gosvami.

About the beginning of the 18th century two brothers, Satânanda and Panchânanda Gosvami, who had been living at Sadikhan Diara near Murshidabad, came to Cooch Behar. Satânanda became the spiritual preceptor to the ruler, and

The Gosvami family.
Panchânanda to the Nazir Deo and Dewan Deo.⁽²⁾ Satânanda had a son Râmânanda, and Panchânanda had three sons, Nayânânda, Sarvânanda and Asânanda. Utsavânanda the son of Asânanda also came to Cooch Behar. When Râmânanda was killed by the Bhutiyas, Sarvânanda became Râjguru.

Sarvânanda Gosvami was intelligent and energetic, and would not easily deviate from his policy. By ability and firmness he worsted his opponents. The Gosvami and administration. Maharani was devoted to him, and depended upon him. All royal orders were passed through him. Whatever connection there had existed between the Maharani and other officers in the administration, gradually ceased with the increase of influence of Gosvami. Papers sent to the Maharani for orders, were forwarded by her for disposal by Gosvami.⁽³⁾

(2) In the letter dated 18th Jaistha 332 Rajsaka (1841 A. D.) written by Maharaja Sivendranârâyan to the Agent at Gauhati, the Maharaja wrote that the predecessors of Sarvânanda Gosvami were not Gurus of the Cooch Behar dynasty. Sarvânanda first became the Guru of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan; but before this, Joynath Ghosh has mentioned, Sarvânanda's uncle was Guru to Maharaja Upendranârâyan. (Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhanda, Adhyâya 12.)

In the information furnished from the Maharaja's side to Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet in 1788 A. D. Râmânanda was said to be the Rajguru (Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 20). In his report of the 9th June 1784 A. D. Mr. Moore the Collector of Rungpur gave an account of the establishment of Râmânanda Gosvami as Rajguru by Maharaja Upendranârâyan and his queen. It is said that when Din Mohammad the Ukil of Cooch Behar lived in Murshidabad (about the beginning of the 18th century) he became intimate with the Gosvamis and it was at that time that they came to Cooch Behar. In a deed of gift dated 228 Rajsaka (1737 A. D.) by Kumar Kharganârâyan the brother of Maharaja Upendranârâyan there is a reference to "Bâra Gosain". It may well be that at that time or even previously, there were at least two Gosains (Rajgurus).

(3) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 152.

Realizing the power of Gosvami, the principal officers of the king became attached to him. Khasnavis Kasinath Lahiri had always been loyal to Gosvami who had brought him to Cooch Behar. Other officers, even leading personages like Rupchandra Bara Kayasth Karji, the eldest brother of the Maharani, Sachinandan Mustofi, Krisânanda Bhandar Thakur, Sivaprasad Mustofi, Kalânâth Dharmâdhyaksa, Bisnuprasad Bakshi and Raghnath Bakshi were won over. Though Nazir Deo Kumar Khagendranârâyan and Dewan Deo Kumar Surendra-nârâyan did not acknowledge obedience to Gosvami, at first there was good feeling between them and Gosvami used to visit the Nazir at Balarpur.

Sarvânanda Gosvami was not satisfied with merely working as disinterested adviser. He acquired great wealth. He purchased landed property in Rungpur and also obtained many estates in Cooch Behar as Brahmottar. It is not now possible to ascertain how much Brahmottar he owned in Cooch Behar.

Brahmottar of Gosvami and
Lahiri.

In papers containing the orders of the East India Company, the names of 22 Dehas belonging to him are mentioned.⁽⁴⁾

Besides these 22 Dehas, he certainly had other Brahmottar holdings. In the Roydâd-i-badiyât (account of oppression) of Nazir Khagendranârâyan and Syamichandra Ray dated the 5th Falgun 1191 B. S. (1785 A. D.), the 11th article reads.—“ On account of Wasil (expenditure) Syamichandra Ray : signature Sree Sree Maharaja Harendranârâyan

(4) The names of the Dehas are :—1. Dhumerkhâtâ, 2. Boalmâri, 3. Marichâ, 4. Pâtchharâ, 5. Kasâldângâ, 5. Singijâni, 7. Kesribâri, 8. Chakiârjhârâ, 9. Fulesvari, 10. Subhramohan (Haldimohan ?), 11. Bâramâsiâ, 12. Bengdâki, 13. Bhârâli, 14. Gerd Teldhar, 15. Châtrâ, 16. Petlarkuthi, 17. Nilâr Pâr, 18. Sidalkuchi, 19. Gadai (Khora), 20. 21. Patuardârâ (Kâuâr dârâ ?) 22. Barabhitâ.

Compiled from an authenticated copy prepared in 1841 A. D. of an order dated 1st March 1774 A. D. of the Council of the Company (preserved in the record room of the State Council).

Rs. 1,36,681-4 As. 1 Ganda 3 Karas. Khârij on account of Brahmottar of Sarvananda Gosvami and others Rs. 17,154-6 As. -1 Ganda, on account of Kasinath Lahiri Khasnavis and others Rs. 10,464-4 As. In a letter dated the 19th May 1790 A. D. from the Commissioner Mr. Douglas to the Governor-General it was stated that most of the Petbhata land of Nazir Khgendranârâyan in the Chaklas, had been divided between Sarvânanda Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri. Though the Maharani had no power to make any grant of land, she did so on behalf of the minor ruler, and issued Sunnuâs supporting the grants. (5)

Most of the Brahmottar land of Gosvâmi was granted under a deed of gift bearing the seal of Nature of the deed of gift. the minor king, and was finally settled by letters bearing the seal of the Nazir and the Maharani. (6) Gosvami also elicited the orders of the ruler that "the lands as written in the deed of gift 'which will be found in excess by survey' would also be considered as Brahmottar". (7) In practice many Bramottar tenants did not pay rent to Gosvami, but he did not suffer much loss on this account, as the principal State officers were his agents and he secured his interests by placing soldiers in his properties. (8) According to the treaty of 1773 A. D. when half the revenue of Cooch Behar was to be payable to the East India Company, Gosvami was agitated about the fate of his properties, and by his own efforts he secured the order of the Governor in Council that he would continue to enjoy the revenue of the Brahmottar in the 22 Dehas.

When Mr. Purling came to Cooch Behar with the intention of preparing a Hastbud, the sons of Ukil Din Muhammad

(5) Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 31.

(6) Waqqas dated the 5th Baisakh and 16th Jaisth of 263 Rajsaka.

(7) Waqqa dated the 1st Magh of 265 Rajsaka.

(8) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 145.

included the revenue of their estate (Maricha) in the Hastbud and claimed that the land was " not settled Brahmottar " but Kherâji (revenue paying) land. At that time, the tenants of many Dehas adopted this policy and cut off connection with Gosvami.⁽⁹⁾ The latter was not deterred by it and again occupied the Dehas concerned, with the approval of the Maharani.⁽¹⁰⁾ Munsi Jaynath Ghose a contemporary of Gosvami says in his Râjopâkhyâna that Gosvami was a well-wisher of the ruler but deceitfully enjoyed revenue-paying lands as revenue-free.

The son, the brother and nephews of Sarvânand Gosvami also acquired Brahmottar land in Cooch Behar. When the well-to-do Chiranjib Barakâyasth Kârji died intestate, the ruler became owner of the properties left by him, but under orders of the Maharani, Gosvami took the male and female slaves. The Nazir and the Dewan occupied land in well-defined areas of the raj (supposedly) to meet the expenses of their

(9). The aforesaid order of the Council of the Company was not everywhere obeyed. Further, it was issued after the preparation of the Hastbud.

" 3. A Treaty was formed with the Behar Raj in 1772 or 1179 B. S. and in 1180 Mr. Purling made the Hastbood of Thana Behar, assessing all the rent-free lands which were possessed by individuals during the absence of Raja Durjendranârâyan.

" 4. At this period Durjendranârâyan becoming much indisposed and incapable of attending to public duty, his wife, Rany Cometessary (Kâmatesvari), the mother of the present Raja, and Surbananda Goshain, without due authority granted Sunnads for considerable portions of lands in their own favour; and restored the whole of the lands resumed by Mr. Purlin." A letter from Mr. Ahmuthy to the Board of Revenue, dated 10th January, 1801.

(10). Afterwards owing to the opposition of English Commissioners and the later Maharajas, Gosvami was dispossessed of most of the Brahmottar lands.

" When the administration was in the hands of his (Harendra Nârâyan's) Mother the Dowager Maharani and the infamous Sarbananda Gosain, this illegal practice was carried to such an excess that the British Commissioner had to interfere, and resume all invalid or fraudulent grants." Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement, page 541.

offices. Gosvami extracted orders to realise one rupee and eight annas per house in the whole raj as Gurupranâmi (offering to Guru)⁽¹¹⁾ but owing to the opposition of the Nazir he was unable to realize his purpose. Even so, his income was very considerable. Except for the Naziran land of the Nazir, about $\frac{7}{16}$ ths of the entire area of the raj was under the ruler and the Dewan. An order promulgated an annual allowance to Gosvami at the rate of one rupee and eight annas for each Châlâ (parcel) of land to be paid and the revenue collectors of the Company recognized this right.⁽¹²⁾

Allowance of Gosvami.

The Company's soldiers who were employed as guards of the Palace, became subservient to Gosvami and were also employed to guard his personal property. Even the indomitable Sannyasis could not muster courage to quarrel with him.⁽¹³⁾ The ruler was indifferent to his power and Maharani Kamatesvari had unshaken faith in Gosvami. He lived at the

Influence of Gosvami.

Letter of Maharaja Harendranârâyan dated the 23rd Pous 1207 B. S. to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and the letter of Maharaja Sibendranârâyan dated 18th Jaisth 1332 Rajsaka to the Agent at Gauhati. Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâyas 10 and 13.

Some of those Brahmottar Dehas of Gosvami which were separated and included within the Hastbood, or confiscated, are still known by their former names e.g. 828 Brahmottar Kasâldângâ ; 843 Hastbood Kasâldângâ ; 514 Brahmottar Châtrâ ; 490 Bâjît (Bajeyâpta or confiscated) Châtrâ etc. Later on many Taluks named Brahmottar were confiscated. In the Settlement papers of 1872 A.D., 9832 Bighas of Brahmottar land in two Dehas (Taluks) had been recorded in the name of the heirs of Sarvânanda Gosvami.

(11) Cooch Behr Select Records, Vol. I, pages 72, 73,

(12) Order dated 3rd Falgun 1181 B. S. written by Hararam Sen in the name of Sarvânanda Gosvami.

(13) Deed of relinquishment dated 10th Kartik 259 Rajsaka by Narayan Gir in favour of Gosvami.

Palace.⁽¹⁴⁾ Nazir Khagendranârâyan alone stood against him, but though the Nazir was the head of the army and owner of $\frac{9}{16}$ ths of the raj, his protest against the power and conduct of Gosvami, had practically no effect.

It is not clear when and why enmity between Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan and Nazir Khagendranârâyan began. The previous Nazir Rudranârâyan had tried to make Khagendranârâyan ruler instead of Dhairyendranârâyan. When Khagendranârâyan was appointed Chhatranazir he did not come to Cooch Behar, nor when the ruler was made captive by the Bhutiyas did the Nazir attempt to protect his royal master. When Dewan Ramnârâyan was killed, his brother Kumar Rajendranârâyan sought refuge with the Nazir at Balarampur and thence went to Buxa Duar to enlist the help of the Bhutiyas. It was natural from this chain of events that antipathy towards the Nazir should exist in the minds of the ruler and the queen. After the death of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan, it was however Nazir Khagendranârâyan who despite opposition, installed Kumar Dharendranârâyan, the son of captive Dhairyendranârâyan, on the throne. It was Khagendranârâyan who concluded a treaty with the Company to rescue the ruler and the country from the Bhutiyas. Indeed but for him it is a matter of doubt whether the State of Cooch Behar would have continued to exist. The Dharmaraja of Bhutan attempted to remove the misunderstandings between the ruler and the Nazir but was not successful.⁽¹⁵⁾

(14) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. III, page 118, Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 10.

(15) Letter dated the 29th Asar 267 Rajsaka written by the Dharmaraja to the Maharaja.

As soon as Cooch Behar became a feudatory State under the Company, there was no necessity for the ruler to keep an army, but the Nazir continued to occupy $\frac{9}{16}$ ths of the kingdom

on the alleged ground of the upkeep of the army. The royal officers began to interfere with the Naziran land and to claim that they did so under orders of the Maharani. The Nazir suspected this to be the result of a conspiracy of Sarvânanda Gosvami. He openly declared.—“The boy has been made king by me. The affairs of the State should be under my orders. Sarvânanda Gosain is the Rajguru. What authority has he to interfere with the administration ?”⁽¹⁶⁾ At this time Syamchandra Ray, the son of Ramchandra Ray, the Dewan of the Nazir, attained majority and was given with the post of his father. He was able and energetic.

Meanwhile the influence of the Nazir gradually diminished.

The ruler was displeased with him and blamed him for “bartering” the independence of the dynasty of Visvasinha.

The hopes of the Nazir were that the raj would be completely liberated, but at the end of the war, the Company was master of a portion of the kingdom and the Devaraj of another portion. Nazir Khagendranârâyan tried to bolster up the authority of the ruler despite obstruction from the officers of the Company.

Though it was against the nature of Khagendranârâyan to have recourse to conspiracy to gain his ends, yet he was suspected by the people to be double-dealing. Their suspicion was increased by the fact that he was guided by the advice of Dewan Syamchandra Ray. On the 15th March 1791 A. D. Mr. Douglas the Commissioner wrote to the Governor-General,—“Khagendranârâyan appears to be so weak in his mental faculties as to be absolutely incapable of conducting any business,

(16) Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhana, Adyay 19.

and shoud he obtain possession of his share of the country, the management of it will fall into the hands of those persons whose evil and interested counsel has already so much misled him and has been the principal cause of the greater part of his misfortunes".⁽¹⁷⁾ Nevertheless there was an admirable frankness about Khagendranârâyan. He did not hesitate to disclose before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that he had more than once administered corporal punishment to Gosvami. Men who were suspected of intrigue against him, he often had beaten. His family was generally led by the advice of Marichmati Aye, the influential wife of the former Nazir Rudranârâyan.⁽¹⁸⁾

The ill-feeling between the Nazir and Gosvami was revealed in the form of a public quarrel. The Nazir had come to Cooch Behar and there was a quarrel in the bazar and a scuffle between his servants and those of the ruler regarding a pitcher of curd. As a result corporal punishment was inflicted on Nazir's servants under orders of Gosvami. The Nazir was enraged and under his orders Gosvami was arrested and so badly beaten that he was unable to rise and was for some time confined to bed. The Nazir retired to Balarampur.

When Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan who had been away on a pilgrimage returned, another scene in the drama was enacted. Invited to the marriage of Dewan Deo Surendranârâyan, the Nazir came with an armed force to Cooch Behar, and Gosvami was naturally apprehensive. The marriage took place in the Palace. Gosvami instructed the guards that if the Nazir came with a large body-guard without the orders of the Maharanî, he should be stopped at the entrance. This somewhat ineffective

(17) Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 41.

(18) Marichmati Aye died in her 86th year in 1808. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 174.

plan was carried out, but as soon as the Nazir realised the position, his Danka (drum) was sounded and he retired. He took immediate vengeance upon Gosvami. His men ran to the place where the marriage ceremony was proceeding and seized Gosvami. They tied his legs and slung him to a bamboo pole, and he was thus removed from the Palace. The guests assembled for the marriage hurriedly dispersed.

The Maharaja was not present at the marriage ceremony and when news of Gosvami's plight was reported to him, he himself ran, sword in hand, to the cross-roads where Gosvami was suspended, feet upwards. Seeing the Maharaja, the Nazir's men left Gosvami and ran away. The Maharaja cut free his Guru with his sword and lying to his full length on the ground, made obeisance to him. He then retired to the inner apartments of the Palace. The Nazir left with his army for Balarampur.

When the boy Dharendranârâyan died, his father Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan again became the nominal ruler, and his weakness aggravated the quarrel between the Nazir and Gosvami. Kumar Bhagvantanârâyan who was employed by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan, sometimes took the side of the Nazir and sometimes that of Gosvami.

The Collectors and the Nazir. The English Officers at Dinajpur and Rungpur, Messrs Purling, Harris, Harwood, Lambart, Bogle and Goodlad were Political Officers for Cooch Behar from 1773 to 1781 A. D. They regarded Nazir Khagendranârâyan as the principal officer of the State. Mr. Goodlad was the Assistant of Mr. Bogle, the Collector of Rungpur, for two years. Later he was the Collector from 1781 to 1784 A. D. He was often visited by Syamchandra Ray, the Dewan of the Nazir, and as the result of complaints received through Syamchandra,

he confined Gosvami and Lahiri in Rungpur.⁽¹⁹⁾ At this time (1783 A. D.) Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan died and the infant Kumar Harendranârâyan was installed.

During this installation, Khagendranârâyan invested his own son Birendranârâyan with the status of Yuvaraj, though there was no precedent for a Yuvaraj being appointed by a Nazir, and his action had little popular support.

The seal of the King. During the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan there was a dispute regarding the custody of the State seal. After the installation the Nazir kept the seal, but as Jitan Sing the Subedar of the Company protested, he was forced to return it, and Jitan Sing was rewarded by the Maharani. Mr. Goodlad on the Nazir's protest delivered it again to him but under orders of the Council the Maharani finally got the custody of the seal.

Khagendranârâyan used the seal in his own interests and to preserve the authority of the Nazir. He used it in the order appointing his own son Birendranârâyan as Yuvaraj. While the seal was with the Misuse of the seal. Maharani, the area of the Brahmottar land of Gosvami continually increased. Gosvami's favourities acquired similar grants of land.

When Maharaja Harendranârâyan attained majority, he began to assess revenue on all revenue free lands.⁽²⁰⁾ He Views of two rulers. expressed his views in this matter in clear language in a letter written to the Commissioner Mr. Ahmety.—

“ * * The seals used for the Sunnuds and Wakkas were in the possession of Sarbânanda Goshain. He caused Sunnuds to be written out in his own name for whatever lands he wished to

(19) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 156, 157. Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyâya I.

(20) Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyayas 10 and 13.

possess ; several of the persons who were compelled to write those grants can be now produced * * I am sensible of your exertions in my favour and you will still oblige me by resuming all lands of which I have been illegally deprived." (21)

The next Maharaja Sibendranârâyan also stated in a letter dated the 18th Jaisth 332 Rajsaka to the Agent that as the seal of the minor ruler had been under the control of Gosvami, the latter had satisfied his own interests by having many deeds of gift prepared in his favour.

When Maharaja Harendranârâyan was confined in Balaram-pur the Nazir enfaced blank papers with the seal, and after the death of Maharani Kâmatesvari in 1800 A. D. about 600 Sunnud forms bearing the seal of Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârâyan were discovered. These were similar to the deeds of gift prepared when Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan was a prisoner in Bhutan. (22)

Immediately after the death of Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârâyan, Mr. Goodlad came to Cooch Behar and demanded revenue accounts from Gosvami. When these were not produced, the Gosvami was imprisoned and all his moveable property and Brahmottar lands were attached. Many officers of the Gosvami's party were imprisoned at the same time, and the administration of the country was placed in the hands of

(21) Letter dated the 23rd Pous 1207 B. S. written by Maharaja Harendranârâyan
Vide quotation from Maharaja's letter in the letter from Mr. Ahmety to the Board of Revenue, dated the 10th January 1801.

(22) Letter dated the 10th Januay 1801 A. D. written by Mr. Ahmety to the Revenue Board :—

" 5 After the demise of the Ranny, which occurred last year, nearly 600 blank Sunnuds, where the seal of her husband affixed, were discovered among her property, upon paper of the same dimensions and similar form to those which were granted during the absence of Durjendra Narayan.....²²

the Nazir. Kasinath Lahiri was dismissed and Syamchandra Ray was appointed Khasnavis.⁽²³⁾ The Syamchandra and Goodlad. Rājopâkhyâna says that in 1787 B. S. (1780 A. D.) the Nazir and Syamchandra imprisoned Gosvami and Lahiri in connection with the accounts. Officers of their party were arrested and whipped. Some escaped to Rungpur where they appealed in vain to Mr. Goodlad who was convinced from the information of Syamchandra that the ruler took no interest in the affairs of the State and that the Nazir was the only reliable authority.

Once Vakil Ram Chakravarti besought Mr. Goodlad to release Gosvami and Lahiri, and Mr. Goodlad sent eight sepoys to Cooch Behar to bring Gosvami and Lahiri before him, but subsequently recalled the escort which meanwhile had reached Mogalhat with Gosvami and Lahiri owing to the intervention of Syamchandra. The clever Gosvami, learning that the order for his release had been withdrawn, paid a bribe of Rs. 5,000 to the escort commanded and arrived at Rungpur that very night in fetters. Eventually Gosvami and Lahiri were released by the Collector.

Syamchandra, the Dewan of the Nazir, was committing many acts of oppression in Cooch Behar. The Maharaja's officers Dharmanarayan Ray, Dharmanarayan Mukhopadhyaya and others were severely beaten, and Govinda Lahiri was so maltreated that he became a hunchback for life. Gosvami and Lahiri sent Hariprasad Sarkar and Janakiram as Ukils to Calcutta with a letter addressed to the Governor-General who after receiving the report of Mr. Goodlad, paid no attention to the complaint.

(23) It is written in the account placed before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, that this event took place at the end of 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 17, 22, 25.

The Ukils of the Maharaja had filed a complaint before the Company with a copy of a will of the late ruler. It was complained that the Nazir controlled the administration through the influence of Mr. Goodlad. Reference was made to the confinement of Kasinath Lahiri and Sarvananda Gosvami by the Nazir, the looting of Gosvami's properties, the placing of five female slaves as guards over the Maharani, and the assault on Dharmanârâyan; and redress was sought. Laksmî-nârâyan and Mahendranârâyan Sinha, the Canoongoes of the Company, enquired into conditions in Cooch Behar and submitted a report on the 25th Magh 1190 B. S. (6th February 1784 A. D.). On the 8th March of that year, the Government declared that there was no dispute regarding the succession of the minor ruler. This issue had begun between the Dewan (Kumar Surendranârâyan?), Kumar Baikunthanârâyan, the Maharani and the Nazir in their efforts to assert guardianship over the minor. The Maharani wished to be the personal guardian but others were in favour of Kumar Baikunthanârâyan. Both the Maharani and the Nazir desired control over the administration. Finally, the Government directed the parties to the dispute to appear in Calcutta.

Owing to the attitude of Mr. Goodlad, Gosvami was deprived of his influence but he was not a man to be dispirited. He sent petition after petition to Calcutta on Machinations of the Nazir. behalf of the Maharani, but the Nazir maintained his position. When the officers of the Chaklajat Zemindaries instituted cases in 1778 A. D., in Rungpur to establish their title of ownership, Syamchandra, the Dewan of the Nazir, defended the cases and urged that the Chaklas were the personal properties of the Nazir. Gosvami was unable to remove the favourable impression which Mr. Goodlad had formed of the Nazir. The Maharani became

apprehensive of her safety in staying in Cooch Behar with the infant heir, and Captain Williams, by command of the soldiers of the Company was consulted with a view to her residing in Dinajpur.

At the end of Magh 1190 B. S. news suddenly spread in Rungpur that Nazir Khagendranârâyan had himself ascended the Gadi of Cooch Behar. At first Mr. Goodlad did not believe it, but when coins bearing the name of Khagendranârâyan were shown to him, his faith in Khagendranârâyan was gone, and he ordered Gosvami and Lahiri to return to Cooch Behar.—The following account is written in Râjopâkhyâna.—

Mr. Goodlad had dismissed Havildar Jitan Sing for having sided with the Maharani, and he had confined Gosvami and Lahiri in Rungpur. As Mr. Goodlad was his supporter, twelve days after the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan, Nazir Khagendranârâyan ascended the throne himself and struck coins in his own name. The officers of the Maharaja deserted. The Maharani was placed in confinement and almost starved. The Maharaja was attacked with small-pox, but no treatment was available. The new Havildar of the Company's guard prevented the Nazir from entering the Ander, and sent a report to Mr. Goodlad. The Ukil of the Maharani in Calcutta also informed the Government of these events. (24)

Two copies of the original memorandum about Khagendranârâyan's usurpation and another copy have been preserved in the records of the State Council. The memorandum says that on the 21st Magh 1190 B. S. Khagendranârâyan became the ruler and struck coins in his own name. Kalânath Dharma-

(24) Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya II.

dhyaksa placed the Rājtikā on his forehead, and Ramratna and Madhab acted as priests. Learning that his son was attacked with small-pox, Khagendranârâyan returned to Balarampur on the 24th Magh. Meanwhile Mr. Goodlad sent a Havildar and twelve sepoys who forced the Nazir's men to leave Cooch Behar.

There are several seals and signatures on this memorandum. Among them, those of Maharani Kâmatesvari, Satyabhama Devi the grandmother of the ruler, Kumar Bhagvantanârâyan Sachinandan Mustofi, Kalânath Dharmâdhyaksa, Visnuprasâd Bakshi, Ramratna Sarma and Madhab Sarma are worthy of mention. Nothing was said about Khagendranârâyan's "accesion" and his striking coins by Kumar Bhagvantanârâyan, Sachinandan Mustofi, Kalânath Dharmadhyaksa and Visnu prasad Bakshi in 1788 A. D. before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet.⁽²⁵⁾ Reference has already been made to the "Roydad-i-Badiyat Sree Khagendranârâyan Kunwar O Sree Syamacharan Ray" ("An account of oppressions by Sree Khagendranârâyan Kunwar and Sree Syamacharan Ray") written by Sibnârâin Ray, the Ukil of the ruler. An old copy is in the record room of the State Council. In the seventh article, it is said that Khagendranârâyan became the ruler and issued coins and struck a seal in his name, and the following persons were witnesses to these facts;—Pir Mohammad (the son of Ukil Din Mohammad), Sachinandan Mustofi, Harnandan Mustofi and others. Harnandan and Sachinandan gave evidence before the Commissioners but their statements did not refer to the "account". In a letter which the Board wrote to Mr. Moore on the 13th May 1784 A. D., stress was laid on the undue influence of the Nazir, his making his own son Yuvaraj and his policy towards Gosvami and Lahiri.

(25) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 125, 151, 152, 155.

Khagendranârâyan told the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet : “ * * (and) to prevent the disgrace of the infant

Reply of the Nazir. Raja, I sat upon the Raja's Masnad, and had it proclaimed that I had become

Raja ; besides doing this without driving the Raja from the Rajbari I could not have become Raja. The Goshain is my enemy ; he now possesses the whole authority of the Raj. The Mint is under him, he can easily coin money with my name impressed on them.” (26)

Regarding this, the Commissioners observed,—

“ It is not proved that he coined money in his own name * * it may be added that from the Ranny's own complaint recently and personally made to ourselves, it is evident that the Nazir Deo, after this pretended usurpation had taken place, made use, notwithstanding, of the Raja's seal so that such usurpation can not be said to have been complete. It does not appear from evidence that the deaths of the Raja and Ranny were ever meditated by Nazir Deo ; and the Ranny herself does not seem now disposed to insist on that charge.” (27)

At the end of 1190 B. S. (1784 A. D.) Mr. Peter Moore came as Collector to Rungpur in place of Mr. Goodlad.

Mr. Moore and Gosvami. Immediately after Mr Moore reached Rungpur, he formed ideas regarding Khagendranârâyan, and as a result

Gosvami received favour. The Râjopâkhyâna records that Gosvami and Lahiri sent two Ukils who received Mr. Moore at a place to the south of Dinajpur. They gave many presents and an exhibition of fire-works at the night. Mr. Moore stayed in a house in Dhap in Rungpur which was purchased from Mr. Purling for Rs. 24,000. The house and its garden were

(26) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 25—26.

(27) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 194.

decorated. Gosvami's presents are said to have been carried by 500 persons (?) to Mr. Moore. Amrit Sing and Gosvami. Gosvami also won over Maharaja Amrit Sing, the Dewan of Mr. Moore, by paying him a large sum of money. The Maharani had sent information to the Council alleging plundering of the State by Khagendranârâyan and his misappropriating the Chaklajat Zemindaries. In 1784 A. D. under orders of the Council, the right to administer the raj, and the royal seal, were taken away from Khagendranârâyan and given to the Maharani. It was determined that the zemindary of Chaklajat belonged to the Maharaja. (28) The Petbhata lands of Khagendranârâyan situated in the Zemindary were confiscated. At the request of the Maharani, Mr. Moore appointed some Telenga guards to protect the Maharâja. (29)

Dewan Gangaprasad was entrusted with an enquiry into the charges against the Nazir, (30) and he found them to be

The Nazir's downfall. true. Though summoned, the Nazir did not appear before Gangaprasad. Instead he started for Calcutta with Syamchandra to seek redress, but the men sent by Mr. Moore arrested them enroute and brought them to Rungpur. Mr. Moore did not accept the objections of the Nazir, and made him and Syamchandra over to Gosvami. Under Gosvami's orders they were brought to Cooch Behar and imprisoned. The Râjopâkhyâna says that under orders of Mr. Goodlad, the Nazir and Syamchandra

(28) Report of the Board written in 1784 A. D. and the letter dated the 28th May 1784 A. D. by Mr. Moore.

(29.) Letter dated 1st Chaitra 1191 B. S. written by Mr. Moore. At this time the rulers and zemindars of Bengal employed Telengas from the north of the Madras Presidency as their body-guards and palanquin bearers.

(30) An old paper without any signature written on the 14th Asar 1191 B. S. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 23, 26.

were confined in a place called 'Gudam' in Cooch Behar. The Nazir escaped but was caught in the house of Syamchandra Ray and again taken to Rungpur. Under Mr. Moore's orders the Nazir was again made over to Gosvami. In the month of Baisakh 275 Rajshahi (1191 B. S.) he and Syamchandra were sent in fetters to Cooch Behar, and Mr. Moore held the trial in the presence of the infant Maharaja. The Council ordered the Nazir to be removed from the post of Nazir, and the whole of the Cooch Behar State and the Zemindary of Chaklajat to be regarded as belonging personally to the Maharaja. Kumar Jibendranârâyan, the son of Dewan Deo Surendranârâyan, was appointed Nazir, and the trial of Khagendranârâyan was stayed until the attainment of majority by the Maharaja. The infant Maharaja expressed his wish to Mr. Moore that Khagendranârâyan be sentenced to death. Later Khagendranârâyan and Syamchandra were liberated and the Maharani took over administration of the kingdom.⁽³¹⁾

There was for a time no obstacle to the ambitions of Gosvami. His enemy a prisoner, he seemed to have taken inadequate precautions, with the result that on

Escape of the Nazir.

the morning of the 26th Chaitra 1191 B.S. the news spread through the whole town that the Nazir had escaped. Gosvami immediately sent out parties to capture the Nazir, and wrote a letter to the Devaraja of Bhutan for this purpose; but all his efforts were in vain. No news was forthcoming as to the whereabouts of the Nazir. The Devaraja replied that Khagendranârâyan had

(31) Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 3. In the statement given by the Maharaja's party before the Commissioners it has been mentioned that the Maharaja himself dismissed Khagendranârâyan and confiscated his Jaigir (M. C. Report Vol. II, page 23). In the statement of both parties, there is no mention of the trial of Khagendranârâyan by Mr. Moore. The account of the Nazir's being twice captured is also not supported. The Maharaja's party said that the Nazir

Letter of Devaraja.

not come there, and even if he had, it would not have been possible to make over one who had sought protection and shelter, to Gosvami. He (Gosvami) was a Lâmâ guru (spiritual preceptor). It was his duty to see that good feeling existed in the royal family, and if in this connection it was necessary to send information to the Council, he should do so if only on religious grounds. The glory of Gosvami, as befitting a Lâmâ, could increase thereby. He would surely arrange to preserve the wealth of the Nazir.⁽³²⁾ But this letter from Devaraja bore no results.

Khagendranârâyan had fled to Assam (which was at that time outside the dominion of the Company) but fortune did

not favour him. Even in his living
The Nazir in Assam. incognito, he was a sport of fortune.

Even in that place his destiny was increasing the darkness of his life. At this time there was a revolt of the Moamaria Vaisnava sect in Assam. At last the rebels defeated Gaurinath Sinha the Âhom King and made a person of their sect king (1787 A. D.). The residents of lower Assam also were not satisfied with the Âhom rule and taking advantage of this revolt, they were desiring to re-establishment

of the dynasty of Visvasinha in lower Possibility of gaining kingdom. Assam. A man named Haradatta was the leader of the dissatisfied subjects and

Khagendranârâyan was able to gain his sympathy. There was a daughter of Haradatta named Padmakumari having marks on her person considered to be auspicious. There were talks about her being married to the son of Khagendranârâyan and this son becoming the king of lower Assam. The Kumar had gone to Assam with this object.

escaped without having appeared before Dewan Gangaprasad. When he was re-arrested, he again escaped, (M. C, Report Vol. II. pages 23, 26).

(32) Letter dated 13th Roj of Asvin Chand in 278 Rajsaka written by the Devaraja.

At first king Gaurinath got help from the Company to subdue the revolt in his kingdom. But later on for some reason, the Company refused to help the king. But, destiny as if to witness another act in the drama of Khagendranârâyan's life, arranged to make the authorities of the Company agree at last to help king Gaurinath. The revolt of the Moamarias was subdued by the force of the Company and king Gaurinath being in a great degree freed from obstacles was re-established on the throne (1795 A. D.). The party of Haradatta having occupied almost the whole of Uttarakula, came to be known as Dundia (rebels). But they were dispersed at last in battle and with this all hopes of Khagendranârâyan were shattered. ⁽³³⁾

Gosvami was not able even with great efforts to discover where the Nazir had hidden himself. Many had suspected that he was under the shelter of Proclamation of Gosvami. Bulchandra Barua, the zemindar of Rangamati. ⁽³⁴⁾ A rumour was also circulated that he was hiding in Khurbarry. However the all powerful Nazir of Cooch Behar being bereft of honour and properties was seeking shelter here and there being afraid of his very life. Tired and helpless he at last got some peace in retiring to the kingdom of Assam. Really speaking, at that time the mental condition of the Nazir was not sound. He was repeatedly sending letters praying to be excused in a pitiful tone from his place of hiding placing all the faults which were attributed to him sometimes upon himself and sometimes upon Syamchandra. ⁽³⁵⁾ But all these were in vain. His prayers were

(33) Assam Burunjee by Rai Gunabhiram, pages 160—167.

(34) The zemindar of Rangamati is now known as the zemindar of Gauripur (in the district of Goalpara). Raja Srijukta Prabhat Chandra Barua is the present descendant of Bulchandra Barua.

(35) An old copy of a letter praying for being excused dated the 26th Kartic is preserved among the old papers of the State Council, Cooch Behar.

like a cry in wilderness. Meanwhile Sarvânanda Gosvami published a proclamation on the 18th Asar 276 Rajsaka (1192 B. S.) mentioning that it was an order by the Maharani. An account of all the evil deeds of Gosvami and the information that his rights to the Naziran land have been forfeited were mentioned. To prove the truth of the account given in the proclamation, relatives of the king and many officers of the king had signed the same. (36)

When Khagendranârâyan escaped, Syamchandra Ray was sent to Rungpur and Mr. Moore made him over to the court of the Nawab for trial. In the trial, Syam-

Trial of Syamchandra.

chandra was sentenced to imprisonment,

but the pleader for the Nazir submitted an application to the Governor-General and the Council against this decision and under their orders Nawab Muzufferjang summoned Syamchandra and made a detailed enquiry regarding his offence. As a result of this enquiry, Syamchandra was released and the judge who tried him was dismissed. (37) In 1786 A.D. Mr. Macdowall came as Collector of Rungpur in place of Mr. Moore. Meanwhile, Baidyanath Sadangi and Ramkanta Chakravarti the pleaders of the Nazir had gone to Calcutta and were continually praying before the Company for restoration of the previous powers of the Nazir, his Naziran lands and the Chaklajat zemindary. At that time Gorachand Basak was the Dewan of the Nazir. Mr. Macdowall summoned Kumar Birendranârâyan, the son of the Nazir, there. He had got complaints from the king's party against Birendra also. Mr. Macdowall promised Birendra that he would bring about good relations between the royal family and the family of the Nazir. But in reality nothing took place. Staying in Rungpur

(36) This proclamation is preserved among the old papers of the State Council.

(37) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 26.

for about a year. Birendra returned to Balarampur.

After the return of Birendra from Rungpur (1787 A.D.) the Maharani went to bathe in the Ganges accompanied by Sarvânanda Gosvami.

The Maharani's going to bathe in the Ganges. As this was against the custom of the family and thought to

be a matter of disgrace, many principal personages of the royal family became very much dissatisfied with Gosvami and the Maharani. The Nazir mentioned before the Commissioners that the mother and the grandmother of the king summoned Birendranârâyan to save the family from disgrace by removing the king and the Maharani elsewhere.⁽³⁸⁾ None supported internally the domination of Gosvami in the work of administration and his influence over the Maharani. The people believed that by the machinations of the Maharani and Gosvami, king Dhairyendranârâyan was rendered incapable to manage the administration. Even half a century later, Major Jenkins heard such a report.⁽³⁹⁾

Taking advantage of the aforesaid opportunity Marichmati Aye with the hope of recovering the lost glory resolved to risk

Attempt to seize the king. her very life in fulfilling her desire. The

path followed by her was not only full of obstructions but its end was also terrible. However, she started to re-establish the rights of the family of the Nazir, by freeing the Maharani and the Maharaja from the influence of Gosvami. At that time the family of the Nazir was suffering indescribable misery for want of food and clothing. Still, Marichmati Aye collected by some means three thousand rupees and summoned the leaders of

(38) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 26.

(39) "Long before his (Rajah's) death he was reduced to such a state of imbecility, as was currently believed, by the machinations of the Ranee and Gosvami, that he was quite incapable of performing any of the duties of his rank." Major Jenkins' Report, page 33.

dacoits. At that time many dacoits in the disguise of Sannyasis resided in Churla, Bhitarband and Goybari near Balarampur. They were gained over by gifts of money. A small number of Barkandaz soldiers was also collected. Bhagabantanârâyan, the eldest brother of the Nazir, had a great liking for battle. Four or five hundred men under him became ready to go to Cooch Behar. The Commissioners stated regarding Marichmati:—

* * * * * With respect to the latter (adherents of Nazir Deo) it is proved by the evidence brought in support of the charges against Marichmati, the aunt of the Nazir Deo, that she did actually with the assistance of Ganesh Gir (since dead) collect a number of Sannyassies and other troops for the purpose of seizing the Raja and Ranny and bringing them to Balarampur, and that Dungar Deo, the brother of the Nazir, accompanied these troops to Behar." (40)

At that time forty sepoy's under Captain Duncanson stayed in Cooch Behar on behalf of the Company. Gulab Sing was their Subedar and they were paid by the king. The king himself had also some Barkandazes and Palwans. The news of starting of Bhagavantnârâyan to Cooch Behar spread about eight or ten days before he reached Cooch Behar. When this information was sent to Captain Duncanson in Rungpur he refrained from coming to Cooch Behar, raising various objections. In a letter sent before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet by the king's party it is mentioned :—

" When I was alarmed that my enemy Coghindra Nârâyan had collected a number of troops, I wrote to Captain Duncanson to come to Behar. He replied, that, until he could collect some money he had lent, he would not come to Behar." (41)

(40) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 198.

(41). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 54.

In answer to this complaint Captain Duncanson wrote to the Commissioners :—

"I frequently proposed going to Behar in the beginning of June, but the Collector urged by needlessly injuring my health for the Gossain's idle fears," (42)

Both Lahiri and Gosvami went to Rungpur leaving the charge of protecting the king with Rupchandra Bara Kâyasth

Karji. They also failed to send the Captain to Cooch Behar. So they tried

Arrangement on behalf of the king. to collect forces as many as possible and

send the same to Cooch Behar. Meanwhile as the news of Bhagavatanârâyan's coming to Cooch Behar was spreading everywhere, the Maharani was very much anxious and afraid. Fearing a plunder of the palace, she began to make arrangements to send money and jewellery to Gosvami in Rungpur through Krishnânanda Bhandar Thakur and Ramgopal Sarkar (an officer of Gosvami). She also summoned Subedar Gulab Sing and instructed him to remain very careful. Gulab Sing in return did not fail to give assurance to the Maharani.

Early in the morning of the 32nd Jaisth 1194 B. S. Bhagavatanârâyan and Ganes Gir simultaneously besieged the Palace and the mint with soldiers. (43)

Siege of the Palace. On that day, there were thirty (according to another view, twenty) sepoys of the Company present in the palace and the rest were engaged

(42). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 75.

(43). Mercer and Chauvet's, Vol. II, pages 1, 142. According to another view, this took place in the month of Asar (Ibid, Vol. II, page 107). It is written in Râjopâkhyâna, that this happened at the end of Baisakh 1193 B. S. or 277 Rajsaka (Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 4). It is mentioned in a Wakka executed by Rupchandra Barakayasth Karji on the 1st Baisakh 279 Rajsaka that the disturbance regarding capture of the king took place in 278 Rajsaka (1194 B. S.). In the paper in which a promise was forcibly taken from the king and the Maharani when they were under detention in Balarampur, the date of this incidence is mentioned as the 19th Asar 278 Rajsaka.

in different works in other places. At the very outset, the principal officers like Krisnânanda Bhandar Thakur and Rupchandra Bara Kayasth Karji, the protector of the king, fled away.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the number of men who came with Bhagavantanârâyan. In the Râjopâkhyân it is written that about four thousand soldiers came. According to Gulab Sing, the number of soldiers was four thousand and according to a sepoy under him the number was two hundred and according to a Tehsildar named Dharmanârâyan Raha, the number was one thousand. But according to Mr. Glazier, the number of soldiers of Bhagavantanârâyan did not exceed five to seven hundred. Whatever it might be, on receiving the news of the coming of Bhagavantanârâyan, Gulab Sing ordered the sepoys under him to take up arms. Bhagabantanârâyan called Gulab Sing to him. Gulab Sing went to Bhagavantanârâyan and coming back from him, said "Bhagavantanârâyan has come bringing written orders from Raja Amrit Sing, the Dewan of the Collector. So there is no necessity to oppose him." The Maharani being agitated with this news promised to give Rs, 1,000 and a Tâzi horse (a horse from Tâz a place in Arabia) as reward to Gulab Sing to gain him over to her side. But Gulab Sing did not advance (to oppose the enemy) in spite of this.

Regarding the complaint of Gulab Sing's being gained over by Bhagavantanârâyan, the Commissioners have written :—

"They (the Commissioners) find from the examination of Golap Sing himself as well as from the evidence adduced in support of the charge against him it is fully proved that he was shamefully deficient in his duty when he permitted the party under Dangar Deo to carry off the Raja and Ranny from the place of their residence without any endeavour on his part to resist, so flagrant an act of violence of which the Force under his command consisting independently of his own sepoys, of a considerable

number of Burkundauzes was fully adequate to the prevention, the spirit of the former and their readiness to support their Commanding officer in defence of the charge entrusted to his care strongly manifests their sense of the baseness of his conduct, and to the indignation they felt at the scandalous desertion of his duty, he himself has borne unwilling testimony * * * that he was in league with the party whom he so unwarrantably allowed to seize and carry off the persons of the Raji and Ranny from under his immediate protection and which he was bound by every tie to defend." (44)

Finding the door open, the Sannyasi and Barkandaz soldiers of Bhagavantanârâyan entered the palace, but Bhagavantanârâyan himself did not cross the door. (45) When the men of Bhagavantanârâyan entered inside, a scuffle began between them and the king's party and a Nayek of the king's party was wounded. The sepoys of the Company got excited at this but Gulab Sing pacified them by threats and reproaches. Dharmanârâyan Mukhopadhyaya, the officer of Gosvami, could not make Gulab Sing engage in fight in spite of many persuasions. Even ten sepoys were not got from him on request to guard the Andar. The Maharani finding no other way took shelter in the temple of Madanmohan with the grandmother of the king and the infant king. Many maid-servants also entered that temple through fear of their lives. When the attacking party reached there, Bastiram and Sivabansi two sepoys of the Company began to fire their rifles and bullets were also showered by the attacking party. One Mahut was killed and a bullet pierced the hand of a maid. Then Gulab Sing removed the sepoys Bastiram and Sivabansi elsewhere. (46)

(44). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 195.

(45). Witnesses of the king's party mentioned before the Commissioners that Bhagavantanârâyan himself did not cross the door (M. C. Report, Vol. II, pages 131, 133). It is written in Râjopâkhyâna 'Bhagavantanârâyan began to enter the palace with his soldiers crossing the door.' Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya 4.

(46). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 113, 118. Report of the Nawabi Adalat dated the 27th Paus, 1194 B. S.

The men of Bhagavant had besieged the temple of Madanmohan. When the Maharani and the grandmother of the king broke the bamboo walls of that room and were trying to escape, some female slaves also followed them. Before Capture of the king.

they could advance to some distance, some Sannyasis and Barkandazes of Bhagavantanârâyan opposed them and made them captives. By this means, they gained their end. Immediately Bhagavantanârâyan placed Satyabhama Devi the grandmother of the king and the infant king on a palanquin and sent them to Balarampur and the Maharani was compelled to follow the palanquin on foot.⁽⁴⁷⁾ After this, the Sannyasi and Barkandaz soldiers of Bhagavantanârâyan plundered the palace and they misappropriated whatever they got. Gulab Sing started with the king to Balarampur with a Havildar and ten sepoys but after advancing some distance, this Havildar and seven sepoys returned. On the next day, Gangaram Havildar went to Balarampur with eight sepoys. Raghunath Bakshi the officer of the king, Rajaninath Barkayet of the Public Works Department and Khidmutgar Mukundaram went to Balarampur with the king. Later on, Thakur Murungia and Laksmei Murungia also went there.

(47). It is written in Râjopâkyâna Adhyâya IV that Marichmati Aye was aware of the evil design of the Nazir's party. At that time, she suddenly came to Cooch Behar. She was filled with grief seeing the distress of the Maharani and falling at her feet requested her to get up in her own palanquin and bewailed saying that the dynasty of the Nazir will be destroyed for this oppression to the master by the servant. This fact was not disclosed during the enquiry of the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet or in the testimony of witnesses given before the Nawabi Adalat in Rungpur. Even the Maharani or Marichmati Aye did not mention this in their own statements. This is also against the probabilities. It has been mentioned elsewhere that Marichmati was the leading character in the incident of the capture of the king.

When the king, Maharani and Satyabhama Devi, the grandmother of the king, were taken to Balarampur, Marichmati Aye, Bhagavantanârâyan and Birendranârâyan kept them as captives through some Sannyasi guards. At first, food was given to the captives at the interval of two or three days. There was also no proper arrangement for their bed. Some days after, Sajwal Jabardast Sing on behalf of the Collector of Rungpur wrote a letter to Birendranârâyan asking him to send the king, Maharani and others to Cooch Behar. Marichmati Aye became very much angry and excited at this and told the Maharani that this letter was written owing to the efforts of Sarvânand Gosvami, Kasinath Lahiri and Sibu Ray, that the soldiers of the Company might also come, and that Gosvami, Lahiri, Sibu Ray, Sristidhar, Jagarani (?) and the Ukil of Calcutta should be dismissed. Raghunath Baksi was compelled to write this order of dismissal and on this Marichmati Aye forcibly put down the seal of the the king and the Maharani. The prisoners were not always surrounded by guards. If they expressed dissent in any proposal of Marichmati, guards were placed on them and various threats were given. The Maharani and the grandmother of the king remained without food for the first three days. After this they were compelled to take rice. The food offered was very bad and as a result of eating this food, the Maharaja was attacked with dysentery.

Once Marichmati, Bhagvanta and Birendranârâyan asked the Maharani to write a letter to the Collector of Rungpur.

Oppression on the Maharaja. She refused to do this. For this reason a Sannyasi aimed a blow by a sword at her. At that time the infant king was sitting on her lap. The Maharani having bent down her head the uplifted weapon missed its aim and struck a post of the room. On another day, all were made to get upon a boat with

the object of drowning them, but as the grandmother of the king protested they were brought back. A threat was also given that they would be killed by being thrown under the feet of elephants. Marichmati herself threatened the Maharani by holding a sword and a shield.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Being terrified by the various acts of oppression as mentioned above, the Maharani at last agreed to conclude an agreement. On the 15th Asar, the Maharani made over a document to Birendranârâyan in which it was written : "A quarrel is going on between us for three years owing to the machinations of Gosvami. Your father was made a captive. From today, all misunderstanding ends. I swear that your father will get the allotted share of the kingdom and the Chaklajat zemindary, etc." On the 19th Asar a deed showing

Execution of a deed of partition.

shares regarding this arrangement was drawn up, In the same it was written that 5 anna $17\frac{1}{2}$ Ganda share of the kingdom belonged to the king, 9 Annas $2\frac{1}{2}$ Gandas belonged to the Nazir and one anna belonged to the Dewan. Raghunath Bakshi wrote two copies of this document. In the first, seals of the Maharaja and the Maharani were affixed and in the second, the seal of Maharaja alone was affixed.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Besides these, some blank papers had also been sealed. Rajaninath was sent to Gosvami in Rungpur to bring salary of the Sannyasis in the name of the Maharani. Apprehending the coming of the Company's soldiers to rescue the king, Marichmati ordered Makhanlal Jamadar, Ganes Gir and Doman Sing that if any one of her party was wounded on

(48). The District of Rungpore, page 44. The Maharani herself had made such a statement.

(49). The original of these two Ekrarnamas, (deeds of partition) have been preserved amongst the old papers of the State Council.

the arrival of Mr. Hill and Ichharam Subedar to rescue the king on behalf of the Company, they should immediately kill the king and his mother.

On the 12th June 1787 A. D. Sibnârâyan Sarma, an officer of the king, informed Mr. Macdowall, the Collector of Rungpur, that Nazir Khagendranârâyan was collecting forces against the king, but on the morning of that very day the men of the Nazir attacked the palace and took the king and the Maharani as captives to Balarampur.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Collector came to know about this in the afternoon of the next day, and he immediately ordered Major Dunn to send soldiers to Cooch Behar. The Collector sent a letter in the name of the Nazir and requested him to send at once the king and the Maharani in safety to Cooch Behar. It was also written in that letter that otherwise he would be killed with his whole family. After this, the Collector ordered Lieutenant Hill who had come from Dinajpur to proceed to Cooch Behar with a body of sepoys. But he could not at all leave Rungpore owing to heavy floods.

Meanwhile, Marichmati Aye and Kumar Birendranârâyan tried to gain sympathy of the Collector by addressing him letter after letter. Marichmati Aye tried to gain over the Collector Mr. Macdowall to her side by sending a horse as a present and a letter of request through her Ukil Sadânanda Nag. At first, Sadânanda was welcomed there but he was afterwards imprisoned. The Collector wrote to Birendranârâyan in reply that if the king and the Maharani were sent back to Cooch Behar, justice would be done to them. The Collector also received a letter signed with the seal of the king and the Maharani to the effect that Sarvânanda Gosvami was unfaithful, that he had

(50). Letter from the Collector of Rungpore to the Governor General in Council, dated the 14th June, 1787. Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

destroyed the kingdom, that he had been dismissed, that she had come there with the king and the quarrel which had so long existed with the Nazir family, had been amicably settled. The officers of the king of Cooch Behar also got a letter signed by the king and the Maharani. In the same there was a mention of the settlement of the quarrel with the Nazir and a request had been made therein to send back the Company's soldiers.

When letters like these were being exchanged, the Collector Mr. Macdowall sent Sajwal Jabardast Sing with soldiers to Balarampur to bring the Maharaja and the Maharani. Through him, he sent letters to the Maharaja, the Maharani, Marichmati Aye, Birendranârâyan and Bhagvantanârâyan. The Collector had ordered the Sajwal that on return of the Maharaja and the Maharani, the remaining amount of the dues of Ganes Gir, the leader of the Sannysis, for their labour would be paid, that Birendranârâyan and Bhagvantanârâyan should be arrested, for then it would be easy to rescue the Maharaja and the Maharani, but if any act of oppression be done to them, Birendranârâyan and Bhagvantanârâyan should at once be killed.⁽⁵¹⁾ In connection with the capture of the king, the Collector also issued Perwanas to the zemindars of Rungpur to the effect that they should not give any help to the rebels but should keep a keen eye towards them and send all information in due time to him.

With the object of opposing Jabardast Sing, many Sannyasis and Barkandazes of the rebel army assembled in Nazirganj, six miles to the southwest of Balarampur. When Jabardast Sing reached there, a man handed over a letter to him saying that it was sent by the king. It was written in the same that he should not advance further but should proceed to Cooch

(51). Private instruction to Ray Zubberdust Sing dated the 4th July, 1787,— Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-1788.

Behar. He was also informed that if he started towards Balarampur, Marichmati Aye will set fire to her own house and destroy her own life and the lives of the whole of the Nazir family, the Maharaja and the Maharani. After this, Jabardast Sing stopped all negotiations with the Nazir family and issuing a proclamation occupied the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the name of the Company. Finding that it was impossible by easy means to rescue the king and the Maharani, the Collector at the end of July sent Lieutenant Hill to the help of Jabardast Sing and after this, gradually Captain Rotton, Lieutenant Duncanson, Wright and Major Dunn with a large number of sepoys were engaged in rescuing the king.

On the 16th Sraban 1194 B. S. about two thousand Sannyasis and Barkandazes belonging to the party of the rebels attacked the sepoys of the Company at Nazirganj. But as a result of a counterattack many men of the rebels were wounded and they ran away and their Danka and flag fell into the hands of the Commander of the Company's forces. The rebels subsequently recaptured Nazirgunj but Lieutenant Hill again occupied it. After capturing Nazirgunj, Lieutenant Hill besieged Balarampur. At that time three sides of Balarampur were surrounded by the river Chekdara. Owing to excessive rains the country on all sides appeared to be full of water. Placing soldiers on all sides of Balarampur, Lieutenant Hill closed the way to the removal of the king and the Maharani elsewhere and stopped all connections between the residents of the town and the outsiders.⁽⁵²⁾ At that time in Balarampur there were about 150 Sannyasis and 500 Barakandazes among the rebels. Besides these, there was a possibility of the addition of 500 more Sannyasis. Lieutenant Hill wrote to his superior

(52). Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-88.

officer that the men of the Nazir were threatening that they would kill the king and the Maharani if the Company's soldiers attacked Balarampur. At this time the soldiers of the king and the Company were camping at Bholarhat and Tufanganj. The rebels attacked both these places. Though at first they put Lieutenant Duncanson into great difficulty by attacking Tufanganj, they were forced to retire later on.

When Balarampur were besieged by the soldiers of the Company, the rebels within the town lost hope to some extent. Though they were making various proposals for retuning the king and the Maharani, they practically did not do anything but merely gained time in this manner. At midnight on the 26th August they sent information to Captain Rotton that next morning they would produce the king, the Maharani and Marichmati Aye before him and make necessary negotiations but he refused to discuss other matters with the rebels.

On the 27th August Captain Rotton wrote to the Collector of Rungpur that on the morning of that day when Gayes Mohammad Sardar and others sent by him were returning from Balarampur after discussing the rescue of the king with Ganes Gir and Makhanlal, Ichharam Subedar heard about a clamour regarding the removal of the king and the Maharani to a different place. He with a Jamadar and a Havildar ran towards the room where the king was staying. The Sannyasis were raising their swords upon the king and the Maharani to kill or threaten them but immediately on seeing the men of the Company, they gave up that resolve and attacked them and two sepoys were wounded. But as a result of counter-attack Makhanlal and twenty to thirty Barkandazes and soldiers of the rebel party were instantly killed and the rest while attempting to cross the river by swimming were drowned. After this Subedar Ichharam brought the

king, the Maharani and Marichmati Aye before Captain Rotton at about 8 A. M. (53)

After much search, Bhagvantanârâyan, Durlabhram Ghose, Ganes Gir and some Sannyasis were arrested and made captives. Besides these many other people were imprisoned. Captain Rotton seized one elephant, some horses, some weapons and some utensils from Balarampur. He wrote that the followers of Ganes Gir had taken from Balarampur an elephant loaded with money. On the next day he sent the king and the Maharani to Cooch Behar. One hundred and fifty three persons were arrested being connected with the above-mentioned affair. The Captain sent them to Rungpur. A letter was also addressed to the Naib Suba for their trial in the Nawabi Adalat. (54) Receiving a complaint that Kumar Baikunthanârâyan, the uncle of the king, had connection with the Nazir's party in the seizure of the king, he was also brought to Rungpur and confined with Bhagvantanârâyan and Marichmati Aye pending orders from the Governor. (55) Gulab Sing, the Subedar of the Company, was also suspected as having helped Bhagvantanârâyan in the

(53). "Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Behar Rajah, and the Ranny, and the mother (aunt?) of Nazir Deo are now in my possession. * * * *

This morning at daybreak my messenger told me they could not prevail upon Guness Gheer or Muchin Lall to accept of the terms offered. In a little time I heard the report of the firing of a few Musquets and shortly afterwards a sepoy informed me that Incharam Soubadar had got possession of the personages now with me and would immediately send them to my camp if thought proper—I desired him to do so and they arrived here about eight o'clock in the morning."

Letter from John Rotton, Captain, to the Collector of Rungpore, dated, Camp opposite to Balarampore, the 27th August, 1787.—Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-88.

(54). The District of Rungpore, page 44; Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

(55). Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

seizure of the king and orders were issued to send him to Calcutta for his trial by the Court Martial.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Bulchandra Barua, the zemindar of Rangamati, (at present Gauripur) within Goalpara and his son Birchandra Barua were also suspected of having assisted Nazir Khagendranârâyan in the seizure of the king and their houses were also searched for this reason. As a result of this search, some letters written by Khagendranârâyan, his son Birendranârâyan and Marichmati Aye were found. Subsequently they were arrested and imprisoned and sent to the Nawabi Adalat at Rungpur for their trial.⁽⁵⁷⁾

In December 1787 A. D. a petition to the following
 Complaint by the King's effect was submitted to the Board by the
 party. king's side :

In last Jaisth, Khagendranârâyan Kumar, his aunt Marichmati Aye his brother Bhagavantanârâyan, and his son Kumar Birendranârâyan plotted with Kumar Baikunthanârâyan and with the help of Ganes Gir the leader of the Sannyasi dacoits, attacked and sacked the palace and seizing the king and his mother confined them in Balarampur. Gulab Sing, the Subedar of the Company's guard, also joined them and for that reason, he did not make any attempt to protect the king. The signature and seal of the king and the king's mother were obtained by force on some blank papers in Balarampur. Khagendranârâyan and Birendranârâyan are hiding themselves but Baikuntha Nârâyan, Bhagavantanârâyan, Marichmati and Ganes Gir have been arrested and are in custody. Gulab Sing also was arrested but Captain Duncanson has released him. The offenders should be adequately punished and all of them should be kept in custody."

(56). Letter from W. M. Duncanson, Commt. in Cooch Behar to the Governor General of India and the Commander in Chief, dated the 18th December, 1787.—Bengal Revenue Consultations 1787-88.

(57). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 121—124.

Letter from the Government to the Collector of Rungpore, dated the 20th September, 1787. Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1787-88.

The Collector of Rungpur also got a report that the Nazir might attack the territory under the Company.

On the 22nd January 1788, the Revenue Board passed orders for an enquiry regarding this affair of the seizure of the king. Messieurs Laurea Mercer and

Appointment of Commissioners.

Jean Louis Chauvet were appointed Commissioners to enquire into the matter

and information of this was given to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, the Maharani and Nazir Khagendranârâyan. The Board pardoned all the offences of Khagendranârâyan and issued a proclamation for his surrender within six months. After this, on the 3rd May 1788 A. D. the Commissioners began the enquiry in Rungpur. They were asked to enquire into twenty-four points. Among these the following formed the subject-matter of the enquiry: the real rights over the kingdom of Cooch Behar of the king, the Nazir and the Dewan, the rights of the king regarding maintaining a mint and administering the kingdom, the condition of the treaty with the Company as agreed to by the king, and the ascertainment of the real owner of the Chaklajat zemindary.

The Commissioners left Rungpur on the 7th May and came to Mogalhat, and began to hold enquiry there from the 16th May. Sibnarayan Ray and

Enquiry in Mogalhat.

Krisnaprasad were appointed pleaders on behalf of the Maharaja and the Maharani.

On the other side, Baidyanath and Nimaicharan were pleaders for the Nazir; Durgaprasad and Santanarayan were pleaders for Bulchandra and Birchandra Barua; Brajanath and Nimaicharan Ghosh were pleaders for Marichmati and Chaitanyaacharan Ghosh and Ramkanta Sarkar were pleaders for Bhagavanta-nârâyan.

The Nazir was hiding himself in Assam. He received the Perwana to appear before the Commissioners and reached Sikarpur some miles off from Mogalhat.

Prayer of the Nazir.

From there, on the 29th May he wrote to the Commissioners regarding assurance of his own safety and appeared before them on the 5th June. He prayed for release of other prisoners but this prayer was not granted. On the 11th June, Kumar Bhagvantanârâyan, Marichmati Aye, Durlabhram Ghosh, Sadânanda Nag, Bulchandra and Birchandra Barua were brought under guard from Rungpur to Mogalhat. On the 14th June, a petition was filed on behalf of the Nazir that only the Chhatranazir was entitled to appoint a king. Nine and half Annas of the kingdom belong to the Nazir. He has concluded the treaty with the Company, Sarvânanda Gosvami and the Maharani plotted with the Collector Mr. Moore and has wrongfully deprived him from that share and the Chaklajat zemindary. (58)

Receiving the complaints of both parties and replies to the same, the Commissioners summoned witnesses. The names of

Evidence adduced by either party.

fiftyone witnesses were mentioned on behalf of the Nazir. Among them Mirza Mohammad Taki and Timfa Suba are

worthy of mention. (59). A list of nineteen witnesses was filed on behalf of the king. Names of some officers of the king were

(58). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 10, 13-16.

The account of gaining over Mr. Moore by Gosvami and the gaining over of Amrit Sing, the Dewan of Mr. Moore, by bribe is also given in Râjopâkhyâna, (Pratyaksakhanda, Adhyâya 3). As the Commissioners let off the Nazir from all charges, Khasnavis Lahiri protested against the same, (Partyaksakhanda, Adhyâya 6). But this is not written in the proceedings of the enquiry. At the very outset, the Revenue Board pardoned Khagendranârâyan. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 2.

(59). A person named Mohammad Taki was the Dewan of the Collector of Rungpur at that time. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 48.

also in this list. Many of the witnesses cited in the lists filed by the parties were not examined. Sepoys under the Company and some Sannyasis gave evidence on behalf of the king and many important documents were filed by both parties. There was not much inconvenience in the work of investigation. Only Captain Duncanson while exchanging letters with the Commissioners tried from beginning to end to avoid an enquiry regarding himself. He also did not give candid replies to the questions put to him.⁽⁶⁰⁾. A complaint was lodged against him by the king's party that he lent money to the king and realised interest at an excessive rate and did not make any attempt to protect the king from the hands of the Nazir.

At the beginning of the enquiry, the Commissioners learnt the extremely distressed pecuniary condition of the Nazir and

Monthly allowance of
the Nazir.

forwarded a request to the authorities of the Company for granting him and his dependants some monthly allowance.

According to their wishes an arrangement was made to grant a monthly allowance of Rs. 500 to the Nazir from the Collectorate of Rungpur till the conclusion of the enquiry.

Most of the evidence was taken in Mogalhat. The Commissioners came to Cooch Behar on the 22nd September and the accused persons were also brought there.

Enquiry in Cooch Behar.

Evidence was also taken in Cooch Behar from the 27th September to the 17th October. The soldiers who formed the guard under Captain

Mirza Mohammad Taki was the zemindar of Kulaghat within Rungpur. Mr. J. Digby, the Collector of Rungpur, wrote a letter to the Revenue Board on the 30th December 1809 for appointing Rammohan Ray as his Dewan. It was written in that letter that Mirza Abbas Ali the son of Mirza Mohammad Taki was willing to stand surety for Rammohan Ray.

(60). "Lieutenant Duncanson continued throughout this correspondence to evade the enquiry, and to decline affording satisfactory reply to our letters." Commissioners' letter to the Government, dated the 10th September, 1788. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 92.

Duncanson gave evidence in Cooch Behar. The Commissioners went to the palace and asked the Maharani several questions. Sibprasad Mustofi made over written replies to the Commissioners Replies by the accused.

and they returned on the 21st October to Mogalhat with the prisoners. Nazir Khagendranârâyan, Bhagavantanârâyan, Bulchandra and Birchandra Barua, Durlabhram Ghosh and Sadânanda Nag did not admit the charges imputed to them. Gulab Sing and Captain Duncanson also denied their guilt. Marichmati Aye not only denied her guilt but urged that no woman under the protection of the Company was arrested. So this matter should also be a subject of enquiry of the Commissioners.

When the enquiry was finished, the Commissioners submitted a long report to the Governor General Lord Cornwallis on the 10th December 1788. It is recorded in Report of the Commissioners. that report that the king was the only owner of the kingdom and that the existence of any title of the Nazir Deo or Dewan Deo to any portion of the same, could not be admitted. Though they might have possessed some portions of the kingdom for the performance of their duties, there is no necessity to continue the system any longer. ⁽⁶¹⁾ The Chaklajat zemindary was the king's property in the 'Benami' of the Nazir. Regarding Gosvami, they stated :—

"The Rani was notoriously governed by the influence of Goshain Sharbananda, a man who having no natural connections with the country * * * * etc. ⁽⁶²⁾

(61). "For maintaining the army the Nazir and for judicial work the Dewan used to get a particular share of the revenue from the land. The residue was spent for the king's own purpose". Remark by the Canoongo of the Company dated the 25th Magh 1190 B. S.

(62). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 188.

The Government passed a resolution on the 13th May 1789 A. D. agreeing with the aforesaid report. The Board mentioned : "With respect to the charge Resolution of the Government. of rebellion preferred against the Nazir Deo, the Board cannot but be of opinion that the disturbances excited in Cooch Behar, if they can properly be said to come under that appellation, did not prove so much from a desire in the authors of them to throw off their allegiance to this Government, as to suppress the power of their own immediate competitors for the management of affairs of the infant Raja. It must also be observed that as the parties were by treaty wholly independent of this Government with respect to the internal Policy of the country, any disturbances existing amongst themselves could not be considered as an offence against the laws of this Govornment to which they were now (not?) subject." (63) It was decided as mentioned below :

"That he informs the Rajah that the Governor General in Council has assumed the temporary management of this country, with a view to prevent its being ruined by the ignorant and designing

Arrangement for administration of the country. men ; and that as soon as he is capable of taking charge of it, he will be restored to the full management thereof, and to all the independent rights and privileges which have been secured to his family by the treaty of 1772. * * * The Governor General in Council is also pleased to direct that the control of Board of Revenue over the Commissioner shall not be extended beyond the limits prescribed to them with regard to the resident at Benares." (64)

At this time a Commissioner was appointed with a monthly salary of Rs. 1,500 to manage the administration of the State of Cooch Behar and he was ordered to train the king properly in the work of administration. The work of collecting

(63). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 203.

(64). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 205.

tribute due from the State of Cooch Behar to the Company and the work of the Chaklajat zemindary were taken over from the Collector of Rungpur and placed in the hands of this Commissioner. The Commander-in-Chief of the Company was ordered to place a company of sepoys in Cooch Behar under the Commissioner.

At first the Raikat and subsequently the Chhatra Nazir placed the real heir of the king on the throne. But gradually

Comparison of the conditions.

this came to be regarded as a meaningless function and only as a peculiar custom of the family. It could not be supported

by the past method of action that the Nazir could make whomsoever he chooses to be the king or Yuvaraj. This also was quite unreasonable. Selfishness and uncontrollable desire to regain his lost glory deprived the Nazir of all power to distinguish between right and wrong. It could not be inferred that there was any reprehensible motive under the new act (of appointing a Yuvaraj) at the time of the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan as such an action was not taken at the installation of Dharendranârâyan when his father was a captive in Bhutan. But this behaviour of the Nazir was subsequently used as a weapon against the Nazir by Sarvânanda Gosvami to support the latter's object. The selection of a Yuvaraj by the Nazir was also against the family custom. Under these circumstances, by protesting against the aforesaid action of the Nazir, Gosvami and Maharani did what was just. Gosvami and men of his party did not scruple to bring a charge that at the bottom of the evil deed of Khagendranârâyan lay a secret cherished desire to gain the kingdom by assassinating the king. About half a century later, Munsi Joynath Ghose reiterated this. But it was established by evidence adduced by both parties before the Commissioners who made an enquiry regarding the seizure of the king that the main object of

the family of the Nazir was to destroy the influence of Gosvami and rescue their own lost glory by threatening the Maharani and the king after confining them. The Commissioners mentioned that this quarrel originated over a dispute as to the rights to administer the kingdom on behalf of the minor king.

Though the family of the Nazir threatened to kill the king and the Maharani in various ways, they really did not do this. The Commissioners also mentioned that it was not proved by witnesses that there was any real intention to kill the king and the Maharani. The infant king and the Maharani were confined in Balarampur for about two and a half months. Had the Nazir's family any real desire to kill the king, none could have saved them at that time. The object of keeping the Maharani and the king in confinement in Balarampur even after the Maharani was made under force to write out a promise to making over the Chaklajat zemindary and nine anna share of the kingdom (to the Nazir), could not be anything more than to destroy the influence of Gosvami. As a result of the assumption of charge (of the administration) by the authorities of the Company, the reprehensible desire of Sarvânanda Gosvami to manage the administration was destroyed and Nazir Khagendranârâyan also did not get back his previous wealth and influence. Whatever might be his personal loss or the loss for his descendants at this arrangement, the Government had done justice in refusing to admit the claims for special shares for the Dewan and the Nazir in the kingdom.

The main object of Gosvami was to manage the administration himself behind the Maharani who acted as the guardian of the minor king. Most of the principal officers of the State took his side, some out of fear and some to gain their private ends. On the other hand, the appointment of his own son as Yuvaraj

*End of the Nazir and
Gosvami.*

by the Nazir, his sitting on the throne and his oppression of the Maharani were causes of great displeasure to the people. It was for these reasons that he got into difficulties and became completely devoid of support.

Owing to the evil desire of exercising absolute power over the people of Cooch Behar, Sarvânanda Gosvami and Nazir Khagendranârâyan kept the fire of unrest burning in the country for more than twenty years. But the responsibility of

the Collectors of Rungpur was not less in this matter. After half a century, Major Jenkins wrote :

"The Nazir Deo, who had solely projected and negotiated the Treaty with the English Government, was entirely set aside, through the intrigues and influence of the Rani and the Gossien with the Collector of Rungpore and the Nazir Deo, deprived of his rank and all his possessions, was driven a fugitive from the country." (65)

However, at last all this unrest disappeared with the exertions of the Officers of the Company.

(65) Major Jenkins' Report, page 33.
Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet have written in reply to item 3 of their enquiry:

"That the present Nazir (Khagendra Nârâyan) Deo was himself the original projector as well as negotiator of the treaty".

CHAPTER XVII.

BHUTAN DUAR.

In ancient times, the country of Bhutan was ruled by independent small chieftains but no historical account of that

History of Bhutan.

period is available. About the begin-

ning of the sixteenth century A. D. a disciple named Noanamgi of the Tibetan Lama brought the whole of the Bhutan country under his absolute control. He was very powerful and the people revered him much. Noanamgi made good arrangements for the rule of the country of Bhutan and promulgated his own religious tenents there. The belief of the Bhutiyas is that after the death of Noanamgi, three seperate Lamas have sprung from his soul, body and word and whenever any of these three Lamas died, he reappeared again and again by assuming a new body. They were respectively known as Lama Gisatu, Lama Sabdong and Lama Rimbuchi. When Lama Gisatu died in about 1762 A. D. his reincarnation was not discovered. When Mr. Bogle, an officer of the East India Company, went to Bhutan in 1774 A. D. Lama Sabdong was a boy only seven years old. So at that time, it was Lama Rimbuchi who was the sole ruler and the chief priest of Bhutan. In Bengal he was known as the Dharmaraja and the Bhutiyas considered him as Buddha himself.⁽¹⁾

Babu Krisnakanta Basu mentioned in the account of his travels in Bhutan (1815 A. D.) that up to the 17th century the Koch tribe resided in Bhutan. At that time a Sannyasi named

(1) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 33-42, 191-202.

Lamsapto came to Bhutan and conquering it by his superhuman powers, came to be known as Dharmaraja and the minister appointed by that Dharmaraja is called Devaraja. The account given by Mr. Scott, the Judge of Rungpur, who was a contemporary of Babu Krisnakanta Basu has been taken from the aforesaid account.

The substance of the history of Bhutan given by Mr. (later, Sir) Ashley Eden in 1863 A. D. who heard the same from Chibu (Sibu ?) Lama of Sikkim is as follows :—

About two hundred years ago under the orders of the authorities of Lhasa, some Tibetan soldiers came from the valley of the Sampu river to Bhutan and began to reside there. At that time Bhutan was in the possession of Tefu (Koch) tribe. The Tefus were defeated in battle with the Tibetan soldiers and were driven to the low land. The descendants of those among the Tefus who did not leave Bhutan, are now doing menial work in Bhutan. Later on a Tibetan Lama named Seftun Lafa came to Bhutan and securing royal power came to be known as Dharmaraja and introduced some good rules for administration of the kingdom. Some years later, another Lama named Farchu Dupen Septun came from Tibet to Bhutan and gradually assumed the royal power in Bhutan and becoming 'Dharmaraja' separated himself from his family. The descendants of this family are being honoured in Bhutan as Chuje or the highest persons in the Lama family. The Minister appointed by Dharmaraja is called Devaraja and about a hundred years ago the then Devaraja became strong and was famous as Deb Jeedah.⁽²⁾

It has been mentioned before (following the Vansâvali of Samudranârâyan of Durrung) that when Narasinha, the eldest son of Maharaja Visvasinha, the founder of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar, was driven away by his younger brother

(2) Bhutan and story of the Dogar war, pages 7-10

Naranârâyan, he went to Bhutan and became the Dharmaraja in that place. To manage the work of administration, he created the post of ' Deva ' and divided the whole country of Bhutan into three parts named Daga (Daka), Tongsa or Tongsu and Paro and placed these under three Pallas (Penlos).⁽³⁾

In 1586 A. D. Ralph Fitch, an English merchant, had given some account of Bhutanta Desa (Bottenter) and its Dharmaraja (Dermain). The real name of Bhutan is ' Bhotanta ' from its being situated on the south of Tibet. Bhotta or Bhot means Tibet. So the southern extremity of Tibet is called Bhotanta (Bhot + Anta). Bhotanta has subsequently been corrupted into ' Bhotan ' and ' Bhutan ' in common parlance. In 1627 A. D. Stephen Cacella, a Christian Missionary, went to Bhutan (Potenti) and met Dharmaraja (Droma Rajah). At that time Dharmaraja was 33 years old and he was the ruler of the country and the chief priest. Siabuddin Mohammad Talis the companion of Nawab Mirzumla (1661 A. D.) collected an account in his work ' Târikh-i-Âsâm '

(3) When the Dharmaraja died in 1905 A. D. his reincarnation was not discovered. According to practice, under these circumstances, Devaraja rules the kingdom and exercises authority in religious affairs. But the then Devaraja having not expressed his inclination to do so, Tangsu Penlo became the supreme lord of the country and the Government of India supported him. This Penlo was very powerful and a friend of the British Government. In 1904 A. D. he helped the Tibetan Mission sent by the Government of India and himself went to Lhasa. In 1905 A. D. the distinction of K. C. I. E., was conferred on him and being invited he went to Calcutta in 1905 A. D. on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta. In 1907 A. D. the said Tangsu Penlo Sir Ujin Wangchak declared himself to be the sole ruler of Bhutan and at the same time the right of inheritance of his descendants was declared. In the treaty concluded with the Government of India in 1910, he had been acknowledged as the ruler of Bhutan and the amount of Rs. 50, 000 which the Government of India annually paid to the authorities of Bhutan was doubled and made one lac. In this treaty, complete independence in the internal administration of Bhutan has been acknowledged and it has been determined that the advice of the Government of India will be taken in foreign affairs. In 1911 the king of Bhutan being invited went to the Durbar in Delhi held by the Emperor of India and received the distinction of K. C. S. I. on that occasion.

from the Bhutiyas. In that account it is written that the Dharmaraja of Bhutan was 120 years old at that time, he lived on milk and fruits and was always engaged in prayers. Persons engaged under him stayed in different parts of the kingdom and ruled the country. There is a mention that three persons sent in 1659 A. D. by the Duke of Muscovy went to China through Bhutan. They met the king of Bhutan.

The Lamas exercised authority in all matters in Bhutan. Besides the Lamas there is another class of priests in that country named 'Geleng'. The Lamas selected a minister to manage the administration. The Bhutiyas called him

^{Arrangement of administration.} 'Kusudebu' and in Bengal, he was known as Devaraja. The Devaraja was compelled to consult the Lamas in matters of war and treaty. In 1767 A. D. the then Kusudebu became powerful and denying the supremacy of Lama Rimbuchi kept him under surveillance and concluded treaties with the king of Nepal and

Tisu Lama of Tibet. This Kusudebu or Devayadhur.

Devaraja was commonly known as Devayadhur.⁽⁴⁾ As at this time the seventh Dalai Lama of Tibet was a minor, a person named Gisab Rimbuchi acted as his guardian.

Getting support from Gisab Rimbuchi, Devayadhur in the hope of obtaining favour of the Emperor of China promulgated his royal seal in Bhutan. Devayadhur was very eager to conquer and plunder foreign territories. He took possession of Sikkim and directed his power towards the kingdom of

⁽⁴⁾ In the letter written to the authorities of the Company in 1774 A. D. Tisu Lama has mentioned him as Deha Terrea. Captain Turner has called him Daib Jeeder. It is inferred that the original word was 'Devayoddhā.' It has been mentioned before that Sanskrit language was in use in the country of Bhutan. A king of Nepal was known as "Girvāna-yoddhā" (1799 A. D.) History of Nepal Page 283. The meaning of Sanskrit word 'Girvāna' is God or deity.

Cooch Behar. At this time the family feuds of the ruling dynasty of Cooch Behar re-appeared in a new fashion and Devayadhur taking advantage of this opportunity arrested the king and the Dewan and imprisoned them in Bhutan (1770 A.D.). But as his motive was not fulfilled even by this act he advanced to attack Cooch Behar with eight or ten thousand soldiers. Tisur Lama of Tibet requested him repeatedly to desist from this. The other Lamas of the country and also the ministers did not support this invasion of Devayadhur, but he disregarded the objections of all and attacking Cooch Behar came out victorious in battle (1772 A. D.). Almost the whole of the kingdom of Cooch Behar was conquered by him and he placed soldiers in many places near the border of Rungpur.

The authorities of the Company were greatly agitated seeing this rise of the Bhutiyas and settlement of their soldiers

Treaty with Cooch Behar.

very near their own territory. Just at

this time the royal family of Cooch Behar and the subjects sent a letter to them praying for help.⁽⁵⁾ Consultations about a treaty took place between them and Nazir Khagendranârâyan as guardian of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan the minor son of the king imprisoned in Bhutan but before these were concluded Captain Jones came to Cooch Behar with his forces.⁽⁶⁾ The Bhutiyas fighting

(5) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 136 ; Introduction, page LXVII.

(6) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 1 (Note).

In the Treaty with Cooch Behar, the king's party signed on the 6th Magh 1179 B. S. (16th January, 1773 A. D.) and the Company's party signed on the 5th April 1773 A. D. But in the letter written to Sir George Colebrooke in England by Governor Mr. Warren Hastings from Fort William on the 15th January 1773 A. D. it is mentioned that war has begun and in some places accounts of victory have also been given. Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 279.

In the following letters also, an account of the war has been mentioned : Letter dated 21st November, 1772 from the Collector of Rungpur to the Revenue Council ;

against the forces of the Company were defeated and retiring gradually assembled in the fort of Cooch Behar and from there opposed the Company's forces with great

Conquest of the fort of
Cooch Behar.

vigour. But Captain Jones conquered

the fort of Cooch Behar though he incurred heavy losses. In reality, the rescue of the kingdom of Cooch Behar was not so easy as was originally supposed by the Company. The Bhutan army and the Sannyasi and Barkandaz soldiers of Raikat took shelter in the hilly forests in the Himalayas extending from the extremity of Assam to the western boundary of Tirhut and made themselves safe over a great extent.

When Captain Jones informed the Governor about the condition of war, reinforcements arrived from many places⁽⁷⁾ and the Company's forces attacked their opponents in their place of hiding and succeeded gradually in weakening their resistance. Owing to continual attacks, they dispersed and took to flight. When the Bhutias took shelter in their own country and Raikat Darpadeva fled to the jungle, the Company's party became victorious almost everywhere. They razed the fortresses of Bhabaniganj and Chekakhata to the ground. When the sepoys of the Company were staying in the unhealthy plains at the foot of the hills, they suffered much from ill health and disease, and Captain Jones and other Commanders also were attacked with malaria.⁽⁸⁾

Letters dated 21st and 24th December 1772 from Captain Jones to the Governor; Letters dated 23rd December 1772 and 5th January 1773 from the Revenue Council to the Circuit Committee of Rungpur. Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773,

(7) Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, pages 296, 297, 306 ; Embassy to Tibet, Introduction, page VIII ; Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

(8) Colonel Sir John Cuming was attacked with disease and died after a long time. (Embassy to Tibet). Very probably he acted as the Commander in the second battle.

Devayadhur was conducting the war, staying at Buxa. The Lamas of the country and the ministers were dissatisfied with him for his attacking Cooch Behar and the people also were displeased with him owing to his various acts of oppression.

End of Devayadhur.

Another main cause of dissatisfaction was the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the emperor of China in Bhutan. During the rule of Devayadhur which existed for a short time, the palace at Tasisudan was destroyed by fire and he greatly oppressed the people for rebuilding a beautiful palace there within one year. When Devayadhur with his army was engaged in war with the Company, the Lamas and people of Tasisudan combined against him and selected a new Kusu-debu (Devaraja). Tisu Lama informed Devayadhur at Buxa about this but he was defeated in battle and being baffled in his desire escaped to Lhasa by a different way. Afterwards he sought security through the shelter of Tisu Lama. Under the orders of the new Kusu-debu, officers who were on the side of Devayadhur were arrested and punished. The new Kusudebu also prohibited the use of the seal of the emperor of China in Bhutan. Devayadhur with the object of regaining his lost glory and fighting the Company joined with the kings of Nepal, Assam and Srihatta. They also promised to help

Another attempt of Devayadhur.

Devayadhur, but as his own army was lost, all his evil desires were frustrated. The period of five years passed by Devayadhur in independently ruling his country were occupied almost wholly in battles.

When Devayadhur escaped after being defeated, the condition of the Bhutiyas was completely changed. In the proposal of the treaty made before the Tisu Lama and his letter, authorities of the Company by the Bhutiyas during the pendency of war, there was a condition that they should get the whole of the

kingdom of Cooch Behar and the Company should give up the Perganna of Baikunthapur. They also tried to conclude a secret treaty with the king of Cooch Behar independently of the Company. On the other hand, Nazir Khagendranârâyan claimed the whole of the territory up to the base of the hills as within the kingdom of Cooch Behar and mentioned that it was necessary to establish the rule of the king over Baikunthapur as the Raikats were merely the officers of the king. The Dharmaraja of Bhutan and the newly appointed Devaraja became very eager to conclude a treaty with the Company and re-establish the former amity with the king of Cooch Behar. Tisu Lama of Tibet became an intermediary in this work and sent a Tibetan named Peima and a Sannyasi named Purnagir Gosvami as messengers with a letter and presents to the Governor in Calcutta.⁽⁹⁾ The sense of the letter was as given below :—

“ * * * Information was repeatedly sent to me that there is an enmity between you and Diha Teriar (Devayadhur). I have also heard that the reason of this is that he began plundering your territory in the border and other acts of oppression. He has been born of a sect which is savage and uneducated. Instances are not rare of offences of this nature having been committed in the past by this sect. So he has committed this offence out of greed. It is not unnatural that at present he has followed the previous instance. He might have done plunder and other acts of injury in the border of Bengal and Behar. You have sent soldiers for retaliation of this. It is needless to mention that his army was defeated and many persons have been killed. You have conquered three forts and he has been adequately punished. It is an absolute truth that your soldiers have become victorious, and at that time, if you had liked you could have annihilated him

(9) Tisu Lama sent the following objects as presents to the Governor : Some gold and silver coins, some bags containing gold dust, best musk, woolen cloth of short width of Tibet, silk cloth of China, some gilt skins on which there was the figure of the eagle, the royal sign of Russia.

Purna Gir or Puran Gir was a Rajput and a resident of Kanauj. He became a Sannyasi in his young age (1752-53 A. D.) and travelled over many places in Asia and Europe. The authorities of the Company granted him a village named Asapur as Jaigia.

within two days. For, under those conditions he had no power to oppose your attack. Now, I have taken charge of acting as a mediator on his behalf. I am informing you that this Deha Terrea is protected by the very powerful Dalai Lama of this country, and as the Dalai Lama is now a minor the charge of administration of this kingdom is in my hands. If you again attempt to attack the kingdom of Deha Terrea, the Lamas and the people of their country will be excited against you. So I am requesting you to refrain from all acts of enmity against Deha Terrea after this, showing respect to our religion and customs. If you do this, you will show much favour and friendship to me. I have rebuked him for his past conduct and have warned Deha to refrain from the habit of doing evil deeds in future and have requested him to remain always sub-servient to you. I believe that he will act according to my advice, but it is also necessary that you should show pity and favour to him. I am an ordinary hermit. The custom of our sect is to pray for the welfare of mankind and specially for happiness and peace of the residents of our country with rosary in my hand. At this moment I taking off my head-gear request you again that in future you should desist from all acts of enmity against the Deha. The bearer of this letter is a Gosain. It is needless to mention that he will inform you about all other matters and I hope that hearing the same in detail, you will support the same.

The prevalent custom of this country is to worship God, who is all powerful. Poor people like us can never be equal to you in any respect by comparison. As some articles were in stock, I send the same to you as souvenir. I hope that you will accept the same." (10)

This letter written by Tisu Lama was received by the Governor on the 29th March 1774 A. D. After this, a treaty was concluded between the Devaraja and the East India Company under the following terms. This treaty may be said to be a copy of the proposals written by the Butiyas. There

(10) Embassy to Tibet, Introduction, page IX.

It is inferred from reading this letter of Tisu Lama that he pleaded for Deha Terrea (Devayadhur) as an intermediary. The treaty was subsequently concluded with another Devaraja.

is not the slightest indication anywhere of the king's party in Cooch Behar having any connection when this treaty was concluded:—

**" Proposals from the Bhootan Deputies
for a Treaty of Peace. ⁽¹¹⁾**

" *1st.*—That, they have the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills, to north bank of the Soondunga (Saraidanga) river.

" *2nd.*—That, they have the lands of Kirmutee (Kyranti), Luckipore and Dalimcote, all which adjoin the Jungle under the Hills and always belonged to them.

" *3rd.*—That, they will deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, who is confined with him.

" *4th.*—That, being merchants, they shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan be allowed to go to Rungpore annually.

" *5th.*—That they will not make any incursions into the country nor molest the Ryoats, that have come under the Company's subjection.

" *6th.*—That, if any Ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from the Company's territories, they will deliver them up upon application being made for them.

" *7th.*—That, in case they or those under their Government shall have any demands upon disputes with any inhabitant of those or any part of the Comany's territories, they shall prosecute them only by an application to the Magistrate, who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

" *8th.*—That, in case the company should have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people whom they send shall be protected.

" *9th.*—That, there shall be a mutual exchange of prisoners."

(11) The proposal for treaty reached the Governor three days before the 20th March 1774 A. D. Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, pages 389, 395.

Treaty with Bhutan. (1774 A. D.)

"Articles of a Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Deva Raja or Raja of Bhutan.

“ 1. That, the Honourable Company, wholly from consideration for distress to which the Bhutias represent themselves to be reduced, and from the desire of living in peace with their neighbours, will relinquish the lands which belonged to Deva Raja before the commencement of the war with the Raja of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastward of the lands of Chichakhata and Paglahat, and to the westward of the lands of Kyranti, Maraghat and Luckeepore.

“ 2. That, for the possession of the Chichakhata province, the Deva Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangan horses to the Honourable Company, which was the acknowledgment paid to the Cooch Behar Raja.

“ 3. That, the Deva Raja shall deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, the Dewan Deo, who is confined with him.

“ 4. That, the Bhutias, being merchants shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan shall be allowed to go to Rungpore annually.

“ 5. That, the Deva Raja shall never cause incursions to be made into the country, nor in any respect, whatever, molest the ryots that have come under the Honourable Company’s subjection.

“ 6. That, if any ryot or inhabitant whatever, shall desert from the Honourable Company’s territories, the Deva Raja shall cause them to be delivered up immediately upon application being made to him.

“ 7. That, in case the Bhutias, or any one under the Government of Deva Raja, shall have any demands upon, or disputes with any of the inhabitants of these or any part of the Company’s territories, they shall prosecute them by an application to the Magistrate who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

" 8. That, whatever Sannyasis are considered by the English as an enemy, the Deva Raja will not allow to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter into the Honourable Company's territories, or through any part of his; and if the Bhutias shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the Resident on the part of English in Cooch Behar and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sannyasis into these districts as any breach of this treaty.

" 9. That, in case the Honourable Company shall have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people they send shall be protected.

" 10. That, there shall be a mutual release of prisoners.

" This treaty to be signed by the Honourable President and Council of Bengal, and the Honourable Company's Seal to be affixed on the one part, and to be signed and sealed by the Deva Raja on the other part." (12)

The following signatures on the part of the Government of India are appended to this treaty:—Warren Hastings, William Andersey, P. M. Daires, J. Lawrel, Henry Goodwin, H. Graham and George Vansitart.

Besides driving away the Bhutias from the extremity of the territory occupied by the Company and the rescue of the kingdom of Cooch Behar, there was another object of the Company in being engaged in war in 1772-1773 A. D. That object was to make convenient arrangement for extending their trade. There was a centre of Tibetan trade in the town of Rungpur. Merchandise worth from two to two and half lacs of rupees were annually exchanged there. (13) The only

(12) Aitchison's Treaties.

(13) The value of merchandise which passed through Nepal was three or four times of this. In 1831, the value of the same was 33 lacs of rupees. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, pages 52, 53 (Foot Note),

The price of merchandise exchanged between Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet, Bhutan and Bengal in 1924 was Rs. 2, 04, 00, 000. Bengal Administration Report, 1923-24, page 98.

way for taking these articles was through Cooch Behar and when war broke out between the king of Cooch Behar and Devayadhur, that way was closed. This was thought to be a great loss to the Company who lived on trade. So immediately the war began, the Governor was eager to open this way for trade. The self-interest of the Bhutiyas also was suffering. So they also had special reason to agree to the proposals for trade made by the Company.⁽¹⁴⁾ Seeing the excellant handicraft of the presents sent by Tisu Lama to the Governor at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, his desire to establish permanent trade relations with Tibet was further increased. He believed that this desire would be fulfilled by the treaty of 1774.

When friendship with Tisu Lama was established, the Governor was thinking of means to establish trade relations at this opportunity with Bhutan, Tibet, Kashmir and even China. He did not waste much time, but after a few days (13th May

Bogle Mission. 1774) he sent a young English Civilian named Mr. Bogle as his deputy towards Tibet. Besides the purpose of trade George Bogle was ordered to enquire regarding agriculture and fauna of the aforesaid countries, the condition of the territory between Tibet and Siberia, the current of the Brahmaputra river and the advantages and disadvantages of taking boats on the same and other matters. A Kashmiri Mahomedan named Mirza Mohammad Sattar and Dr. Hamilton accompanied Mr. Bogle. Mr. Bogle reached Cooch Behar at the end of May passing through Mursidabad, Dinajpur and Rungpur. He resided there for some days and

(14) Letter from Mr. W. Hastings to John Purling Esq., dated the 31st March, 1773.

"Indeed there is every reason to suppose the Bhutans would be glad to come into our terms, in order to secure a communication for their merchandise into Bengal by the passes through the Cooch Behar province, which are the only inlets from the country" Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 296.

went to Tasisudan the capital of Bhutan by the path through Chekakhata and Buxa. On the 12th October Mr. Bogle went from Bhutan to Desiripagi in Tibet and met there Tisu Lama.

Mr. Bogle went from Desiripagi to Tisulambu (near Sigasti) and stayed there up to the 8th April, 1775. Tisu Lama received him with great honour. But he was not able to send him to Lhasa the Capital of Tibet. Owing to the defeat of Devayadhur, the authorities of Lhasa were not pleased with the "Firingis" and the representative of the emperor of China also did not consent to the visit of foreigners to Lhasa. At this time the seventh Dalai Lama was a minor and Sisab Rimbuchi was his representative and it was he who opposed Mr. Bogle's visit to Lhasa.⁽¹⁵⁾

In June 1775, M. Bogle returned to Bengal through Tasisudan and Cooch Behar. Though his embassy in Tibet did not yield any result, the authorities of the company did not lose hope. They believed that it was a great benefit to establish friendship with Tisu Lama. The Governor General Warren Hastings became very attentive to preserve friendship with Tisu Lama. As Tisu Lama expressed a great desire to Mr. Bogle to establish

Buddhist monastery on the banks of the Ganges near Calcutta, the Governor General agreed to this. This monastery

was established in Gooserie near Calcutta on the west bank of the Ganges. This place is now called 'Bhot Bagan'. Purna Gir Gosvami was the first priest of this monastery. The Devaraja of Bhutan also assented to establish trade relations with the Company and this was a matter of great satisfaction for the Company, for at that time it was only through Bhutan that the articles of merchandise passed.

(15) Two years after the death of the 6th Dalai Lama (1758 A.D.) Tisu Lama declared this boy as the re-incarnated Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China supported the same. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, page 130.

Whatever might have been the results of Bogle Mission, the expectations of Mr. Warren Hastings were not fulfilled.

Hamilton Mission. by the same. He again sent Dr. Hamilton, the companion of Mr. Bogle, to Tibet in

January 1776. Dr. Hamilton attempted to enter Bhutan through Katalbari and Laksmiduar, but being unsuccessful, went there through Buxa. Meanwhile, a quarrel had begun between the king of Cooch Behar and the Raikat of Baikunthapur on the one side and the Devaraja of Bhutan on the other regarding some places situated in the present western Duars.

In July 1777, Dr. Hamilton again went to Bhutan to congratulate the new Devaraja and returned from there in September. In this manner Mr. Hastings was trying to establish and preserve trade relations with Bhutan and Tibet ⁽¹⁶⁾.

In April 1779, Mr Bogle was again employed in a Mission to Tibet. But at that time Tisu Lama was not in Tibet. He had gone to Pekin, the capital of China, accompanied by Purna Gir Gosain. For this reason Mr. Bogle had to postpone his visit to Tibet. Tisu Lama had requested Mr. Bogle to proceed to Canton by sea to strengthen his own friendship with the Company. But as Tisu Lama suddenly died in Pekin, Mr. Bogle could not go either to Tibet or China.

In the beginning of 1783 Captain Turner was ordered to proceed to Tibet to finish the work which had not been completed there. He also entered

Turner Mission. Bhutan by the path followed by Mr. Bogle through Cooch Behar and Buxa. Samuel Davis, an Engineer, Dr. Robert Sanders and

In the letter sent by Tisu Lama to the Governor, he mentioned himself as the representative of Dalai Lama, but he did not succeed to send Mr. Bogle to Lhasa.

(16) "Thus Warren Hastings prevented the opening made by Mr. Bogle from again being closed, by keeping up regular inter-course with the Bhutan rulers, by maintaining

Purna Gir Gosvami were his companions. Meanwhile Tisu Lama had a re-incarnation, that is to say, a boy was ascertained to be the re-incarnated Tisu Lama. Captain Turner went from Bhutan to Tisu Lambu in Tibet. There he first met the representative of Tisu Lama and then he saw the (boy) Tisu Lama. At that time the age of Tisu Lama was not more than eighteen months. But as the Captain heard that though Tisu Lama was unable to converse, he could understand the substance of the conversation of others, he made a speech of moderate length before that boy. The Governor General's sorrow for the disappearance of the Lama in China and delight for his reappearance in Tibet were expressed. He did not also fail to request the boy Tisu Lama to strengthen his previous friendship with the Company. Captain Turner also was not able to go to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. So he returned to Bengal through Bhutan in March 1784. As a result of the enquiry by Dr. Hamilton, it was settled that Jalpesh and Ambari Falakata will be given to the Devaraja. Under orders of the Governor General, Captain Turner made over this territory to Devaraja.

The authorities of the Company were fully aware that before the attack of Devayadhur, the kingdom of Cooch Behar extended from the extremity of the district of Rungpur on the south to the base of the hills on the north. And Mr. Hastings was not at all reluctant to mention this fact again and again.⁽¹⁷⁾ In the letters written by Mr. Purling

¹⁷ The area of the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

a correspondence with the Tisu Lama, and by means of the annual fair at Rungpore.¹⁸ Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXX.

(17) Para 4 of a letter, dated the 15th January, 1773, from W. Hastings Esqr. to Sir George Colebrooke; 'A province (Cooch Behar) lying between Rungpore and the mountains of Bhutan.'

Para 18 of a letter, dated the 9th March, 1773, from W. Hastings to Josias Dupre Esq.

to the President of the Council from Chekakhata on the 13th and 25th January 1773 when the war was going on, he wrote that according to the statement of the Nazir, for sixty years following a treaty between the king and the Bhutiyas, the latter were in possession of the land at the base of the hills and for this they delivered five horses annually as tribute to the king. This was in vogue even up to the time of Raja Rajendranârâyan nine or ten months ago. These lands are very fertile and Sâl trees, paddy and cotton were grown on the same. Mr. Purling reported to the Council on the 17th and 21st February from Chekakhata that this territory belongs to the king and the land fourteen miles to the north up to Santarabari (under the Buxa hills) is within the kingdom of Cooch Behar. In the reply sent by the Council of the Company dated the 11th March to Mr. Purling, there was an order to occupy the whole of the cultivated land keeping the hills as the boundary.⁽¹⁸⁾ As the discussions regarding treaty of the Company with the Bhutiyas progressed, their

" Which (Cooch Behar) lies between their (Bhotan) mountains aad Bungpore and has been for some years in their possession."—Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. I, pages 279, 306.

(18) Letters dated Chichacottah, the 17th and 21st February 1773, from Mr. C. Purling to the President and Council of Revenue at Fort William.

" The Ryots have all retreated from their houses, but I entertain not a doubt of getting them to return and to acknowledge the Rajah's sovereignty under protection of the Hon'ble Company. There is not a doubt but this is the actual property of the Beyhar Rajah, and is by far the richest and best cultivated country I ever beheld.

" The extent of the Rajah's territories lays to the northward as far as Santerabarries being fourteen miles within the Jungul which lays to the northward of this Fort "

Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

Letter, dated Fort William, the 11th March, 1773, from Mr. J. Stewart, Secretary to Mr. Charles Purling.

" Sir, I am Commanded to signify to you the orders of the Board in reply to your Sunday letters of the 25th Jan and the 15th, 17th and 27th ultimo that in your operations regarding Cose Beyhar you are to assume the possessions of all the cultivated country extending to the foot of the hills at the frontier line of Bengal on that side." Bengal Secret Consultations, 1773.

abovementioned view regarding the boundary was gradually changed. Mr. Hastings has written :

" The Bootias have solicited peace, offering to give up the whole open country requiring only the possessions of the woods and low lands lying at the foot of the mountains, without which they cannot subsist, and the liberty of trading duty-free as formerly to Rungpur as soon as the peace should be concluded. Their proposals were received about three days ago, and orders were immediately returned to Mr. Purling to accept them. " (19)

There was a talk at that time that a treaty should be concluded keeping intact the boundaries of both the kingdom as fixed before. (20)

Being defeated in battle, the Bhutiyas were driven away from the low lands and took shelter in the hills (1753 A. D.).

The claim of the Bhutiyas. Afterwards, in their written proposals for treaty with the Company they mentioned in the first para :—

" That, they have the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills, to the north bank of the Soondunga (Saraidanga) river. "

and in the second para :—

" That, they have the lands of Kirmutu (Kyranti) Luckipore add Dalimcote, all which adjoin the Jungle under the Hills and always belong to them. "

(19) Letter from W. Hastings to Laurence Sulivan, dated the 20th March, 1774. Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 395.

(20) " They (Council) yielded, without hesitation, to the intercession of the Lama and consented to a peace with the Bhootias upon the easy terms of replacing the dominion of each Government, within its former boundaries " Embassy to Tibet, Introduction, page XII.

According to this in the treaty concluded between the Company and Devaraja in 1774, it was written that even Maraghat which was not mentioned in the proposals of the Bhutiyas should be made over to Devaraja, but the names of the Saraidanga river and Dalimcote were not mentioned therein. In the first para of this treaty, it was written : "The Honourable Company will relinquish the lands which belonged to Deva Raja before the commencement of the war with the Raja of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastward of the lands of Chichakhata and Paglahat, and to the westward of the lands of Kyranti, Maraghat and Luckeepore." In the second para it was mentioned "That, for the possession of the Chichakhata province, the Deva Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangan horses to Honourable Company, which was the acknowledgment paid to the Cooch Behar Raja."

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty (1775 A. D.) and even when quarrels began between the king of Cooch Behar

and the Devaraja regarding some places
within the Duars, the Bhutiyas made a
complaint regarding the land situated at

the bottom of the hills.⁽²¹⁾ The Dinajpur Council judged all these disputes (1777 A. D.) following the Treaty of 1774 A. D. and the Hastbud of the kingdom of Cooch Behar settled by Mr. Purling in 1773 A. D. It has been written in that decision :

"The Talooks of Chichakotta, Paugula Hat, Luckeeduar, Kyranty and Maraghat are to be held by the Bhootees in the same manner as they possessed them before the war."⁽²²⁾ A Bhutiya Officer named Naphapama for the Devaraja and an

(21) Extract from the Governor-General's Minute, the Revenue Department, under date, the 6th April, 1779.

"A. The first (No. 1) relates to the lands at the foot of the Bhootan mountains about which representations were made to this Government on part of the Bhootees about four years ago." Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 6.

(22) Letter from the Dinagepore-Council to Governor General, dated, the 28th May, 1777. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 1.

Officer named Hararam Sen for the Company fixed the boundaries of the Taluks.⁽²³⁾ No account has been given anywhere that anyone on behalf of the king of Cooch Behar was summoned or joined in this fixing of the boundaries. If we remember the uncommon eagerness of Mr. Hastings to please the Bhutiyas and the leanings of Hararam Sen, it is difficult to say whether the above work of fixing the boundaries was impartially done.

In the maps prepared by Major Rennel (1779 A. D.) Mr. Tassin (1841 A. D.) and Surgeon Rennie (1865 A. D.) the situation of the abovementioned Dalimkote, Laksmipur and Keranti have been shown. In the maps prepared by Captain

Turner (1784 A. D.) and Major Rennel it is mentioned that Sankos is another name of the Saraidanga river. During the time of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (1808 A. D.) the Alaikuri river was called the Saraidanga. The Alaikuri river flowed through Buxa Duar and joining the Garam river on the northwest of the present town of Alipur (Duar) came to be known as the Kaljani in its lower portion. Almost the same has been shown in the map of Mr. Tassin.

Dalimkote is now situated on the southeast of the district of Darjeeling and Keranti is situated on the north of the district of Jalpaiguri. Laksmipur was situated in the hilly tract on the southwest of Bala, on the northwest of Jaygaon on the west of the Torsha and on the east of the Mujnai river.⁽²⁴⁾ This place was about 20 to 25 miles on the north from the

(23) Hararam Sen was the founder of the zemindar family of Dimla within Rungpore. Hararam was the Dewan of Mr. Purling for a period and that of Devi Sing for some time. It has been mentioned in " Murshidabad Kâhini " that Hararam was accused of being an abettor of the oppressions made by Devi Sing and was sentenced to undergo imprisonment for one year and he was exonerated from Rungpore and Dinajpur. (Pages 531, 532).

(24) Laksmipur is called ' Lakipur ' by local people. There was another place named Kseti Laksmipur far away to the south of the aforesaid Laksmipur. Many places bearing the same name are found in the Duars.

present northern boundary of the State of Cooch Behar. Laksmi duar is a separate place. It is shown in the maps of Captain Turner and Mr. Tassin as situated in a hilly country. It was situated on the north of Jaygaon and on the east of the Torsa. Dr. Hamilton in 1776 A. D. and Mr. Manning in 1811 A. D. followed the path through Laksmiduar when proceeding to Bhutan. In the Hastbud settled by Mr. Purling which was mentioned by Dinajpur Council while enquiring into the claim of the Bhutiyas, it is stated that Rs. 5,288 was fixed as revenue of zillah Laksmipur which is within the kingdom of Cooch Behar and a fort was constructed there.

The places called Duars situated in the southern valley of the Bhutan hills and on the north of the present State of Cooch Behar are like the Pergannas of Bengal and each Duar was subdivided into several Taluks. These places were called Bhutan Duar by Englishmen. The situation and extent of the Duars as shown in the maps of Surgeon Rennie and Mr. Tassin are almost the same, e. g. Dalimduar was between the Tista and the Dharla ; Jamir or Moynaguri Duar was between the Dharla and the Jaldhaka ; Chamurchi Duar was between the Jaldhaka and the Mujnai ; Laksmiduar was between the Mujnai and the Torsa ; Buxa Duar was between the Torsa and the Raidak and Bhalka Duar was between the Raidak and the Sankos river. Keranti was in Dalimduar ; Laksmipur and Maraghat were in Laksmiduar ; Chekakhata was in Buxaduar and Puglahat was in Bhalkaduar.

It is not mentioned in the proposals of treaty made by the Bhutiyas, in the treaty of 1774 A. D. or in the decision of the Dinajpur Council that Chamurchi and Moynaguri Duar and Jamir or Moynaguri Duar situated on the west of Laksmipur or Laksmiduar was within the kingdom of the Bhutiyas. The

breadth of these two Duars from the east to the west was not less than 25 to 30 miles. The Bhutiyas did not mention any boundary of the territory on the west as demanded by them. They only claimed that the two places named Dalimkote and Keranti belonged to them. When they began to increase their demand later on, they got Moynaguri Duar in 1784 A. D. and Chamurchi Duar in about 1819 A. D. under orders of the authorities of the Company. Though places like Falakata and Bagribari situated on the east of the Tista were far away on the southeast of Dalimkote and Keranti the Bhutiyas gradually got also these (about 1779 A. D.).

The Bhutiyas in their original proposal claimed "the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills to the north bank of the Soondunga (Saraidanga) river ". If this river was considered throughout its length as the northern and north-eastern boundary of Cooch Behar, the territory of Bhutan would have extended up to the extremity of the Baharband zemindary situated on the northeast of the district of Rungpur and under the Company's own possession.⁽²⁵⁾ But whatever may have been the reason, this river was not mentioned in the treaty. It was only written that the lands to eastward of Chichakhata and Paglahat will be relinquished to the Bhutiyas. Major Rennel in his map has shown the Saraidanga river as the north-eastern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

(25) An officer of Devaraja named Bhulla instituted a case before Mr. Bogle against Kanta Babu the zemindar of Baharband claiming that a place named Bholerhat in Rungpur is within the kingdom of Devaraja. At first he won the case (1779-81 A. D.) But afterwards according to the prayer of Kanta Babu, Mr. Moore upset this decision (1784-86 A. D.). When Devaraja objected to this, the authorities of the Company determined that Bholerhat was within the territory of the Company and gave possession of it to Bhulla (1787 A. D.).

Chekakhata is within Buxa Duar and was situated on the north-east of the Saraidanga river. Paglahat is within Bhalkaduar and was situated at least twenty miles off from the Saraidanga river on its east. Bhalkaduar was divided into eighteen villages and it was the Jaigir of Kumar Bhairabnârâyan of Cooch Behar.

The Dinajpur Council gave the Taluks Chekakhata and Paglahat to the Bhutiyas but the Bhutiyas also got Taluks Chikliguri and Bholka situated about 7 or 8 miles to the south of the above-mentioned Taluks and all the Taluks up to Majherdabri about 10 to 12 miles on the south of the same (1800 A. D.). It is found in the map of Major Rennel prepared at that time that the Saraidanga river flowed towards the south and a little towards the southeast. But really no river of the Duars flows to the east. Had this river been taken as flowing to the east and Chekakhata and Paglahat situated on its northern (left) bank given to the Bhutiyas, the lands on its southern bank should naturally have been included in the kingdom of Cooch Behar. But really this was never done. The authorities of the Company gradually made over to the Bhutiyas the Taluks on the southern (right) bank of the aforesaid river named Parorpar, Tapsikhata, Panchkholguri, Kamsinggaon, Chakoak-seti, Sonapur, Raichenga and others (1815 A. D.).

The map of Major Rennel was printed in England in 1779 A. D. This cannot be accepted as proof in determining the exact boundary of any district in Bengal. According to the proposal of The map of Rennel. the Bhutiyas, the Saraidanga river has been shown in this map as the boundary of Cooch Behar, but in the treaty this river was not accepted as the boundary. Probably Major Rennel was not aware of this. So it is inferred that this map was drawn before the treaty, that is to say when

the kingdom of Cooch Behar was in possession of the Bhutiyas. This map is also not correct regarding other places of the kingdom. The famous place named Dewanganj within Cooch Behar and situated on the west was shown in this map to be within the kingdom. The Collector Mr. Glazier had mentioned that in Rennel's map there were mistakes regarding many places within the district of Rungpur (1872 A. D.). In the resolution of the Governor General dated the 6th April, 1779 A. D. this map has been accepted as a proof regarding the boundaries of Cooch Behar and Bhutan but even the places Raichenga, Bagribari etc. shown in this as within Cooch Behar and the place Jalpes shown as within the zemindary of Baikunthapur were given to the Devaraja of Bhutan.

Whatever land might have been ceded to the Bhutiyas, local conditions did not support this. Maraghat was given to

The finding of Digby. Devaraja mentioning the Bhutan Treaty and the decision of the Dinajpore Council. Even then, there were roads, temples, office buildings, tanks etc. constructed by the king of Cooch Behar within it. The Commissioner Mr. Digby has mentioned this (1809 A. D.). At this time Maharaja Harendra-nârâyan attained majority and took possession of some of these places. When Mr. Digby supported it, the Government made over Maraghat to the king. (26)

When Devayadhur attacked the kingdom of Cooch Behar, Raikat Darpareva helped him and for this there was an agreement between them. The places (Ambari-Falakata and Jalpes) which Darpareva promised to make over to Devayadhur as a reward for getting Cooch Behar, were demanded

(26). Letter dated the 19th October, 1809 from the Deputy Parishan Secretary to Government to the Deva Rajah of Bhootan. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 194.

by the Bhutiyas and even these were made over to the Devaraja under orders of the Company.⁽²⁷⁾ One hundred years before this time, the celebrated temple of Jalpesvar was constructed by a king of Cooch Behar. In the report (1790 A. D.) sent to the Board by Mr. Purling when he was the Collector of Rungpur for the second time, he wrote after mentioning that there was a temple of the Hindus in Jalpes, that he never heard of any claim of the Bhutiyas over Jalpes and Ambari-Falakata.⁽²⁸⁾ Really speaking these places had no connection with the proposals for treaty sent by the Bhutiyas, the treaty of 1774 and the decision of the Dinajpore Council. Still Dr. Hamilton decided that the Bhutiyas were entitled to get these places. He mentioned among other things, that if these places were given to the Bhutiyas, there will be great advantage regarding trade.⁽²⁹⁾ Later English critics have repeatedly mentioned that Jalpes and Ambari-Falakata were made over to the Bhutiyas without any justification.⁽³⁰⁾

(27) Eastern India Vol. III, pages 420-421.

Jalpes is situated on the east of the town of Jalpaiguri and Ambari-Falakata is on its northwest. There is another Falakata on the east of Jalpaiguri.

(28). The District of Rungpore, page [45]; Cooch Behar Select Records Vol. 1. page 11.

(29) "And he (Dr. Hamilton) came to the conclusion, after taking evidence, that equity demanded their restoration to Bhutan. He reported that if restitution was made, he would probably be able to induce the Dev Raja to fulfil his agreement with Mr. Bogle, and only to levy moderate transit duties on merchandise." Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXX.

(30). Eastern India, Vol. III, page 221.

"I am afraid, that on this occasion the friendship of the Bhutanese was purchased at the expense of the Bykuntpore Zemindar." Mr. Eden's remarks.

"The Jelpaish tract on the left bank of the Teesta river in Bootan was undoubtedly part and parcel of the Bykuntpore Zemindaree * * * improperly given up to the Bhoooteas."

Lt. Governor Sir F. Halliday's remarks.—Bhutan and story of the Dooar War, pages 36, 403.

The Bhutiyas again began to claim Maraghat against the decision of Mr. Digby alleging that Rammohan Ray, the Dewan of the Collector of Rungpur and Munshi Hemayatulla were bribed.⁽³¹⁾ At this time Mr. Scott was the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and he arrived at a different conclusion regarding Maraghat.

Decision of Scott. In his opinion only the Mouza of Maraghat and not the Gerd of Maraghat belonged to the ruler of Cooch Behar. So he sent a proposal to the Government for making over some Chalas or lands (3065 Bighas) within the Mouza to the ruler of Cooch Behar and the Gerd (Division or Perganna) Maraghat on all sides to the Devaraja. The Government agreed to this (1817 A. D.).⁽³²⁾ In this way the Taluk Maraghat given by the Dinajpur Council to the Bhutiyas was subsequently changed to Gerd Maraghat. But Mr. Scott could not wholly disregard the signs like roads, tanks, temples, office buildings etc. constructed by the ruler of Cooch Behar. Probably for this reason these Chalas were divided into Taluks Magurmari, Gosairhat and Gadong. So it cannot also be said that these were made over in any particular locality. As a result of Gerd Maraghat having come within the Dominion of Devaraja, the north-western boundary line of the kingdom of Cooch Behar has been removed from four to seven miles on the south of the aforesaid Chalas.

(31). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, pages 17-18.

Rammohan Ray was temporarily the Dewan of Mr. Digby for about one and half years from November 1809 to March 1811. Afterwards Munshi Hemayatulla was appointed the permanent Dewan. (Letter written by Mr. Digby to the Revenue Board). Rammohan Ray (later on, Raja) becoming the Dewan of Mr. Digby came with him to Cooch Behar in February 1813 A. D. Rājopākhyāna, Partyaksa Kanda Adhyāya 15.

(32). Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 57; Vol. II, pages 21—24. The number of the Chalas has not been mentioned as the same everywhere.

To support his own view, Mr. Scott had relied on other documentary evidence besides the treaty of 1774, the decision of the Dinajpur Council (1777 A. D.) and the map of Major Rennel. But he had not given a detailed account of these documents in the letter written by him. It has been mentioned before that after the death of Dharendranârâyan the Mahaharaja of Cooch Behar, his father Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan got the Chaklajat zemindary as heir and received a Sunnud for the same (177⁵ A. D.). In that Sunnud, the names of the Chaklas were not mentioned. In the Sunnud it was simply written 'the zemindary of Sarkar Cooch Behar'. We have already explained what was meant by Sarkar Cooch Behar (Chapter XIV). Mr. Scott was unaware of the divisions of Rungpur at the time of Mughal possession. He inferred that this Sunnud was regarding the kingdom of Cooch Behar, and he sent an English translation of this Sunnud to the Sudder and drew the attention of the Government to this (1819 A. D.) But, whatever might have been the reason, the authorities did not fully meet his wishes.

Whenever any officer supported the claim of Bhutiyas regarding the Duars, he quoted as proof the treaty of 1774 A. D. and the decision of the Dinajpur Council. Six 'Duars' from five 'Taluks'. The "lands" of five names mentioned in the first para of the treaty to be made over to Devaraj have been changed into "Taluks" in the decision. The boundaries or the area of the Taluks have not been mentioned in the decision but the authorities of the Company from this have given about 1800 square miles of land divided into six Duars (about 80 miles in length and 20 to 30 miles in breadth) to the Bhutiyas. That there were many

other Taluks of different names besides these five Taluks within this territory at that time is proved by relevant papers. (33)

The 'lands' of Chekakhata as mentioned in the first para of the treaty and the 'province' of Chekakhata as mentioned in the second para are not identical. It is naturally understood that the 'lands' in

Tribute of Chekakhata.

the first para comprise a small area and the "province" in the second para consists of a bigger area. The lands in the first para belonged to Devaraja. He got possession of the province mentioned in the second para promising to pay tribute for the same. The Dinajpur Council did not apparently differentiate between aforementioned expressions "belonged to" and "possession" or understand the distinction in their import. They merely stated that Devaraja should hold as before the five Taluks. As a result of this finding, another point for decision arose which in practice fell into the hands of Nabhapama and Hararam Sen for final settlement.

The Bhutiyas mentioned in their proposals that "the lands of Kyranti, Luckipore and Dalimcote, all of which adjoin the jungle under the hills..... always belonged to them." But they did not mention that they had the same rights to the land on the northern bank of the Saraidanga river (Chekakhata and Paglahat). On the contrary they agreed to pay a tribute of five Tangan horses for the possession of the Chichakhata province. So according to the statement of the Bhutiyas themselves and the treaty it is proved that the latter territory was not within the dominion of Bhutan, but within the kingdom of Cooch Behar. According to the Treaty concluded between the Devaraja and the Company in 1774 A. D. this tribute was

(33). Claims of the Buxa Duar Subah ; Answer of the Behar Rajah to the above : Letter dated the 11th May, 1787 from J. Adam, Secretary to the Government to the Collector of Rungpore.

held to be payable to the Company, but it is nowhere mentioned when, for what reason and under what circumstances the ruler of Cooch Behar who was really the owner of this territory was deprived of his right to get this tribute.

Whatever might have been written in the Treaty of 1774 and the decision of the Dinajpur Council, even if the terms of the same were strictly adhered to, probably Explanation of the document. the northern boundary of the State of Cooch Behar would not have been pushed back as in the present. Though in the two documents as mentioned above the names of the five lands or Taluks to be made over to the Devaraja were specifically mentioned the Governor General Mr. Hastings stated in 1779 :

"There can be no doubt that the lands in question fall within the Bhootan frontier. Part of them are expressly named in the treaty; others, in the survey of that frontier, are placed in the Bhootan country and altogether they are trifling and not worthy to stand as an obstacle to the friendship and satisfaction of a neighbouring State." (34)

The decision of the Dinajpur Council also was not strictly fulfilled.

"This decision of the Dinagepore Council totally disallowed the right of the Bhooteas to Phalakatta and their present lower possession on the east bank of the Teesta which are situated much to the south of the boundaries fixed by the decree; but it seems to have been at that time deemed politically expedient to conciliate the good disposition of this State." (35)

(34) Extract from the Governor General's Minute in the Revenue Department, under date the 6th April, 1779.

(35). Extract from a letter from Mr. Sisson, (para 22), dated the 18th March 1815.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 8.

There was no lack of eagerness on the part of the officers of the Company to please the Bhutiyas in places other than the Bhutan Duars. All the difficulties in the cotton trade between the Bhutiyas and the subjects of the Company were removed under orders of the Governor General. At that time there was a "Bhutiya fair" established at Rungpur. Under orders of the Governor General, the Bhutiyas sold and purchased articles there without paying any toll, and they got free residence for men and horses etc. of their party. This fair went on up to 1831-32 A. D. (36) Under orders of the Dinajpur Council, the ruler of Cooch Behar was prohibited from coining more than twelve thousand Narayani coins every year (1775 A. D.). For this reason the number of Narayani coins having decreased in the market, inconvenience was felt by the Bhutiyas in their trade. When they expressed their eagerness to get Narayani coins, the authorities of the company arranged to pay them the same from the Rungpur Treasury. The ruler of Cooch Behar used to bring after capture escaped criminals from the Duars; but as the Bhutiyas raised objection to this, this custom was discontinued under orders of the Company, (1779 A. D.).

The Bhutiyas offered silver and in exchange had Narayani coins manufactured from the mint at Cooch Behar. The ruler of Cooch Behar allowed this as a favour or in friendship. Finding a good opportunity, the Bhutiyas claimed in the Durbar of the Company (1785 A. D.) that they were entitled to have coins prepared from the mint at Cooch Behar and Mr. Goodlad the Collector of Rungpur, supported this. The kingdom of Bijni was within the dominion of the Mughal emperor and accordingly the Company got possession of the same. During the rule of the Mughal emperor, the Raja of Bijni acknowledged

(36). This place near Māhiganj was known for a long time as Bhutiya-mehal,

the supremacy of Devaraja over Bijni Duar (not the State of Bijni) and began to pay tribute to the latter. In 1791 A. D. when the Raja of Bijni was killed, the Devaraja nominated his successor. The English Government at first did not support this nomination, but afterwards assented to it. The Tista river flowed on the western and the Sankos on the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. Exchange of merchandise took place between Bengal and Bhutan by boats which passed over these rivers and the ruler of Cooch Behar realised tolls for the merchandise. In 1827, under orders of the Company's Government, realisation of toll for merchandise in passing boats by the ruler of Cooch Behar, was forbidden.

Really speaking, the then authorities of the Company did not fail to express in the plainest language that

their only object was to please the
Devaraja at any cost. They mentioned
in the clearest language on the

21st January 1785 :

"In consequence of which representation, the Government on the 21st Janury, 1785, directed that the Deb Rajah be put in possession of all the villages of Falacotta &c. and in the orders issued to the Committee of Revenue, without entering into the merits of the Deb Rajah's claims, we have thus readily acceeded to them, as a pledge of our wish to oblige him and to keep up the good understanding that has long subsisted between the Bhootan Government and ours." (37).

"And Mr. Goodlad writes in 1782 —'I have never gone to the Presidency, but Mr. Hastings has particularly enjoined me not to suffer anything to happen that could give the least umbrage to the Bhootees,'" (38)

(37). Extract from a letter from Mr. T. Sisson, (para 24), dated the 18th March, 1815.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 9.

(38). The District of Rungpore, page 45.

Probably Lord Cornwallis did not support this policy of Mr. Hastings and in some matters, he passed orders for carrying out the decisions of the Dinajpur Council.⁽³⁹⁾ But by this, the influence of the policy of Mr. Hastings did not completely disappear.

The boundaries fixed by Nabhapama the officer of the Bhutiyas and Hararam Sen the officer of the Company, were not assented to by the Raikat of Baikuntapur.

Condition of the disputed land.

Nazir Khagendranârâyan also on behalf of the ruler of Cooch Behar did not assent

to this. Later on, Maharaja Harendranârâyan after attaining majority recovered most of the Taluks from the Bhutiyas but about this the Bhutiyas were constantly preferring complaints to the Durbar of the Company. For the said reason, neither of the parties could preserve unopposed and continuous possession of the said territory from the beginning of the war, But at last under orders of the Company both the ruler of Cooch Behar and the Raikat were forced to relinquish their possessions.

In this manner as the Company assumed supremacy over Chekakhata and gave the other places to the Bhutias,

The natural situation of the Duars.

the area of the kingdom of Cooch Behar

dwindled into a third of what it was previously. The lands which were gained by the Bhutias had no similarity with the physical conditions of real Bhutan. On the contrary these lands were

(39). "With regard to the first, we direct that you revert to the adjustment of the boundaries, as settled at the time that Mr. Harwood was Chief of the Dinagepore Council, * * * excepting the Talooks of Jilpaish and Phalacotta". Letter dated the 11th May 1787 from Mr. Adam, Secretary to the Government to the Collector of Rungpore.

similar in nature to the open plains of other places in Bengal and almost all the residents of these places were Bengalis.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The twenty-nine witnesses named by Devaraja to fix the boundary of Maraghat in 1815 A. D. were residents of Moynaguri, Bhotat and Maraghat. Though many advantages have been available for a long time for living in the British dominion, the number of the real Bhutia tribes has not increased even up to the present. In 1901 A. D. about seven thousand of this tribe lived in different places in the northern extremity of this territory. It has been mentioned before that the northern boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar extended up to the base of the hills. Mr. Hastings had mentioned this again and again. But within a few years and mainly according to his wishes this boundary line has been shifted from the base of the hills to about 20 to 25 miles to the south.

A few days after the return of Captain Turner from Bhutan (1785 A. D.) Mr. Hastings left his service and went to his own country. After his leaving service, trade relations of the Company with Tibet were on the verge of extinction, and owing to a particular incident, this connection was severed for ever. At the time of the conquest of Cooch Behar by Devayadhur, Prithvinârâyan the Gorkha king had conquered the kingdom of Nepal. After the death of Prithvinârâyan (1788 A. D.) the Nepalese had attacked Sikkim with the help of the ruler of Morang and after this event they suddenly attacked Tibet with eighteen thousand soldiers and occupied and sacked Tisu Lambu. Tisu Lama took shelter in Lhasa and from there prayed for help from the emperor

(40). "Which (Dooars) formerly and naturally belonged to Bengal, but which was partly wrested from the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal, and partly ceded by us at the end of last century." Mr. Eden's remarks.

of China. According to this prayer, under orders of the emperor of China 70,000 Chinese and Tartar soldiers sent to recover Tibet drove away the Nepalese from Tibet and crossing the Himalayas entered into Nepal (1792 A. D.).⁽⁴¹⁾ When the attacking Chinese forces came near the capital of Nepal, the king of Nepal prayed for a treaty being concluded and when he agreed to pay annual tribute regularly and indemnity for the war, the Chinese army left Nepal. The king of Nepal at this juncture prayed for help from the Company but Lord Cornwallis did not agree to give him assistance. Still, the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese army wrote to Pekin that the king of Nepal fought with him

with the help of the soldiers of the
Restriction to enter Tibet. Company. The Emperor of China was
very much displeased learning this and
according to his order entrance of Indians to Tibet was strictly
prohibited.⁽⁴²⁾

Along with the closing of the way of the officers of the Company to Tibet, a big territory (the Duars) on the southern valley of the Himalayas got out of their Criticism regarding Duars. control. From the criticism of the above-mentioned incident the real intention of the handing over of Bhutan Duars to Devaraja, was disclosed. That which was formerly mentioned as justly due to the Bhutiyas, came to be subsequently termed by English critics as 'lost' property and they laid the blame on the Governor General, who succeeded Mr. Hastings for the loss of all these territories. It was mentioned by the critics :

"But for officials the way to Tibet was permanently closed

(41) When the Chinese army attacked Nepal they used a kind of gun made of skin. These could not fire shots more than five or six times. Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXVII.

(42) Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXIX; Embassy to Tibet pages 437—442.

while the countries on the southern slopes of the Himalayrs were alienated by the change of policy from that of Warren Hastings to that which has prevailed since. The former was a policy of constant and watchful vigilance; of firmness combined with conciliation; and of persistent resolution to keep open friendly relations and to encourage trade. The latter is one of indifference and neglect, varied by occasional small but disastrous wars, which are waged not for any broad imperial end, but on account of some petty squabble about boundaries.” (43)

Considering all the circumstances, the above criticism does not appear to be fair. Mr. Hastings was able to establish friendly relations with Tisu Lama. But Tisu Lama was not really the supreme authority in Tibet. He was even unable to send Mr. Bogle to Lhasa. The friendship of the Company with Tisu Lama had a motive behind it or it might be said that it was a personal friendship. At the intercession of Tisu Lama, the victorious army of the Company were removed from the boundary of the kingdom of Bhutan in 1774 A. D. The Bhutias had not to pay any indemnity for being defeated in battle. On the contrary, they were the gainers. The courtesy and liberality of the Company at that time were very pleasing to Tisu Lama. There might be a difference of opinion whether he was reincarnated after his death or whether he was really possessed of wisdom when he was only one and a half year old, but proof is existent to show that the speeches made by Captain Turner before him for preservation of friendship were all in vain. At least after the war between China and Nepal, the British never found any other opportunity to deliver speeches of a similar nature.

The tortuous policy of Warren Hastings regarding Bhutan did not yield any result. It is a matter of doubt whether the

(43) Narratiyes of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXX.

kingdom of Bhutan would have gone to the hands of the next Devaraja, had Devayadhur been not defeated by the Company. For this reason, it was natural for the Dharmaraja and the new Devaraja to be greatly attached to Englishmen. In addition whenever they preferred any complaint in the Durbar of the Company regarding the Duars against the Raikat and the ruler of Cooch Behar, they almost always gained their point. Even the Governors-General who succeeded Warren Hastings yielded to many such demands from the Bhutiyas. After death, the Dharmaraja used to change his body and the post of the Devaraja was filled by nomination. Some descendants follow and respect to some extent the action of their forefathers but it can not be expected in every case that succeeding office holders will equally respect the actions taken by their predecessors.

With the change of the former Dharmaraja and Devaraja, the Bhutiyas were either gradually forgetting the good services of the Company, or they began to be indifferent towards the same. On the other hand, the power and inclination to satisfy their demands were gradually dwindling on behalf of the Company. Except keeping the road to Tibet open, there was no great advantage in trade with Bhutan proper. So there was no further necessity in keeping the Bhutiyas satisfied in any way.

It is established by the subsequent behaviour of the Bhutiyas that they understood the fulfilment of all their demands by the officers of the Company. The attitude of the Bhutiyas. who were merely guided by the policy of their trade, as the result of the weakness of the Company. The prowess of the British shown in 1773 A. D. and their friendly appearance in 1774 A. D. became gradually obliterated from the memory of the

Bhutiyas.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It has been mentioned before that the Government had made over certain places of Maraghat to the ruler of Cooch Behar according to the report of Mr. Digby. The Bhutiyas considered this as an exception to the policy that whatever was demanded would be got from the Company and they were greatly astonished and enraged at this. As a result of this resentment they repeatedly attacked the kingdom of Cooch Behar in 1808, 1809 and 1811 A. D. and sacked the villages situated on its frontier and made the same the scene of horrible massacres.

Depredations by the Bhutiyas. These depredations were only temporarily suspended owing to the advent of the soldiers of the Company.

From this time there was a beginning of the change of relations between the Company and the Bhutiyas. After this the crossing of frontiers and raids became the chief subject of discussion between both the parties.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In 1811 A. D. an English traveller named Mr. Thomas Manning entered Bhutan through Laksmiduar. His object was to proceed to Tibet. Mr. Manning did not get any obstruction in Bhutan. He was well-versed in the treatment of diseases. As a reward of treatment of some of the Chinese soldiers staying at the border of Tibet, he was able to proceed to Lhasa with the help of their Commander and reside there for some months. Coming to know about this, the authorities at Pekin forced him to return to Bengal.

(44) 'All memory of the visits of Bogle and Turner was entirely obliterated.'

Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXIV.

(45) "Instead of friendly intercourse, the history of the relations between the British and the Bhutanese has been one of local disputes about frontiers and raids." Narratives of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXII,

After this, those who went as messengers of the Company to Bhutan, did not proceed with the object of extending trade in the garb of friendship. They went there in the name of establishing peace or in pursuit of financial policy. The authorities of the Company were fully aware that a large sum will have to be spent if war began. So they tried to settle the disputes by maintaining an amicable attitude towards the Bhutiyas. But the Bhutiyas took advantage of this and gradually began to increase their claims and raids. Under these circumstances, it is noteworthy that Mr. Manning did not meet with any obstruction in Bhutan.

When Mr. Soott was engaged in discussing the boundary (1815 A. D.) he sent his officer Babu Krishnakanta Basu for this

Krishnakanta Mission. purpose as a messenger to the kingdom of Bhutan. Babu Krishnakanta Basu

went to Punakha through Sidli or Chirang Duar but his mission did not yield any result. The Bhutiyas wanted to have their claim satisfied and asked for more. They were not in the least ready to accept any reasonable compromise by making any sacrifice. They began raids over a land 250

Raids by the Bhutiyas, miles long which was under the British and near the Bhutan hills. The kingdom of Cooch Behar also was not free from these raids. In 1832 A. D. the Bhutiyas captured five males and fourteen females from the family of an influential subject of Cooch Behar named Wali Mahammad and took them to Bhutan.

With the intention of stopping these raids, the Government sent Captain Pemberton again to Bhutan (1838 A. D.). He went

Pemberto Mission. to Punakha through Tansu on the way by Dewangiri. Dr. Griffith and Mr. Isin Black were his companions. Far from establishing peace or stopping the quarrels, the Bhutiyas did not

even make an outward show of courtesy to Captain Pemberton. The honour received by other ambassadors of the Government in Bhutan did not fall to the lot of Pemberton. Baffled in his desire, he had to return to Bengal through Buxa. That Bhutiya race which was mentioned by Warren Hastings as simple, high-minded and of mild nature, was called half a century later by his own countrymen as savage and unworthy of education and training.⁽⁴⁶⁾

After the return of Captain Pemberton, the kingdom of Cooch Behar and the places occupied by the Company were continually raided by the Bhutiyas. In disputes between Cooch Behar and Bhutan the Government was acting so long as intermediary. About 50 to 60 miles of land of the Bhutan Duar was connected with the northern boundary of Cooch Behar. The ruler of Cooch Behar had established several Thanas to protect this territory. But really speaking no great benefit was derived from these thanas. There were always disturbances in portions of this vast territory. In 1884 A. D. the Bhutiyas attacked the house of Sakalu Pradhan of Tenganmari near Kseti and plundered many properties belonging to him. This was brought to the notice of the Government and Mr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling sent a report to the Government about this.

In this manner, the Bhutiyas gradually began to occupy many places in Cooch Behar and Baikunthapur. The Bhutiyas fixed the boundaries of their territory according to their own will, and took away the crops from these lands by force.⁽⁴⁷⁾

(46) Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, page 395; Narrative of the Bogle Mission, Introduction, page LXXXIV.

(47) "The conduct of the Bhutias, in forcibly carrying off the grain from this land, and in putting up marks to define it as belonging to them, cannot, now that

Continual raids by the Bhutiyas.

In 1848 A. D. they again crossed the boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar near Kseti. The raids in the places near Assam Duar had so much increased that the Government had no other alternative than to decide that it was better to occupy the whole territory. In 1841 A. D. Lord Auckland took possession of the whole of Assam Duars by force and passed orders for payment of ten thousand rupees to the Devaraja as compensation. In this manner the Government also took possession of Ambari-Falakata promising to pay compensation (1842 A. D.). By this means, though a portion of the Government's own territory became safe, the State of Cooch Behar remained as it was before. Really speaking, the Government did not derive any permanent result from the aforesaid arrangement.

The Government in their efforts to protect the lives and properties of their subjects were only getting insult and injustice from the Bhutiyas.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Major Jenkins, Proposal to occupy the Duars. the Agent of the North-eastern Frontier Provinces, requested the Government to take possession of all the Duars of Bengal without delay. In

their claims have been examined, be considered otherwise than as a deliberate encroachment on our frontier, and as a fresh instance of the mode by which they acquired a great deal of territory from Cooch Behar and Bykuntapore in former days, when this part of our frontier was so much neglected by us." Mr. Campbell's letter of the 6th March, 1845, to the Government of Bengal. Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 117.

Mr. Bogle when he went to Bhutan has mentioned that a river about eighteen miles to the north of the town of Cooch Behar was the boundary between the kingdoms of Cooch Behar and Bhutan (*Narratives of the Bogle Mission*, pages 14—15). But the present boundary on the north is not more than twelve miles from the capital. At the time of Mr. Digby, Dhopguri was at the border of the State (*Cooch Behar Select Records*, Vol. I, page 210). At present this place is some miles away from the boundary line and is within the Duars.

(48) Mr. Campbell's report :—"The whole history of our connection with Bhutan is a continuous record of injuries to our subjects all along the frontier of 250 miles, of denials of justice, and of acts of insult to our Government." *Narratives of the Bogle Mission*, Introduction, page C.

1856 A.D. Lord Dalhousie decided that it was desirable to occupy permanently Ambari-Falakata and Jalpesh. But owing to the Sepoy Mutiny, no action was taken regarding this. Meanwhile the raids did not cease. In 1857 A. D. the Bhutiyas repeatedly

attacked the houses of Sakalu Pradhan and
Raids and plunder.

others near Kseti and plundered properties worth twentyone thousand rupees and took several persons as captives to their own country. In 1857 A. D. the Bhutiyas attacked and sacked five other different places in Cooch Behar. The 'Katma' of Moynaguri was the principal leader of this raid.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In the list of raids committed by the Bhutiyas which was prepared by the Fouzdari Ahilkar (District Magistrate) of Cooch Behar in 1859 A. D. and sent to the Government, it was mentioned that within two years there were thirtythree raids in which forty persons were made captives and various kinds of properties were plundered.

At the end of the Sepoy Mutiny, the Agent of the North-eastern Frontier Provinces again requested the Government in 1859 A. D. to take possession of the Duars. At this time Maharaaja Narendranârâyan was the ruler of Cooch Behar. He was a

(49) Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 402.

A man named Hargovind was the Katma or local officer of Moynaguri under the Devaraja. The Katmas (Nebu) were under Jampens or Subas. The officer higher than Jampens were called Penlow and the whole Bhutan kingdom was ruled by three Penlows (governors) ; e.g. on the east—Tangsu Penlow ; in the central portion—Daka Penlow and on the west—Paro Penlow. Tangsu, Daka and Paro are merely the names of three different places. There was supremacy of the Council of Ministers and the Devaraja over the Penlows. Hargovind Katma was the nephew of Haridas and a Bengali. He revolted against Devaraja and collected Gurkha and Hindusthani soldiers and collecting arms from the Company's territories fought and obtained a victory over the Bhutiyas. He agreed to make the Moynaguri territory occupied by him subject to the Company and pay Rs. 50,000 annually as tribute but the authorities of the Company did not consent to this at that time (1836 A. D.). Subsequently Hargovind acknowledged supremacy of the Devaraja.

Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, pages 16, 389.

very strong ruler. In the list of properties plundered by the Bhutiyas sent to the Government by him in 1861 A. D. there was mention of seventeen elephants. In that year the Bhutiyas captured and took away four Mahuts of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar from a place near Moynaguri. In 1858 A. D. the Bhutiyas plundered many properties from Taluks Chhat Bhalka and Deutikhata and took away as captives Ratibar Mandal and six other subjects of Cooch Behar. The local guards were not successful in opposing the Bhutiyas. At about the same time the Bhutiyas seized and took to their own country a well-to-do subject of Cooch Behar named Ramdulal Basunia. After this, at about the same time the Bhutiyas attacked the villages Madhurbhasa and Pundibari. In both these places many properties were plundered and they wounded some of the guards at Pundibari and took away one of them as a prisoner.

Seeing the aforesaid distress of his subjects, Maharaja Narendranārāyan sent 50 sepoys under Subedar Bisweswarnath and Jamadar Bhabaniprasad Sing against the Bhutiyas. The soldiers of the king attacked the Bhutiyas in a place named

*Counter-attack by the
Maharaja of Cooch Behar.*
Madari and defeated them and made two of them captives. The remainder of the forces of the enemy took to flight. After this incident, both the Devaraja and the Dharmaraja sent letters expressing friendship to the ruler of Cooch Behar but no permanent result accrued from this. The number of prisoners was gradually increasing. In 1863 A. D. when Mr. Eden was going to Punakha he saw some Bengali prisoners in a place named Pemthong near Paro and he was of opinion that they had been residents of Cooch Behar. At this time it was inferred that in Bhutan the total number of prisoners taken away from the territories of Cooch Behar, Sikkim and that under the Company exceeded three hundred. The Bhutiyas released the prisoners on getting ransom and for this reason they

paid particular attention to the capture of wealthy and respectable people. In February 1862, the Bhutiyas again crossed the boundary of the State of Cooch Behar and sacked the territory. The Maharaja according to the terms of the treaty prayed for help from the Government. Orders were issued by the Government to sent two regiments of soldiers. But as it was the rainy season, the Maharaja wrote that it was unnecessary to send forces.

In 1863 A. D. the old policy was again followed. Mr. Eden started for Bhutan as an ambassador of the Government and

Chibu Lama of Sikkim, Captain Austen,
Captain Lance, Dr. Simpson and Mr.
Power became his companions. Mr. Eden

went to Punakha from Darjeeling through Dalimkot and Paro. On this occasion, the Bhutiyas created obstacles from the very commencement of his visit. The result of this visit of Mr. Eden was quite the contrary to his expectations. The Bhutiyas urged that the whole of Assam Duars belonged to them and claimed for its restitution. When Mr. Eden disagreed with this proposal, the Bhutiyas stopped his rations and forcibly made him write out a deed of relinquishment and in an gentlemanly manner insulted him in various ways. After this, Mr. Eden saved himself by leaving Bhutan with great difficulty and after overcoming many obstacles.

On the return of Mr. Eden, there was no other way than to declare war. The Government proclaimed on the 12th November

1864 that the whole of the Bhutan Duars were permanently taken possession of by them. Arrangements for war were simultaneously begun. Learning of this news

the authorities of Bhutan sent a letter to the Government laying the whole blame upon the interpreter Chibu Lama and denied

Proclamation of occupation
of the Duars.

the whole fact of the use of force to Mr. Eden and insulting him.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Government had to collect about ten thousand soldiers to take possession of all the Duars of Bengal and Assam. The whole army was divided into four sections. The soldiers of Gauhati and Goalpara were moved under General Mulcaster

Occupation of the Duars. the Commander of the eastern side and the soldiers of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar were led by General Dunsford the Commander of the western side. Arrangement was made to attack the country of Bhutan simultaneously from four places. The soldiers of Gauhati attacked Dewangiri. The soldiers of Goalpara attacked Bisensing. The forces of Cooch Behar attacked Buxa and Bala and the soldiers of Jalpaiguri attacked Chamurchi and Dalimkot. The forces of Jalpaiguri occupied Moynaguri and Domohani and in December 1864 A. D. took possession of

(50) Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War. page 157.

Chibu Lama was the interpreter in Eden Mission. The substance of the afore said letter was that the Bhutiyas did not understand what he explained to either party. It is needless to discuss that Chibu Lama was unfit to act as an interpreter or that he was a person whose nature was to adopt unfair means. But in open Durbar-Tangsu Penlow smeared wet flour on the face of Mr. Eden and dragged him by the hair; one Jampen threw chewed betel into the mouth of Dr. Simpson, and Mr. Eden was forcibly made to sign a deed of treaty. There was no necessity of an interpreter to understand the import of these incidents. There was no novelty in the aforesaid denial of the Bhutiyas. Owing to the various oppressions of the Bhutiyas, the ruler of Cooch Behar was forced to acknowledge obedience to the Company in 1773 A. D. In the letter written by the Dharmaraja in Rajsaka 267 (1776 A. D.) to the king of Cooch Behar it was mentioned that the king was unfairly made a prisoner and put to suffer misery. The Bhutiyas also told Mr. Bogle in 1774 A. D. words to the same effect but when quarrels regarding boundaries began (1787 A. D.) they plainly wrote in the letter sent to the Company that the Nazir acknowledged the supremacy of the Company on the plea of disputes of the subjects, (Cooch Behar Select Records Vol. I, page 2). In the letter sent in 1815 A. D. to the Durbar of the Company by the Bhutiya authorities, it was written that the king of Cooch Behar had concluded a treaty with the Company, quarrelling with the Devaraja (Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 17).

Dalimkot and Dhamsong without any fight. Colonel Haughton, the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, was the political officer of this force. At this time, the Dharmaraja declared war against the king of Sikkim laying blame upon Chibu Lama of Sikkim and Mr. Eden. He issued a general order to the people to take up arms against the British to protect their own kingdom. After this the British forces occupied Chamurchi after a feeble fight. The Commander of the British forces got a letter from Devaraja in this place. In it there was an advice to refrain from battle as well as a threat.⁽⁵¹⁾

On the 28th November 1864 A. D. a regiment under Colonel Watson went from Cooch Behar and took possession of Chekakhata. From this place they attacked and occupied Buxa on the 7th December. Under Lieutenant Hedayet Ali there were 700 infantry 35 cavalry and two six-pounder guns of the ruler of Cooch Behar.⁽⁵²⁾ Lieutenant Ali with Colonel Watson first camped at Chekakhata and then at Alipur. His soldiers fought

(51). Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 182.

It was written in this letter that unless the English cease from fighting, twelve terrible deities will appear with soldiers and seven thousand of these will be established at Chamurchi, five thousand in Dorma, nine thousand in Buxa and one lac two thousand in Dalimkot.

(52). The town of Alipur (at present subdivision) in the Duar, was named after Lieutenant Hedayet Ali.

Before 1864 A. D. the condition of the army of the king of Cooch Behar was inferior to that of the army of the Company. In 1864 A. D. Maharaja Nripendranārāyan Bhup Bahadur was a minor and Colonel Haughton, the Commissioner appointed by the Government was managing the administration. When arrangements for the Bhutan war began Colonel Haughton appointed Lieutenant Hedayet Ali of the Government army as the Commander-in-Chief of the Cooch Behar army at a salary of Rs. 500 in place of Bisweswar Nath Sing (the descendant of Rupan Sing) who was the Commander of the King's forces. Under the training of Lieutenant Hedayet Ali, the forces of the Maharaja were considered an efficient army. For success in Bhutan war, 138 of these soldiers got medals and in 1875 A. D. Lieutenant Governor or Sir Richard Temple highly praised this army after inspecting the same.

getting great praise. While taking possession of Buxa, one soldier of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar showed special valour and was rewarded by the Government. Colonel Watson returned to Santarabari keeping 100 soldiers of the ruler of Cooch Behar to protect Buxa. After this he took possession of Bala Duar.

About this time when Buxa and Chamurchi were occupied, General Mulcaster started to fight from Gauhati. His forces also took possession of Dewangiri after a nominal fight.⁵³, Colonel Richardson started for battle from Goalpara. The fort of Bisensing was situated 42 miles from Sidli. The way to it was extremely bad and the place was unhealthy. General Mulcaster joined with Colonel Richardson to conquer Bisensing. They occupied the fort of Bisensing when it was left by the enemy and keeping some soldiers there returned to Sidli. In this manner the whole of Bhutan Duar was occupied by the Government almost without any fighting.

But in the end the Government could not enjoy the fruits of the Bhutan expedition without fighting. Before many days

had elapsed it was learnt that the
Counter-attack by the Bhutiyas were making preparations for a
battle to recapture all the Duars from
Dewangiri to Chamurchi. At first the Government did not believe this news but when it was known that the information was reliable, Tangsu Penlow himself attacked Dewangiri (30th January 1865 A. D.) After a battle continuing for some days the British soldiers were defeated and forced to retire from Dewangiri. On their return journey to the plains they fell into great distress having lost their way in the darkness of the night. They were forced to leave some guns, and these were seized by

(53). At this time, a monastery at Chamurchi was full of religious manuscripts. In a monastery at Dewangiri also there were many thousand manuscripts of the Bhutiyas and in the house of the Jampen of that place there were several manuscripts in Tibetan language.

Tangsu Penlow, In this battle Tangsu Penlow gave evidence of his great valour. Five thousand Bhutiya soldiers were engaged in this battle. Among them some were residents of Khamba within southern Tibet. Some soldiers of the British were made prisoners. On many occasions the Bhutiya leaders fought hand to hand with British Generals and in this the Bhutiyas showed more efficiency.

The Bhutiyas did not desist after recapturing Dewangiri. They attacked the British forces almost simultaneously to recapture Bisensing, Buxa, Bala and Chamurchi. At that time in the whole of the Duars there were only 1300 British and 2000 native infantry and 160 men of the artillery on the side of the English. To help them additional soldiers were sent without

delay from Meerut, Lucknow, Calcutta

Recapture of the Duars.

and Dumdum and the former commander-in-Chief was changed. The helping sol-

diers reached the Duars in March and the soldiers under General Tytler recaptured Bala, Buxa and Chamurchi. General Tombs reconquered Dewangiri and destroyed the Bisensing fort.

To maintain unresisted possession, soldiers were placed in Tezpur, Kumarikata, Rangia, Gauhati, Daitma, Buxa, Bala, Patlakhawa, Chamurchi, Dalimkot, Jalpesh and Darjeeling. Afterwards the British force was removed from Chamurchi and the charge of protecting this was made over to the soldiers of the ruler of Cooch Behar. When the rainy season was over, the British soldiers again prepared for battle. When more than seven thousand of their soldiers divided into two sections were ready to attack Punakha and Tangsu the Devaraja agreed to

conclude a treaty. According to the terms of the treaty (11th November 1865

Conclusion of a treaty. A. D.) the Government permanently occupied the whole of the Duars and they agreed to pay Rs. 25000 to the Devaraja annually as compensation. It was also

settled that if in future no wrong was committed by the Bhutiyas, this amount would be doubled.

When all the Duars of Bengal and Assam were occupied by the Government, the possession of lands on the south of the hills by the Bhutiyas was completely extinct. It has already been mentioned that before the kingdom of Cooch Behar was attacked and occupied by the Bhutiyas in the 18th century, its area was more than 3200 square miles. After paying the cost of war and half the revenue every year to the Company and in exchange for independence, the portion that was saved was only 1317 square miles. Some portion of the remaining territory was taken possession of by the Company themselves and most of the lands were given to the king of Bhutan by their decision.

Area of the kingdom of Cooch Behar.

Under the treaty of 1774 the whole territory of Chekakhata was not included within the dominion of Bhutan. Only 'possession' of this was given to the Devaraja. There is no mention whether there was any consideration of the previous occupation or claim of the king of Cooch Behar to it or whether any one preferred any claim to it on behalf of the minor king when the Company established their occupation over this territory in 1864 A. D. In the battles of 1864-65 A. D. the forces of ruler of Cooch Behar greatly helped the Government and the Maharaja had to spend about one and a half lac of rupees annually for this.⁽⁵⁴⁾

(54), "When the cost of accoutrements, Marching Batta and compensation for dearness of provisions and the pay of the men is taken into the consideration, it will be proved, that this army costs the State not less than 1½ lakhs a year or half of the income of the State.....but he (Captain Ally) has not resided in Cooch Behar for a month together since December 1864 and I confess that I do not see that either he or his army has done any good to this State."

Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State, 1864, written by Mr. H. Beveridge, Offg. Deputy Commissioner of the State.

"The Cooch Behar troops did good service in the Bhutan Campaign and Captain Hedayat Ally, their Commandant, has obtained the thanks of Government and the title of Khan Bahadur for his exertions, but they were a heavy burden on the State."

Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State, 1865.

For this help many persons from the king's Commander-in-Chief to ordinary soldiers were rewarded by the Government,⁽⁵⁵⁾ but the ruler or his kingdom did not get any share of the reward. With the occupation of the Bhutan Duars by the Government, the State of Cooch Behar has been freed for ever from raids of Bhutiyas, but the charge of stopping such raids was long before taken up by the Government of the Company under the treaty.

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(55). The charge of administration and protection of the Bhutan Duars was made over to Captain Hedayet Ali. In 1883 A. D. he got as a reward 41,754 acres of land in Maraghat and Laksmpur within the Duars on condition of paying revenue on half rates for 30 years. His representatives are enjoying from 1902 A. D. 28,495 acres of land on condition of paying $\frac{3}{4}$ ths revenue (Rs. 7,897) for twenty years. Captain Hedayet Ali was a resident of Danapur. Subsequently he was gradually promoted to the grade of Colonel.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COOCH BEHAR TREATY.

During the reign of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan, the independence of the dynesty of Visvasinha was again curtailed.

Object of the treaty. During the reign of Maharaja Laksminârâyan, the supremacy of the Mughals

was first established on the kingdom of Cooch Behar, but Maharaja Modnârâyan recovered his independence. In 1773 A. D. Nazir Deo Khagendranârâyan in the name of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan acknowledged the supremacy of the Company and concluded a treaty with them. For concluding this treaty Khagendranârâyan was rebuked by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan as the treaty was considered to be detrimental to the prestige of the Maharaja. This rebuke might be befitting a descendant of Visvasinha, but at that time there was no other way to save the throne of Visvasinha than by seeking the support of the Company. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that Khagendranârâyan acted like a far-sighted statesman in concluding this treaty on his own responsibility,

When Nazir Deo Khagendranârâyan concluded the treaty with the Company, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan the father

Condition of two kings. of Dharendranârâyan was a prisoner in Bhutan. For this reason Rajendranârâyan who was made a king by the Bhutiyas did not get proper honour and respect from the people.

Even those who were in favour of installing Dharendranârâyan as the king, did not consider him to be a permanent ruler. When Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan returned from Bhutan Sarbânand Gosvami the Rajguru and Kasinath Lahiri the Khasnavis requested him to sit on the throne.

After the death of Rajendranârâyan Sarbânanda Gosvami the Rajguru and Kasinath Lahiri the Khasnavis requested Nazir Khagendranârâyan to make Kumar Dharendranârâyan the son of the imprisoned Maharaja, king in order to diminish the influence of the Bhutiyas.⁽¹⁾ Had not the Bhutiyas attempted to make another nominee of theirs king, it is doubtful whether there would have been any necessity to make Dharendranârâyan king. Whoever might be the person in whose name the treaty was to be concluded, the officers of the Company regarded Dhairyendranârâyan as king and Dharendranârâyan as merely his representative.⁽²⁾ This attitude of theirs is expressed in the third para of the treaty with Bhutan made in 1774 A. D.

The Treaty (1773 A. D.)

"Durrindernârâyan, Raja of Cooch Behar, having represented to the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta the present distressed state of the Country, owing to its being harassed by the neighbouring independent Rajas, who are in league to depose him, the Honourable the President and Council, from a love of justice and desire of assisting the distressed, have agreed to send a force, consisting of four companies of sepoys, and a field-piece for the protection of the

(1). Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhana, Adhyâya 17.

(2). "During which time Dharendra Narayan, his (Dhairjendra Narayan's) eldest son, officiated." Report of the Company's Canoongo written on the 25th Magh 1190 B. S.

said Raja and his country against his enemies, and the following conditions are mutually agreed on :—

“1st.—That the said Raja will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rungpore Rs. 50,000. to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him..

“2nd.—That if more than Rs. 50,000 are expended, the Raja will make it good to the Honourable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended that it be delivered back.

“3rd.—That the Raja will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies, and will allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal,

“4th.—That the Raja further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one-half of the annual revenues of Cooch Behar for ever.

“5th.—That the other moiety shall remain to the Raja and his heirs for ever, provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honourable United East India Company.

“6th.—That in order to ascertain the value of the Cooch Behar country, the Raja will deliver a fair hastabud of his district into the hands of such person as the Honourable the president and Council of Calcutta shall think proper to depute for that purpose, upon which valuation the annual Malguzary, which the Raja is to pay, shall be established.

"7th.—That the amount of Malguzary settled by such person as the Honourable the East India Company shall depute, shall be perpetual.

"8th.—That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense.

"9th.—That this treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advices may be received from the Court of Directors, empowering the President and Council to ratify the same for ever.

"This treaty signed, sealed, and concluded, by the Honourable the President and Council at Fort William, the fifth day of April, 1773, on the one part, and by Durrindernârâyan, Raja of Cooch Behar, at Behyar Fort, the 6th Maug, 1179, Bengal style on the other part."

It is not known what was the language of the original treaty. It appears to be probable that it was written in Bengali or Persian which was current at that time as Court language. Among the old papers in the State Council there are five Bengali copies (almost worn out) of the treaty. The Government of India wrote a letter on the 23rd December 1861 to the Government of Bengal and took two copies from the same. A copy of this preserved copy is printed in the Appendix (3).

In the heading of this copy, it is written 'Copy 25th Magh 1220'. At the end it is mentioned that the seal and signatures were put in Calcutta on the 4th

(3). The word 'Joyes' as printed in Appendix in the preamble of the copy of the treaty is inferred to be 'Joyel'. 'Jayel' is an Arabic word meaning 'later'. [In the original, the word is 'Jayel'. Translator.]

December 1772. ⁽⁴⁾ On the left side there is signature of Dharendranârâyan and on the right there are signatures of Warren Hastings, William Aldersey and Richard Barwell.

The Nazirs who preceded Kumar Khagendranârâyan held the royal umbrella over the head of the king at the time of installation. Besides this they were Commanders-in-Chief of the royal army.

Right of the Nazir

Nazir Khagendranârâyan also was performing this work of administration according to the previous custom. Acknowledging subjection to a foreign power, agreement to pay tribute and conclusion of a treaty are most important political affairs. Before this we never find in the history of Cooch Behar that any State Officer or the Nazir concluded any treaty on the above terms. Afterwards when the British Government was administering the State of Cooch Behar as representative of the minor Maharaja Nripendranârâyan, they did not acknowledge that Nazir Khagendranârâyan had any right to grant a land on behalf of the king. ⁽⁵⁾

(4). In the aforesaid copy the date of conclusion of the treaty is mentioned as the 4th December 1772. In Râjopâkhyâna and in the report of Mercer and Chauvet dated 1788 (Article 5) it is mentioned that the treaty was concluded in 1772 A. D. A copy of the treaty concluded in that year was sent by the Government in 1814 A. D. to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar. In it there is a blank in the place where the date and month is written. (Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 244). Buchanan Hamilton also has mentioned that the treaty was concluded in 1772. (Eastern India, Vol. III, page 421). It is mentioned in the letter written by Mr. Ahmety dated the 10th January 1801 to the Revenue Board that treaty was made in 1772 A. D. or 1179 B. S. Major Jenkins has written in his report (1849 A. D.) that the Treaty was concluded in 1772. In other places also besides these, there is mention that the treaty was made in 1772 A. D.

In the copy of the treaty printed in 'Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement' by Srijupta Harendranarayan Chaudhuri the following appears in the 3rd part: "Subjection to the will of the English East India Company" but the words "will of" do not exist in any of the abovementioned copies. In the English copies the names of persons who signed on behalf of the Company are also absent.

(5). Letter dated the 6th May 1874 written by the Commissioner Sir William Hershel, Letters and Proceedings having the force of Law, page 13.

The East India Company got the rights to realise revenue from Bengal, Behar and Orissa under a Sunnud from the emperor of Delhi in 1765. At that time the authorities of the Company had no intention to administer the country. Their only object was to earn money by trade like ordinary merchants. Under the conditions then prevailing it was necessary to maintain a force for the collection of revenue. In their own interests, therefore, the East India Company took control of the forces of the country. The administrative and judicial work were performed as before by the officers of the Nawab in the name of the emperor of Delhi. In the treaty concluded with the Nawab of Bengal in 1770 A. D. sanction of the Nawab was taken for appointment of the Naib of the Provinces. On certain occasions the officers of the Company interfered with the administrative and judicial work of the Nawab. At first the Directors of the Company in England did not approve active interference in the administration or extension of dominion. They did not even support the treaty regarding division of the kingdom of Nawab Sujauddowla of Oudh. The Directors were not of opinion that the policy of extending their dominion in this country was beneficial.

In 1771 A. D. there was an attempt to conduct the collection of revenue of Bengal under the direct management of the Company. But as proper arrangement of Ruling the country in the name of the Emperor of Delhi. the work could not be made in this manner, the charge of this work was placed after four years in the hands of Naib Suba Reza Khan. At that time the Directors gave advice that it was better to manage affairs regarding battle with foreign powers or matters akin to this, in the name of the Nawab. Accordingly, the Governors of the Company issued necessary orders in the name of the Nawab and bearing his seal and signature. In the

Sunnud granted by the authorities of the Company in 1776 A. D. to Dhairyendranârâyan the Maharaja of Cooch Behar regarding the zemindaries situated in Sarkar Cooch Behar (districts of Rungpur and Jalpaiguri), the date was put down as the 17th year of the reign of the titular emperor (Saha Alam) of that time. At that time and even long after this (1789-90 A. D.) the authorities of the Company had coins struck in the mint at Murshidabad in the name of emperor Saha Alam. In all the letters sent by the Collectors of Rungpur to Cooch Behar for money due to the Company, after the conclusion of the treaty with the king of Cooch Behar, there were seal and signature of the contemporary Naib Kazi. But owing to continual interference by the officers of the Company the old and effete administration of the Nizamat Sarkar was gradually becoming dislocated. In 1779 A. D. the Naib Suba attempted to establish his absolute power over the Civil and Criminal departments but did not succeed. In 1790 A. D. the dual administration ended in Bengal and the East India Company assumed absolute authority over Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

At the beginning of the aforesaid dual administration the treaty was concluded between the Company and the king of Cooch Behar, (1773 A. D.). At that

Conditions of the treaty.

time only the Company had a powerful army in Bengal. It has already been mentioned that besides gaining money, the authorities of the Company had not at that time any desire to establish authority or extend their dominion, and for this reason in the terms of the Cooch Behar treaty, no other object than to realise money was disclosed. There was an undefined expression regarding 'subjection' of the king, but it may be that this was written for facility in realising money. There is no mention in this treaty that any rights or power befitting an independent king like declaring war, concluding treaty, striking coins, maintaining

an army, internal administration etc. were curtailed or that political connections with other royal powers were prohibited. The treaty with the Bhutiyas in 1774 A. D. was also a treaty regarding trade but some extra terms were included in the same to prevent quarrels and dissensions between the two countries.

The treaty concluded with the Company by the king of Cooch Behar in 1773 A. D. is now seen printed in English.

In the Bengali copy of this treaty preserved in Cooch Behar (which has already been mentioned) it has been

Undefined language. mentioned in the third para "Maluk Kochbihar sube Banglar motaluk havek". The authorities of the Company very soon found out that the language of the Cooch Behar treaty was vague and undefined. In 1788 A. D. the Government of Lord Cornwallis asked the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet to enquire along with other matters, into the nature of the Treaty. After a detailed enquiry the Commissioners submitted a report on the 10th November 1788 A. D. Their opinion regarding the same is clearly expressed in the following portion of that report :—

"It will be admitted, that under a liberal construction of the apparent object and spirit of the Treaty no advantage can justly be taken of the loose and undefined expressions of 'subjection' and 'annexation' above mentioned to the prejudice of the less powerful contracting party. That no diminution of the independent rights of the Rajah within his own Government was intended, is obvious from his having been left in possession of the two great characteristics of sovereignty, the right of coining money impressed with his own name and the administration of justice, and from these considerations collectively, our construction of the Treaty, is, that Cooch Behar was thenceforward to be regarded in the light of a Tributary District, deriving protection from the State to which for that purpose it made a partial and voluntary surrender of its rights ; but maintaining in its domestic administration its independence un-impaired." (6)

(6). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 185.

Receiving the above opinion of the Commissioners the Resolution of the Revenue Board and the Directors. Government of Lord Cornwallis passed the following resolution on 13th May, 1789 :—

"From the above abstract of the principal articles of the Treaty the Board cannot but be of opinion with the Commissioner, that no diminution of the independent rights of the Rajah within his own Government was intended by it, but that Cooch Behar was thenceforward to be regarded in the light of a tributary district deriving protection from the State to which for that purpose it made a partial and voluntary surrender of its rights ; but maintaining in its domestic administration its independence unimpaired," (7)

This explanation and opinion of the Board were sent by them on the 10th August 1789 to the Court of Directors in England. The Directors supported this and informed the Board on the 19th May 1790 A. D. :

"Your last Despach of the 10th August 1789 has acquainted us with the result of the Deputation to Cooch Behar, and of the measures you adopted in consequence which have met with our approbation." (8)

This explanation of the Treaty was not liked by some Governors-General. Though they were unable to go against the abovementioned decision regarding the power and the rights of the king, yet they did not desist from passing adverse criticism against the same. The Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet have mentioned that the interest of the weaker of the contracting parties might suffer if the stronger party be

(7). Resolution by the Government on Cooch Behar Report, 13th May, 1789. Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 202.

(8). Extract from letters from the Court of Directors dated the 19th May 1790 (para 25).

placed in the position of a judge. Hints regarding this might be found in the adverse criticisms. The Government of Wellesley mentioned in 1802 A. D. :—

“That the terms of the 3rd article of the Treaty, concluded between this Government and the late Rajah in the year 1772 would warrant the conclusion, that it was the intention of the contracting parties, that the country of Cooch Behar should be ceded in complete sovereignty to the Hon'ble Company. It appears, however, that a much more limited interpretation has been annexed to the conditions of the Treaty.”⁽⁹⁾.

The Government of Lord Minto has also expressed a similar view in 1813 A. D.⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1816 A. D. during the time of Lord Moyra discussions again began regarding the explanation of the treaty and the rights of the king. It was then decided :

“On a careful revision of the terms of the Treaty 1772, the Governor General in Council has satisfied himself that it will not fairly bear the construction in which alone (independently of the Rajah's violation of the fundamental principles and stipulations of the Treaty) the British Government could claim the right of exercising the powers above described.”⁽¹¹⁾.

This was in principle in accordance with opinion of the Government in 1789 but even after this interpretation, adverse criticisms by the officers of the Government did not cease.

(9). Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council in the Revenue Department, dated the 26th August, 1802.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 133.

(10). Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council under date the 7th August, 1813.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, pages 225-231.

(11). Extract from the letter from the Secretary to Government to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, dated the 24th February, 1816.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page, 97.

On the contrary, it can be shown from discussions regarding this Cooch Behar Treaty that they on certain occasions proceeded to act beyond their powers without thorough enquiry. The interpretation of the treaty, as made by Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in 1862 A. D., surpassed all the previous adverse criticisms. It is not mentioned whether he was aware of the previous interpretations or whether he paid any consideration to the same. His view was :—

"The Rajah of Cooch Behar appears to misunderstand his position. By the Treaty of 1773, his predecessor acknowledged subjection to the British Government and allowed Cooch Behar to be annexed to Bengal Accordingly, a permanent settlement of the land revenue of Cooch Behar was made and continues in force to this day.

"Therefore, although the Rajah of Cooch Behar has been permitted to conduct the civil administration of the district as he pleases, and has been exempted from the jurisdiction of all British Courts and from the operations of the laws in force in other parts of Bengal, he has no claim to consider himself in the light of a 'high Contracting party' with the British Goverment, or otherwise than a subject of Her Mejesty, bound to be firm in his allegiance, and to obey the orders of constituted authority." (12).

No 'liberal construction' as mentioned by the Commissioners, is necessary in understanding the real import of the third and the eighth articles of the Treaty if these two articles of the Treaty. are read together. It is mentioned in the third article that Cooch Behar will be annexed to Bengal. If this expression be interpreted as sufficient in showing that the independent rights of the king are hereby abolished, there cannot be any necessity for writing the eighth article. The meaning of the latter mentioned article is very clear. No far-fetched interpretation is necessary. It is

(12). Extract from the letter No. 223 T. from the Offg. Joint Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Agent to the Governor General, N. E. F. dated the 30th July, 1862, (paras 4 and 5), Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 254

mentioned in the same : "That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense." If under article 3 the kingdom of Cooch Behar being annexed to Bengal becomes the territory of the Company, there cannot be any necessity in future for the king to protect that kingdom from outside invasion or pay any cost for help of soldiers sent with that object by the Company. It is not found whether this eighth article was a subject for discussion by the adverse critics. But the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet had interpreted the Treaty as a whole. The king of Cooch Behar did not get his kingdom from the Company. In exchange for rescuing his kingdom from his enemies, he out of his own accord curtailed his own rights in certain matters by the treaty. It is natural that except in these matters, his rights and powers on other matters would remain unimpaired. It is not desirable to prove that these rights were transferred or extinguished with the help of words used in a loose or undefined way.

There are nine articles in the Cooch Behar Treaty (1773 A. D.). It is only at the end of the third article, there is a mention that the kingdom will be

The condition of the Company. annexed to Bengal. At the time of the

Treaty the emperor of Delhi was the ruler of Sube Bangala. The Company collected revenue from it and paid the fixed amount to the Nawab and the emperor and themselves took a portion of the same as costs for protection of the territory and their own profits. This agreement (1765 A. D.) between the emperor and the Company was nothing but an arrangement for collection of revenue. By it the Company did not derive any political rights or power to conquer a new kingdom or annex a new territory to the dominion of the emperor.

For these various reasons, the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet did not think it desirable to rely on the two words "annexed" and "subjection" used in a loose and undefined manner and all the authorities from the Government at that time

The real meaning of the Treaty.

and the Court of Directors supported their interpretation. The statement of the Commissioners was not merely a 'liberal construction.' All the circumstances, events and discussions at the time of the Treaty (1773 A. D.) were fully remembered by the officers of the Company even at that time (1788-89 A. D.). Those who attempted to interpret the treaty later on tried merely to depend on the meaning of words. They were not acquainted with the contemporary circumstances or did not pay any attention to the same. Examples can be given from records of the Government what kind of language is necessary to be used in documents regarding annexation of a kingdom. The present Bengal Duars were annexed to the British territory in 1864 A. D. In the Resolution regarding this it was written :

"The Governor General in Council has therefore reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Dooars of Bhutan." (13)

In 1862 A. D. the Governor General Lord Canning granted a Sunnud to Maharaja Narendranârâyan, the then ruler of Cooch Behar, conferring rights to adopt a son (14) but according to the terms of the 5th article of the treaty, only the heir of a king can become the ruler and it was also written in the 51 st para in the letter dated the 10th August 1789 from the Board to the Court of Directors that only the rightful

(13). Bhutan and Story of the Dooar War, page 162,

(14). Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 294,

heir of the king can become a ruler.⁽¹⁵⁾ According to Hindu law, an adopted son is considered as equal to a natural born son. Maharaja Narendranârâyan was himself an adopted son. Before this, we have information that Kumar Lalitnârâyan was adopted by Chhatra Nazir Santanârâyan and Kumar Dinanârâyan was adopted by Maharaja Upendranârâyan. But all the adopted sons belonged to the dynasty of Visvasinha. Even those who were made rulers of Cooch Behar by force by the Mughul, emperor and the king of Bhutan (Dinanârâyan and Rajendra nârâyan) belonged to that dynasty.

There is a custom prevalent in Cooch Behar for nominating an heir to the throne when a king has no son. In 1788 A. D. Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet referred to this custom. They mentioned that there was a custom for rulership accepted by all in the royal family of Cooch Behar. But this custom was not followed at the installation of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan by the Bhutiyas. The eldest son of the king becomes the ruler, and when a king has no son, the eldest of the Sapindas becomes the ruler. This custom was introduced at the time of Maharaja Rupnârâyan. But as Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan was an officer of the king, he was considered as unfit to become king and so the fact of his being the eldest was not considered or observed in determining succession.⁽¹⁶⁾ Ramnârâyan, the younger brother of Rajendranârâyan, had a sore in his finger, so he also according to the family custom could not become king. At the end of the 17th century after the death of king Mahindranârâyan Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan declared himself as king. But he also was of the same class as Dewan Deo Ramnârâyan, that is to say, an officer of the king. So according to the family custom, he also was unfit to become king.

(15). In the Bengali copy of the treaty, 'Santan adi' is written as translation of 'heir'.

(16). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. I, page 181.

While discussing the relations fixed by the the treaty between the king of Cooch Behar and the East India Company,

Extinction of the rights
of the king.

our attention is naturally attracted to certain circumstances. The Company

agreed in the Treaty to rescue the king and his kingdom from enemies. The enemy was defeated and the king was liberated but the kingdom was not wholly made over to the king. Besides this, the Government have taken away on different occasions certain rights befitting a king : e.g.

1. Trial of European British subjects committing any offence within the State of Cooch Behar by Courts of the State (1794 A. D.).
2. Striking and circulation of coins in the name of the king (1805 A. D.).
3. Cultivation of ganja and opium in the State of Cooch Behar (1867 and 1871 A. D.).
4. Maintenance of the king's own postal department (1883 A. D.).

The Government have given some monetary advantages for prohibiting the cultivation of ganja and opium and the maintenance of the king's own post-offices.

The Government of the Company according to their resolution dated the 13th May 1789 A. D. took charge of the administration and education of the king till the minor Maharaja Harendranârâyan attained majority.⁽¹⁷⁾ Under

(17). "Upon due consideration of the wretched state of the country, as described in the report of the Commissioners, the incapacity of the Rani, the improper conduct of her dependents, and the helpless state of the infant Rajah ; the Board cannot but be of opinion that the interposition of the authority of this Government, without any view to its own ladvantage, but solely to establish good order throught the country, and restore the Rajah to his independent rights as soon as he may be capable of exercising them, will not only be justifiable under the relation in which he stands to this Government, but consistent with the principles of equity, humanity, and good policy."

Resolution by Government on Cooch Behar Report, 13 th May, 1789, Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 203.

similar circumstances they later on took charge of the administration and education of minor rulers. As the suzerainty of the Company was acknowledged over the kingdom of Cooch Behar they always thought that a heavy burden of duty was imposed upon them.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is difficult to say what would have been the end of the kingdom of Cooch Behar, had the authorities of the Company remained satisfied by only sending help of soldiers whenever necessary according to Article 9 of the treaty. Within one hundred years after the conclusion of the treaty, difficulties arose at the succession of each king and it is seen that these were solved by timely and proper intervention of the Government.

(18). (a) Letter from the Government to the Rajah of Cooch Behar, dated the 24th February, 1816, Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 99.

(b) "15.....It must not be forgotten that both the Rajah and the people of his country are under the protection of this Government which is responsible for their welfare."

Letter No. 156, dated the 14th December, 1848, from Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. I, page 146.

(c). "I am instructed to acquaint you that the appointment of a British Commissioner to manage the State, during the minority of Nripendra Narayan, is considered by Government to be imperatively called for _____ "

Letter No. 1, dated the 15th January 1864, from Offg. Agent to the Governor General, N. E. F., to the Maharanee of Cooch Behar.

Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, page 275.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL DISCUSSION.

After the reign of Maharaja Modnârâyan, when his successors agitated by external and internal revolts were fluttered about in search of self-protection, they had but little concern about the vicissitudes of the throne. At last

A discrepancy in Râjsaka.
when all these revolts subsided at the expense of an extensive territory and sacrifice of royal blood, there remained only the name of the vast kingdom of Kâmata. Unfortunately historical accounts of that period extending over half a century during which the miserable downfall of the kingdom and royal dynasty took place owing to revolts, are hidden in obscurity. A discrepancy has been found in Râjsaka in a deed of gift executed by Chhatra Nazir Sântanârâyan during this period. The date of this deed is mentioned as 1130 B. S. equivalent to 215 Rajsaka. But according to the system followed by Joynath Ghose 1130 B. S. should correspond to 214 and not 215 Rajsaka. This discrepancy of one year might also be due to clerical error, but it is not reasonable to infer that this happened later than 1130 B. S. (1723 A. D.) even if it be accepted that there was a mistake in the calculation of Râjsaka.

Substances of some old documents are mentioned in the decree of a case in Rungpur regarding the zemindary of Chaklajat in 1778 A. D. Though all of these might not be reliable, in one place we find 228 Râjsaka equivalent to 1144 B. S. and in another 229 Râjsaka equivalent to 1145 B. S. In the records of a case in 1842 regarding a Debutter land of Chakla

Use of dual dates.

Boda it is mentioned that 234 Râjsaka correspond to 1150 B. S. In a colophon in a part of the manuscript of 'Sâttvata Tantra' it is mentioned that it was written in 249 Râjsaka or 1680 Sakâbda. In later times, as the joint use of such dual years was seen, the statement of Joynath Ghosh that 78 Râjsaka is equivalent to 1509 Sakâbda and 994 B. S. is supported. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that in 1510 A. D. Visvasinha when he was a boy nine years old accompanied by a few playmates and being helped by divine power attacked the Kotwal (representative of the Sultan of Gaur) and killed him with his soldiers and became an independent king. "From that time the Râjsaka has begun to run". If we think that help of divine power was imagined to preserve conformity with the past and present time as the real facts could not be ascertained from (the dark recesses of antiquity steeped in) unfathomable oblivion, it may be inferred that in this account of the boyish valour of Visvasinha the history of the inauguration of Râjsaka is also hidden.

Maharaja Visvasinha established himself as an independent ruler of the country. The declaration of independence cannot so easily be made by inauguration of an era, as by issuing coins in one's name.

The founder of Râjsaka. No coin bearing the name of Visvasinha has yet been discovered. Except in a modern Vansâvali (written by Durgadas) no account has been found anywhere of his having struck coins. The number of kings inaugurating an era is very small and only kings having highest talents have inaugurated eras in their own name. Visvasinha was not a ruler of this type. 'Râjsaka has begun' from his gaining the kingdom, but no mention has been found anywhere that he inaugurated this era. Maharaja Naranârâyan, the son of Visvasinha, was a talented and very powerful king. It will not be unreasonable or against ancient practice if it is to be

inferred that it was probably he that had inaugurated the Râjsaka from the year of his father's declaration of independence. More than one instance of this nature is found in history.⁽¹⁾

According to Munshi Joynath Ghose the writer of Râjopâkhyâna the first year of Râjsaka corresponded to 1432 Saka, 917 B. S., 921 Hijri and 1510 A. D.

Counting Rajsaka.

It is not mentioned in his work whether he found all these eras written together in any place or whether he calculated the eras from the Râjsaka current in his time.⁽²⁾ It may be believed that he derived the Hijri era by rough subtraction. The Hijri era is calculated according to lunar month and it is accepted that it has begun from the 16th July 622 A. D. In one hundred years of a solar year, there are 103 years and 24 days of lunar years. So in the first year of Râjsaka (1510 A. D.) it should have been written 916-17 Hijri instead of 921 Hijri.

Munshi Joynath Ghose entered the State service in 286 Râjsaka (1795 A. D.). Ten years before this the boy Maharaja Harendranârâyan was confined for some days in Balarampur by men of the Nazir's party. According to Munshi Joynath Ghosh this event happened at the end of Baisakh in 277 Râjsaka. This popularly came to be called as 'Râjâ-dharâ' (seizure of the king). It has been mentioned before that the

(1) Though the Hijri and the Christian eras are counted from a specific event, the Hijri era has started 17 years and the Christian era 500 years after these events.

The famous Gupta era (beginning from 319 A. D.) was inaugurated by Samudragupta or his father Maharaja Chandragupta I. But it is counted from the gaining of kingdom by Sreegupta, the first king of this dynasty. The Laksmana era (beginning from 1119 A. D.) is being counted from gaining the kingdom by Vijayasena, the first king of the Sena dynasty.

(2) It has been discussed in the Chapter on Nârâyani Coins (Chapter XV) of this work that Maharaja Prannârâyan in his coins has sometimes used Sakâbda and sometimes Râjsaka. In a document during the time of Maharaja Rupnârâyan (201 Rajsaka) there is mention of an older document executed in 53 Rajsaka.

incident of this seizure of the king actually took place in the month of Jaisth (Chapter XVI).

Mercer and Chauvet were appointed Commissioners by the Company to enquire into the affair of the seizure of the king. It is written in records regarding this enquiry that this seizure of the king took place on the 32nd Jaisth 278 Râjsaka. Munshi Joynath Ghose was in the State service when the marriage ceremony of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan took place. He wrote that this marriage was celebrated on the 27th Falgun 1247 B. S. but in a letter of invitation issued on the occasion of this marriage the date was put down as the 26th Falgun⁽³⁾. For this and various other reasons, the accounts given by Joynath Ghose cannot always be safely relied upon as true or reasonable.

In the State Sheristas of Cooch Behar and among the public, the dates mentioned by Munshi Joynath Ghose regarding the years of current eras on which the reign of the Nârâyan royal dynasty began, have been accepted. But the manuscript of Râjopâkhyâna is not older than a hundred years. Durgadas Mazumdar in his Râjvansâvali (manuscript) has mentioned only Râjsaka, and Govindadeva Gosvami in the introduction of his Dâmodarcharita (manuscript) has mentioned the years of Sakâbda in giving the time of installation of each king. These two manuscripts are of later date than Râjopâkhyâna. In no other manuscripts except these three Vansâvalis of the aforesaid three writers, the time of the beginning of reign of each king has been given *seriatum*. For convenience of reference, the time of installation of each king is shown in the accompanying table from the three manuscripts mentioned above. The time calculated by proper discussion (in Christian era) in this Chapter is also given against the name of each king.

(3) This invitation letter on the occasion of the marriage is preserved in the Mahafezkhana of the Malcutchery (in Cooch Behar);

Beginning of reign as mentioned in the three works mentioned above.

Name of kings.	TIME GIVEN BY JOYNATH GHOSE.			Rājaka mentioned by Durga- das.	A. D.	Satkānda mentioned by Govinda- deva.	A. D.	A. D. now determined.
	Rājaka.	Satkānda.	Bangābda.					
1. Chandan	...	1	1432	917	1510	1	1496 (1510)	1417 1495 ...
2. Madan (C)	9	1504 (1518)	1410 1488 ...
3. Visvasinha	...	14	1445	930	1523	13	1508 (1522)	1430 1508 1496
4. Naranārāyan	...	45	1476	961	1554	45	1540 (1554)	1450 1528 1533
5. Laksminārāyan	...	78	1509	994	1587	93	1588 (1602)	1506 1584 ...
6. Virnārāyan	...	112	1543	1028	1621	133	1628 (1642)	1544 1622 1627
7. Prannārāyan	...	117	1548	1033	1626	148	1643 (1657)	1549 1627 1632

8.	Modhnârâyan	..	156	1587	1072	1665	153	1648 (1662)	1587	1665	..
9.	Besudevnârâyan	171	1602	1087	1680	173	1668 (1682)	1602	1680	..	
10.	Mahindranârâyan ..	173	1604	1089	1682	175	1670 (1684)	1606	1684	..	
11.	Rupnârâyan	..	185	1616	1101	1694	187	1682 (1696)	1617	1695	1704
12.	Upendranârâyan ..	205	1636	1121	1714	205	1700 (1714)	1636	1714	..	
13.	Devendranârâyan ..	254	1685	1170	1763	244	1739 (1753)	1685	1763	..	
14.	Dhairyendranârâyan. (First time)	256	1687	1172	1765	253	1748 (1762)	1687	1765	..	
15.	Rajendranârâyan (D)	261	1692	1177	1770	259	1754 (1768)	1693	1771	..	
16.	Dharendranârâyan...	262	1693	1178	1772	262	1757 (1771)	1694	1772	..	
14.	Dhairyendranârâyan. (Second time)	265	...	1181	1775	266	1761 (1775)	1702	1780	..	
17.	Harendranârâyan ..	274	1705	1190	1783	270	... 1705	1783	1783	..	

In column (A) the years of the Christian era showing the beginning of the reigns of kings numbered 3, 4, 6, 7 and 11 are inseparably connected with the account of their reigns. So in this history the time of reign of these kings has been changed. Maharaja Visvasinha administered the country before 1496 A. D. But it is inferred that he did so in the name of his father. For this reason, the beginning of his reign is calculated from the declaration of his independence (1496 A. D.)

In this Chapter it will be written after discussion that the beginning of reign of kings numbered 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14 was on 1670, 1688, 1717, 1755 and 1763 A. D. respectively. But in the account of their reigns these dates have not been mentioned. In this history the time as mentioned in the Rājopākhyāna has been adopted regarding the beginning of reign of these five kings as well as kings numbered 1, 5, 10, 15, 16 and 17.

(B). The Christian eras in column B, have been calculated according to the figure on the coin of Maharaja Laksminārāyan 1509 Saka = 92 Rājsaka) and the probable time of the declaration of independence of Maharaja Visvasinha (beginning of Rājsaka or the first year of it in 1496 A. D.). For convenience of reference, under each of these years, the Christian era calculated according to Rājopākhyāna (1 Rājsaka = 1510 A. D.) has been put down within brackets.

(C). In Rājopākhyāna, the name of king Madan is not mentioned. None except Govindadeva Gosvami has mentioned him as a king. In this history Chandan and Madan have not been accepted as kings of the royal dynasty of Cooch Behar.

(D). In Rājopākhyāna it is written that the reign of Rajendranārāyan began in 1693 Sakâbda and 1178 B. S. This appears to be a clerical error.

Comparing the Saka eras as mentioned by Joynath Ghose and Govindadeva Gosvami showing the beginning of reigns of kings, we find a great difference in the aforesaid dates regarding three kings (numbered 1, 3 and 4). The difference of figures or Sakâbda is from one to three years in the case of seven kings (numbered 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15 and 16). There is no difference in figures of Sakâbda in the case of six kings (8, 9, 12, 13, 14 and 17).

It will be seen from the table given to show side by side the different views regarding the installation of each of the Nârâyan kings that converting the Difference of fourteen years. different eras mentioned by Durgadas and Govindadeva regarding the beginning of reign of Maharaja Visvasinha into the Christian era, we arrive at the same year *viz.*, 1508 A.D. According to Joynath Ghose it was (1523 A.D.) 14 Râjsaka, and according to Durgadas it was 1522 A.D. 13 Râjsaka. Under these circumstances, a difference of 14 years is found between the time given by Durgadas and that given by Govindadeva. This difference of 14 years is supported by the coin of Maharaja Laksminârâyan (1509 Saka=92 Râjsaka).

The figures of Râjsaka in five old documents are converted according to the system adopted in Râjopâkhyâna and

the coin of Laksminârâyan into the Christian era. The difference of 14 years as shown below appears as a result:—

Description of documents.	Date of execution in Râjsaka.	A. D. determined according to the system adopted in Râjopâkhyâna (1) Râjsaka = 151 ⁰ A. D.)	A. D. determined according to the coin of Laksminârâyan (92 Râjsaka 1509 Saka).	Difference.
1. Waqqa of Chhatranazir Yajnanârâyan Kumar 'Sâksât hukum pramâna(a).	177	1686	1672	14
2. Ditto.	185	1694	1630	14
3. Waqqa of Bhujadeva Kumar and Chhatranazir Mahijinnârâyan Kumar 'Sâksât hukum (Pramâna).	188	1697	1683	14
4. Waqqa of Sântanârâyan (b).	215	1724	1710	14
5. Perwana of Sântanârâyan mentioned in the copy of the decree dated 1778 A. D. in the Chaklajat case (c).	218	1737	1723	14

(a) 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' ("proof of the order in presence of") were written before the name of the officer by whom and in whose presence the order for executing the document, was passed.

(b) The time of execution of Waqqa (b) (Order or Amalnama) has been written as 215 Râjsaka or 1130 B. S. The figure 1130 appears to be due to a clerical error. It should be 1131.

(c) The Perwana (c) was written in 228 Rajsaka and 1144 B. S.

TIME OF MAHARAJA VISVASINHA.

There are the following differences of opinion regarding the time of birth of Maharaja Visvasinha :—

In Akbarnâmâ (approximate)	... 863 Hijri	1458 A. D.
„ Râjopâkhyâna	... 1422 Saka	1500 A. D.
„ Vansâvali of Kharganârâyan	... 1430 Saka	1508 A. D.
„ Vansâvali of Gandharbanârâyan	... 1430 Saka	1508 A. D.
„ Vansâvali of Ripunjaya	... 4610 Kalyabda	1510 A. D.

It has been mentioned before that in 1405 Saka (1483 A. D.) political relations were established between the Âhom king and Visvasinha and in 1419 Saka (1497 A. D.) he met and made friendship with king Suhum-mung of Assam (Chapter VIII).

In some of the coins of Maharaja Laksminârâyan, the grandson of Visvasinha, the years 1509 and below it 92 have been found together. If 92 Râjsaka was current in Saka 1509 as found in these coins, the beginning of Râjsaka was counted from 1418 Saka (1496 A. D.). Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to hold that the birth of Visvasinha took place before 1496 A. D. and he declared his independence in this year. During the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan the son of Visvasinha, the composition of Akbarnâmâ by Abul Fazl began. According to the account given in this work the date of birth of Visvasinha is found to be one hundred years before the reign of Akbar Salâ (about 863 Hijri or 1458 A. D.). The words " Peshtar âjin vasad sâl " are written in Akbarnâmâ to mention the time

Beginning of Rajsaka.

Birth of Visvasinha.

of birth of Visvasinha. Mr. Beveridge has translated this as 'a hundred years before this'. Akbarnâmâ was not written out in any particular year. The work is not even complete as a biography. Composition of this work was continued up to the end of the writer's life (1602 A. D.). So to understand 'Ajin' (this) as written by him, it is against circumstances to take any particular year. In the Urdu and Hindi collection 'Akbarnâmâ' by Munsi Deviprasad Munsiff of Yodhpur it is written in place of the abovementioned words of Akbarnâmâ regarding the account of the birth of Visvasinha Akbar Bâdsâhake *ahâdse* 115 baras pahle' (115 years before the time of emperor Akbar). Munshi Deviprasad has not composed his work following only Abul Fazl. He had also collected materials from famous historians such as Khaja Nezamuddin Bakshi, Molla Abdul Kader Badauni, Khaja Ata Beg Kardani, Moytamad Khan Mir Baksi and Mohammad Kajem Fereshta. Munsi Deviprasad has interpreted the word 'Ajin' (this) as used by Abul Fazl as 'Âhad' (time or reign) of the emperor. This appears to be reasonable. So if we say '115 years before the time of Akbar', it is necessary to subtract 115 from the year of the beginning of the reign of Akbar (963 Hijri).

The figure of the aforesaid year is not the same in difference manuscripts of Akbarnâmâ. 115 is found in the Urdu and Hindi collection of Munshi Deviprasad; 15 is found in the Persian Akbarnâmâ printed in Newal Kishore Press at Lucknow, 100 is seen in the Persian manuscript (copied in 1059 Hijri or 1648 A. D.) preserved in the Khuda Baksh Library in Patna; 100 is found in the Persian text and its English translation printed by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. According to circumstances, the figure 100 should be accepted.

TIME OF MAHARAJA NARANÂRÂYAN.

There are differences of opinion regarding the time of Maharaja Naranârâyan as shown below :—

		Beginning of reign.	Death..
Introduction to Dâmodarcharita	...	1450 Saka (1528 A. D.)	1506 Saka.
Assam Burunjee	...	1450 Saka (1528 A. D.)	1506 Saka.
Vansâbali of Kharganârâyan	...	1455 Saka (1533 A. D. )	.....
Vansâvali of Gandharvanârâyan	...	1456 Saka (1534 A. D. )	.....
View of Sir Edward Guit	...	..... ( 1540 A. D. )	.....
Râjopâkhyâna	...	1476 Saka (1554 A. D.)	1509 Saka.
Kâmarupa Vansâvali	...	1477 Saka (1555 A. D. )	.....
Vansâvali by Durgadas	...	45 Râjsaka	93 Râjsaka.

It is said that Sri Chaitanya Deva came to Kâmarupa immediately after the installation of Maharaja Naranârâyan.⁽⁴⁾ If this be a fact, the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan began in 1533 A. D. or a little before it. It has been written in the history of the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan (Chapter IX) that he was reigning from before 1554 A. D.

TIME OF MAHARAJA LAKSMINÂRÂYAN.

In the Râjopâkhyâna it is written that the reign of Maharaja Laksminârâyan was from 78 to 112 Râjsaka = 1509 — 1543 Sakâbda = 994 — 1028 B. S. (1587 — 1621 A. D.).

If we take the figure 92 in the coin of Maharaja Laksminârâyan as Râjsaka, we must come to the conclusion that as it is jointly written with 1509

Double eras in coin.

Sakâbda, 1509 Sakâbda was current in 92 Râjsaka and that in this year, his reign began. But according to the opinion of Joynath Ghose 78 Râjsaka was current in 1509 Saka. We have already mentioned the difference of 14 years between Râjsaka 92 and 78. According to Durgadas, Laksminârâyan became king in 93 Râjsaka.

(4) Chaitanyadeva died on the Sukla Saptami Tithi in Asar 1455 Saka (1533 A. D.). It has been mentioned in the account of the reign of Maharaja Naranârâyan (Chapter IX) that there is a difference of opinion regarding the fact of Chaitanyadeva's visit to Kâmarupa.

It has been mentioned in the Chapter on Nârâyani coins that in some coins of Maharaja Laksminârâyan there is figure like 1549 Saka (1627 A. D.) We have also stated (Chapter X) that Ibrahim Khan Fatejang the Subedar of Bengal was killed in a fight with Sahajahan the rebel son of emperor Jehangir in 1033 Hijri (1624 A. D.). Setab Khan has written in his work Baharistan-i-Ghaibi (page 299 Kha) that he got this news while he resided in Hajo with king Laksminârâyan, Satrajit and others. Stephen Cacella, a resident of Portugal, came in September 1626 A. D. to Pandu (near Gauhati) and from there he went to Hajo and met king Laksminârâyan.

After this, in the letter sent by him in October 1627 A. D. the news of the death of Laksminârâyan was mentioned.

Death of Laksminârâyan. From these evidence, it is found that the year in which Laksminârâyan died was 1627 A. D. (1549 Saka). According to the view of Sir Edward Gait the time of death of Laksminârâyan was between 1627 and 1633 A. D.⁽⁵⁾

TIME OF MAHARAJA BIRNÂRÂYAN.

In Râjopâkhyân it is written that Maharaja Birnârâyan reigned from 112 to 117 Râjsaka=1543 to 1548 Sakâbdî (1621—1626 A. D.).

In the work "Mahapurusa Sankara evam Mâdhavadevar Jibancharitra" by Daityâri Thakur, a contemporary of Birnârâyan, it is clearly mentioned that Mâdhava Deva stayed in Bihar and at that time Maharaja Laksminârâyan was alive. It is written in that work that 'Birnârâyan the son of the king, the mother of the king Aye Dhai' and others

(5) "So we may take Lakshminârâyan's death to have occurred somewhere between 1627 and 1633 or about 1630 A. D."

met Mâdhava Deva and that Mâdhava Deva died in 'Behar' (1596 A. D.). It is written in "Sree Sree Damodardeva Charitra" by Nilkantha that the annual Sradh of Dâmodar-deva (1599 A. D.) was performed through the efforts of king Birnârâyan (pages 178, 180). In the beginning of the 17th century, Kavisekhar wrote 'Kirat Parva'. The manuscript of this work is in the State Library, Cooch Behar. Its colophons are as follows:—

"In 1527 Saka, the Sun was in Makar (in the zodiac). It was Thursday, the Panchami Tithi in Suklapaksa. Spring entered into the garden, scented winds blew on all sides and Cupid met in word and mind. Brinârâyan is king in his every life. He has taken birth in the city of Bihar assuming a human body." *Page 4.*

"Under orders of Maharaja Birnârâyan, Kavisekhar utters Govinda always." *Page 48.*

"Kamatâpuri (in name) in Bihar is Amarâvati (the city of Gods) whose lord is Birnârâyan Deva." *Page 18.*

According to the quoted extract, the 3rd Magh 1527 Saka (1606 A. D.) was Thursday and Sri Panchami Tithi. According to the table in Jyotiskalpadrum, this tallies with actual date. In the manuscript mentioned above Birnârâyan has been mentioned 'Naresvar' (lord of men or king) and Maharaja.

It is written in Baharistan-i-Ghaibi that when Laksmi-nârâyan was imprisoned in Dacca, his son ruled the country but in this work the name of the king's

Beginning of Birnârâyan's reign. son is not given. According to the account given by the European traveller Stephen Cacella, Laksmi-nârâyan was not alive at the end of 1627 A. D. So the beginning of Birnârâyan's reign should be calculated from this year. Before this, it was very probably necessary for Laksmi-nârâyan to make over charge of administration to his son Birnârâyan as he himself was extremely busy owing

to the raids of Pariksit. Some support of this is found in the work 'Baharistau-i-Ghaibi' and the account given by Stephen Cacella. During the time of Maharaja Naranârâyan his brother Sukladhvaj was called 'Raja'. The European traveller Ralph Fitch has mentioned Sukladhvaja as 'Raja'. It is not deemed impossible that the poet (Kavisekhar) should have called Kumar Birnârâyan entrusted with the administration, 'Naresvar' or "Maharaja". It has been shown in the account of his reign that most of the

Death of Birnârâyan.

accounts regarding Maharaja Laksminârâyan as given in Râjopâkhyâna are not supported by history. It has been mentioned that the daughter of Maharaja Laksminârâyan was betrothed to the Ahom king but Laksminârâyan died before this marriage could take place, (Chapter X). The Ahom king sent a messenger to Bitnârâyan (Birnârâyan) the son of Laksminârâyan to bring the princess in the month of Dinchhip (Bhadra) in the era Ahom Taochhingar 41 Lakui Kapchhi (1632 A. D.) but Birnârâyan did not agree to give away his sister. This messenger came to the kingdom of Kamata two or three months before the beginning of Ahom Taochhingar 42 Lakui Dapchen era (1633 A. D.). Under these circumstances, we must hold that Birnârâyan was king up to the middle of 1632 A. D.

TIME OF MAHARAJA PRANNÂRAYAN.

In Râjopâkhyâna the reign of Maharaja Prannârâyan is given as 117 to 156 Rajsaka—1548-1587 Sakabda (1626-1665 A. D.).

A coin dated 1554 Sakabda (1632 A. D.) of Maharaja Prannârâyan has been discovered and this has been mentioned in the Chapter on Narayani Coins. If we accept that his father Maharaja Birnârâyan was alive in 1632 A. D., it must be in that very year that his father died and his reign began. After 1588 Sakabda (1666 A. D.) a king of 'Bihar' sent two persons named Ramcharan and Bhakatcharan as

ambassadors to Assam, but the name of the king sending these messengers has not been discovered. We have mentioned that Maharaja Prannârâyan sent Ramcharan as an ambassador to Assam but its time is not mentioned. If these two embassies of Ramcharan were one and the same, we may come to the conclusion that Prannârâyan was alive up to 1666 A. D. when the ambassador was despatched. A half-coin of Maharaja Prannârâyan has been mentioned in the Chapter on Narayni Coins. This has been inferred to have been struck in 161 Râjsaka (1670 A. D.).⁽⁶⁾

TIME OF MAHARAJA MODNÂRÂYAN.

It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that Maharaja Modnârâyan reigned from 156—171 Râjsaka. We have mentioned before that an original Sunnud granted by him in 166 Râjsaka and a coin dated 179 Râjsaka have been discovered.

Some old Waqqas have been preserved in the record room (Mahafez Khana) of the State Council and Maleutchery in Cooch Behar. At the top of these there is a seal bearing "Sree" and the words "Sree Sree Maharajar hukum". The name of the Maharaja is in most cases not mentioned.⁽⁷⁾

It is only those cases where any king has granted a new Waqqa acknowledging, changing or enlarging gifts of a previous ruler that the previous Waqqas have been mentioned along with the date of execution. Discussions will be made in this Chapter regarding many Waqqas of this nature. In some of these

(6) Discussions regarding the reading of coins have been made in the Chapter entitled Narayani Coins, (Chapter XV).

(7) The names of kings mentioned as grantors of the Waqqas by the claimants in the Waqqas filed in Settlement cases in 1871 and 1872 were not always correct. As the Lakhiraj Register of the State has been prepared according to this, it is also not free from error. This difficulty has arisen as names of kings were not written on Waqqas.

reference to the previous grantors is made in the following manner:—

“ <i>Bâlô Raja</i> ”	...	Living king who is the father.
“ <i>Agô Raja</i> ”	...	Preceding living king.
“ <i>Svargi Raja</i> ”	...	Deceased king who immediately preceded.
“ <i>Ati svargi Raja</i> ”	...	Deceased king previous to immediate.
“ <i>Purva ati svargi Raja</i> ...		Deceased king preceding two kings of this nature.
“ <i>Bâppâ svargi Raja</i> ” ...		Deceased king who was the grandfather.
“ <i>Jethô svargi Raja</i> ” ...		Deceased uncle who was king.

As there was a great gap between the predecessors and successors, it was written in a Waqqa of Maharaja Rupnârâyan “ My predecessor Raja Naranârâyan ”.⁽⁸⁾

In some Waqqas when the names of the Nazir and the Dewan were written their connection with the king granting the Waqqa was also mentioned along with the same. For example :—

- “ Chhatranazir Bhâyâ Mahijinârâyan Kumar ”
- “ Chhatranazir Bhâyâ Lalitnârâyan Kumar ”
- “ Chhatranazir Dâdâ Rudranârâyan Kumar ”
- “ Chhatranazir Bhâtijâ Khagendranârâyan Kumar ”
- “ Bâbâ Dewan Kumar ”
- “ Dâdo Dewan Kumar ”
- “ Gâburnâzir Bâbâ Lalitnârâyan ” etc.

(8) . The practice of writing (signifying Isvar) before the name of living kings is still in vogue in Cooch Behar but the adjective ‘ Svargi ’ is not used. In some old Waqqas we find “ Svargi Maha v. jar ”.

TIME OF MAHARAJA RUPNÂRÂYAN.

In Rājopâkhyâna it is mentioned that Maharaja Rupnârâyan reigned from 185—205 Râjsaka = 1616—1636 Sakâbda = 1101—1121 B. S. (194—1714 A. D.)

In Rājopâkhyâna the time of the beginning of reign of Maharaja Rupnârâyan has been counted from the death of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan. But this usurpation by Yajnanârâyan cannot be accepted. After the death of Mahindranârâyan when Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan usurped the throne, it must have taken some time for finishing his quarrels with Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva. It has been mentioned in the account of reign of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan that Yajnanârâyan occupied the throne at least for some time. There is mention of a deed of gift in another deed of gift written on the 11th Magh 213 Râjsaka : " Svargi Rajar Waqqa anurûp 200 sakar 15 Jaisther " ("according to the Waqqa dated 15th Jaisth 200 Râjsaka of the previous deceased king"). Maharaja Upendranârâyan reigned in 243 Râjsaka. So it is supported by this that his father and the king immediately preceding him viz. Maharaja Rupnârâyan was living in 200 Râjsaka.

In a waqqa written on the 11th Asar 214 Râjsaka it is written " 198 Sakâr 21 Asar Svargi & Rajar Waqqa ". If 214 Râjsaka be within the period of reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, it is proper to assume that the Waqqa dated 198 Râjsaka was granted by his 'Svargi & Raja' (the deceased king immediately preceding) i.e. Maharaja Rupnârâyan. There is a Waqqa dated the 12th Magh 216 Râjsaka. The gift by it was not subsequently (in Settlement case No. 1868 dated 1871 A. D.) accepted as valid. There is a

mention of previous two Waqqas in this Waqqa, e.g. "Bole 195 Sakâr 5 Asvin Svargi u jar ek Waqqa" and "ar 194 Sakâr 8 Faguner âr ek Waqqa". It is not mentioned who was the grantor of this second waqqa. 216 Râjsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan;

Kupnârâyan and his predecessor.

so it is inferred that 195 Râjsaka was in the reign of Rupnârâyan "his Svargi u jar", and 194 Râjsaka was in the reign of another king preceding him. It is written in a Waqqa dated the 18th Sraban 188 Râjsaka "186 Sakâr terikh 23 se Falgun humum karichi" ("orders were passed on the 23rd Falgun 186 Râjsaka"), Under these circumstances, it is not unreasonable to suppose that 18th Sraban 188 Rajsaka and the 23rd Falgun 186 Râjsaka were within the reign of the same king (preceding Rupnârâyan).

The aforsaid Waqqa dated the 18th Sraban 118 Râjsaka was made 'Ruju' ⁽⁹⁾ by Bhujadeva Kumar, Chhatra Nazir Bhâyâ Mahijinnârâyan Kumar and Bhabâninath Khasnis. There is seal on

Bhâyâ Mahijinnârâyan.

its back but as it is on the back, it cannot be supported to be the seal of the king. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Other letters except the word 'Nârâyan' in the seal are not legible. It is against the circumstances to consider that Kumar Bhujadeva Raikat made Ruju of this Waqqa as an officer of Maharaja Rupnârâyan. It is not known of what family Mahijinnârâyan was a Kumar. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that during the time of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan, the predecessor of Rupnârâyan, Jagadeva died and Bhujadeva was ill. It is written in the account collected by Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Rupnârâyan became king after Raikat Bhujadeva was killed.

(9) The meaning of the word 'Ruju' is to present it before the king for execution.

(10) It is against the practice of the State to put a royal seal under or on the back of any document.

It is written in the copy of the decree of the Chaklajat case in 1778 A. D. that before Rupnârâyan became king Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva were killed by Yajnanârâyan. By these statements 18th Sraban of 188 Râjsaka falls outside the reign of Maharaja Rupnârâyan. The Raikats were attempting at that time to occupy the kingdom. Had Raikat Jagadeva declared himself as king, the said Waqqa might have been made 'Ruju' by Bhujadeva Kumar.

Another Waqqa dated the 10th Asar 185 Râjsaka has been discovered. It is written in it "Saksât hukum pramâna Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan Kumar O Sri

Existence of Yajnanârâyan. Bâlaram Khâsnis". It is written in

Râjopâkhyâna that Chhatra Nazir Yajna-nârâyan died in Rajsaka 182 during the reign of Maharaja Mahindranârâyan. It is written in the account given to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Yajnanârâyan died during the reign of Mahindranârâyan or after his death when disputes were going on with the two Raikats. It is written in the copy of the decree in the Chaklajat case of 1778 A. D. that during the time of Fouzdar Ali Kuli Khan (1107-1118 B. S.—191-202 Râjsaka) at first the two Raikats and then 'Raja' Yajnanârâyan died, and afterwards (his nephew) Rupnârâyan became king.

Death of Yajnanârâyan and beginning of the reign of Rupnârâyan.

So it is not deemed reasonable to hold that Rupnârâyan became king while Yajnanârâyan held the office of the

Chhatra Nazir (16th Asar 185 Rajsaka). Discussing all the various aforesaid circumstances, we come to learn that Yajna-nârâyan usurped the throne for 8 or 9 years from 186 to 194 Râjsaka (1695—1703 A. D.) but this usurpation was not unchallenged. The two Raikats were up to the last attempting to occupy the kingdom and they died approximately between 1700 to 1702 A. D.

It is written in a Waqqa executed on the 1st Asar 242 Râjsaka: "Sâvargi वं jar waqqa anurup dewan Khasnaviser sanad mata 207 sakâr 27 se Srabane daptarer sanad * * e take Svargi वं Râjâ waqqa mate daftarer sanade pâwâ châri bisher jami" (four *Bishes* of land found in the Duftar according to the Waqqa of the deceased king immediately preceding corresponding to Sunnud in the Dufter dated the 27th Sraban 207 Râjsaka according to the Sunnud of Dewan Khasnavis following the Waqqa of the deceased king immediately preceding) were given.⁽¹¹⁾ 242 Râjsaka was within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. So 27th Sraban of 207 Râjsaka falls within the reign of the deceased king immediately preceding him ('Svargi वं Raja') viz. Maharaja Rupnârâyan. After this, from the account of the Waqqa mentioned below written on the 28th

Death of Rupnârâyan.

Chaitra 210 A. D. the time of death of Maharaja Rupnârâyan is found to be at the end of 207 Râjsaka.

TIME OF MAHARAJA UPENDRANARAYAN.

The reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan according to Râjopâkhyâna was from 205-254 Râjsaka - 1121-1170 B. S = 1636-1685 Sakabda.

In 210 Râjsaka Maharaja Upendranârâyan was ruling. In a Waqqa dated the 28th Chaitra 210 Râjsaka it is written " Sri

Beginning of the reign of
Upendranârâyan.

Radhanath Misra has put the royal Tilak (on my forehead at the time of installation).

As a Daksina, I have issued a Waqqa dated the 20th Chaitra 207 Râjsaka granting the said Misra two villages as Brahmottar. But he has not yet got that

(11) From this sentence it is found that Waqqa and Sunnud are different documents. As Sunnud was a special document, there was a custom to preserve a copy of this in the Sherista.

land". The old custom of Cooch Behar is that favours granted to persons at the time of installation were immediately written then and there in Waqqas and the Waqqa ordering the cremation of the deceased king was also issued at that time.⁽¹²⁾ Had this Waqqa been issued according to this custom, the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan began on the 20th Chaitra 207 Râjsaka. We have mentioned before that the Waqqi dated the 27th Sraban 207 Râjsaka was issued by his father ('Svargi u Raja')

In a Waqqi dated the 15th Chaitra 264 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan it is written "Waqqa was granted by Bappa Svargi u Raja on the 26th Baisakh 210 Râjsaka". 210 Râjsaka was within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan and he was the uncle of the father of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. So he was Bappa (Bapu or grandfather) of Dharendranârâyan.

213 Râjsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. In a waqqa dated the 11th Magh 243 Râjsaka, it is mentioned : "In my Waqqa dated 8th Agrahayan 225 Râjsaka; in another Waqqa given by me on the 17th Falgun 213 Saka; in another Waqqa given by me on the 5th Agrahayan 227 Râjsaka". From this, 243 Râjsaka is found to be within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. It is written in a Waqqa dated the 10th Aswin 244 Râjsaka "Got Brahmottar under my Waqqa dated 21st Jaisth 240 Saka". So 244 Râjsaka also was within the reign of the aforesaid king.

(12) Account of the installation of Maharaja Harendranârâyan (Râjopâkhyâna, Pratyaksa Khanda, Adhyâya I.) Account of the appointment of Chhatranazir Abhoy-nârâyan, Rudranârâyan and Gaburnazir Khagendranârâyan.

Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 79, 85.

TIME OF DINNÂRAYAN.

In about 1736 A. D. Saiyed Ahmed, the Fouzdar of Rungpur occupied the kingdom of Cooch Behar to make Dinnârâyan 'king'. At first Maharaja

Reign of Dinnârâyan.

Upendranârâyan was defeated in battle and took shelter in the hilly country but

later on he rescued his kingdom. In Râjopâkhyâna, there is mention of the king's defeat but there is no mention that Dinnârâyan became king. According to Durgadas, at this time Dinnârâyan was king for eight days. Half a century after this battle, in the account given (in 1788 A. D.) to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet, the fact of Dinnârâyan's becoming king has been supported and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton also has mentioned (in 1808 A. D.) Dinnârâyan as 'Raja'. From contemporary other evidences also, it is supported that Dinnârâyan became king. At that time there were Mughal territories on three sides of the kingdom of Cooch Behar. So though it might have been possible for a defeated and escaped ruler to collect an army and rescue his kingdom after driving away the Fouzdar it cannot be said that it was done within a short time. For the following reason it is inferred that the kingdom was under Dinnârâyan from 226 to 229 Râjsaka (1736—1738 A. D.).

A Waqqa written on the 25th Bhadra 254 Râjsaka has been ascertained by discussion as granted by Purva ati Svargi Raja. Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. In that Waqqa there is reference to another Waqqa dated 31st Chaitra 229 Râjsaka and granted by 'Purva ati Svargi Raja'. This 'Purva ati Svargi Raja' can only be Dinnârâyan and not Upendranârâyan or Rupnârâyan.

It is written in a Waqqa dated the 12th Chaitra 226 Rajsaka (1736 A. D.) : "Baba Dewan Kumar". Though it may be said that 226 Rajsaka was within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, this Waqqa could not have been granted by Maharaja Upendranârâyan. Dewan Satyanârâyan and Kharganârâyan were respectively the uncle and brother of Upendranârâyan. In about 228 Rajsaka Satyanârâyan was dismissed and Kharganârâyan was appointed Dewan. Dinnârâyan was the natural son of Satyanârâyan and when this Dinnârâyan became king he wrote in 226 Râjsaka "Baba Dewan Kumar" meaning (his father) Satyanârâyan. Nothing else can be inferred from this. In the aforesaid Waqqa Gaurinandan Sarma (Mustafi) was ' Saksât hukum Pramâna '. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that when war began with the Fouzdar, Khasnavis Mahadev Ray ran away and Gaurinandan Mustafi was appointed Khasnavis in place of Mahadev Ray. But he was removed from this post at the end of the war. For this reason it is not unreasonable to suppose that like Dewan Satyanârâyan, Gaurinandan Sarma (Mustafi) also took the side of Dinnârâyan.

Lalitnarayan was the natural son of Visvanârâyan and the adopted son of Chhatranazir Sântanârâyan. Dinnârâyan by natural relationship and Lalitnârâyan by distant relationship were cousins of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. Lalitnârâyan issued a Perwana on the 21st Bhadra 229 Râjsaka appointing Gauri-prasad Sarma as his Naib. This Perwana was supported by a Waqqa of the king on the following 1st Aswin. In this Waqqa granted by the king "Sree Baba Gabur Nazir Lalit-nârâyan Konwar and Sree Rasik Ray" are ' saksât hukum pramâna '. In three places of this Waqqa it is written "Baba Gabur Nazir Lalitnârâyan ". The originals of these two docu-

Undefined Waqqa.

ments have not been found. Certified copies of these have been preserved⁽¹³⁾. Maharaja Upendranârâyan or (the temporary) Raja Dinnârâyan cannot address Lalitnârâyan as ' Baba '. So it is difficult to ascertain who granted this Waqqa. Considering the relationship, the king who was the grantor of this Waqqa was the father or uncle of Kumar Lalitnârâyan (and accordingly of also Dinnârâyan) and we must hold that Gauriprasad Sarma, Kumar Lalitnârâyan and Rasik Ray were his officers. Another Waqqa dated the 12th Asar 231 Râjsaka in which Rasik Ray was ' saksat hukum pramana ' has been discovered. Rasik Ray, the son of Rudra Ray, the zemindar of Kakina, within Rungpur, was living at this time and it was mentioned in a connected case that the Petbhata land got by Rudra Ray was granted sometime before this (227 Râjsaka).

There was no difference in circumstances regarding the accession to the throne of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan, Rajendra-nârâyan and Dinnârâyan. Later on (in 1873 A. D.) the aforesaid Waqqa granted by Dinnârâyan in 226 Râjsaka has been accepted as genuine.

TIME OF MAHARAJA DEVENDRANÂRÂYAN.

The reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan according to Râjopâkhyâna was from 254-256 Râjsaka = 1170-1172 B.S. = 1685-1687 Sakabada.

In a Waqqa dated the 11th Sraban 245 Râjsaka, it is written: " The Sunnud given to you on the 25th Chaitra 244 Saka granting land of two villages as Brahmottar, has been placed before the Huzur and proclaimed ". It is not mentioned in this Waqqa who granted this Sunnud. If we take the verb

Beginning of reign of
Devendranârâyan.

(13) In the certified copies, there is a Persian seal of the Kazi of Rungpur in 1199 B. S. (1792 A. D.).

' given ' as related to third person, we shall have to hold that Devendranârâyan became king between 244 and 245 Râjsaka. (14)

On the 15th Agraheyan 246 Râjsaka the Devaraja of

' Khura ' Dewan Deo and
Nazir Deo.

Bhutan sent a letter to the king of Cooch Behar. We find in the same " You, your uncle (Khura) Dewandeo and Nazir Deo".

In the letter dated the 13th Pous of the same year written by the Devaraja to ' Pradhan Karbari ' (chief minister) Gauri-nandan Mustafi, we find : " Sakkhi (friend) Nazir Deo and Bhai Dewandeo ". From this it is established that those who were Nazir (Lalitnârâyan) and Dewan (Kharganârâyan) in Agraheyan and Paus 246 Râjsaka were brothers and uncles of the king. If we do not hold that Devendranârâyan was king at this time, these relationships become improbable.

In a Waqqa written on the 2nd Sraban 248 Râjsaka we find : " You have got 14 Bishes of land as Brahmottar on the 15th Magh 213 Saka from Svargi Maharaja. That Waqqa has become old. " 213 Râjsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. According to practice, the king immediately

(14) According to the old style of writing " Dichhe " is not always a verb referring to the third person. In different Waqqas " Karila ", " Dili " and " Dila " have been used as verbs referring to the first person and " Dibo ", " Karibo " etc. as verbs of the second person.

In old manuscripts of this country, the use of verbs is as follows :

" Beda paksa bâna âr sasanka sakata.

Ârambha karilo markandeya kathâ yata."

Mârkandeya Purana by Pitambar page 2.

" I begin the narratives of Markandeya in Saka 1524, "

" Âdiparva Bhâratere susobhan pada.

Rachila Srinath Ram bolâ sabhâsada "

Pages 59, 63, 71.

" The beautiful verses of the Âdiparva of the Mahabârata are written by Srinath.

Courtiers ? Say ' Rama '."

In the above colophons ' karilo ' should be understood as ' karilam ' and ' Bolâ ' as ' Bala '.

succeeding him *viz.* Maharaja Devendranârâyan can mention him as 'Svargi Maharaja'. So 248 Râjsaka is considered as within the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan.

In the manuscript of the work 'Sâttvata Tantra' (page 28) preserved in Cooch Behar Sahitya Sabha we find the following colophon :

"Dvija Ramchandra according to the request of the great Dvija Ramananda Deva wrote this desirable Sâttvata Tantra on Saturday in Krishna Paksa in Falgun in Saka 1680 when Sree Sree Devendranârâyan was the king of Bihar, the best of the countries, a part of Kâmarupa and recognised by persons possessing talents.

Râjsaka of my own country 249. Let there be auspiciousness to me the writer."

This manuscript was written during the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan in 1680 Saka in the original, sesha means 1,

Ati svargi अति स्वर्गी Raja. Riddhi or Aisvarya 6, asta 8 and Kha O = 1680 Saka or 1759 A.D.) corresponding to 249 Râjsaka. In a Waqqa written

on the 5th Falgun 263 Râjsaka during the time of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan we find: "Getting this in the Waqqa of ati svargi अति स्वर्गी Raja dated the 7th Sraban 239 Saka." This year can be read 239 as well as 249. If Dharendranârâyan says 'Ati svargi अति स्वर्गी Raja' he will mean Maharaja Devendranârâyan because the father of Dharendranârâyan was living at this time (263 Rajsaka) and was a prisoner in Bhutan.

In a certified copy of a Waqqa written on the 25th Falgun 252 Râjsaka we find: "In the Waqqa containing my order dated the 10th Asvin 250 Saka." From this Râjsaka 250 and 252 fall within the reign of the same king.

In a Waqqa written on the 22nd Sraban 252 Rajsaka we find: "Getting at present the Waqqa of ati svargi Raja dated 203 Saka". 23 Rajsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja

Rupnârâyan. We have mentioned before that the king preceding the immediate predecessor of a particular king is termed 'ati svargi'. If this be accepted, 252 Rajsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja Devendranârâyan.

In a Waqqa dated the 27th Bhadra 252 Rajsaka it is written: "You have been given lands of five villages as

Brahmottar by Dado Dewan Kumar as
Dado Dewan Kumar. Mansab of Dado & Dewan Kumar".

Among the members of the royal family, we have found that Satyanârâyan Kumar was first appointed Dewan and he by relationship was the uncle of Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Dado (grand-father) of Devendranârâyan. After Satyanârâyan, Khagendranârâyan the brother of Maharaja Upendranârâyan became Dewan. The three kings Devendranârâyan, Dhairyendranârâyan and Rajendranârâyan can address Satyanârâyan as 'Dado', but 252 Rajsaka cannot fall within the reign of the two last mentioned kings. So it is not reasonable to imagine that any one else than Maharaja Devendranârâyan was the grantor of the aforesaid Waqqa (in 252 Rajsaka). Maharaja Upendranârâyan cannot call any Dewan 'Dado'. In 252 Rajsaka Dewan Kharganârâyan was living. So it is against the custom to use the sign \checkmark signifying death before his name.

In the certified copy of the aforesaid Waqqa written on the 25th Falgun 252 Râjsaka, we find: "Chhatra Nazir Dada Sree Rudranârâyan Kumarak." Rudranârâyan was a cousin of Maharaja Devendranârâyan and was older than the latter.

TIME OF MAHARAJA DHAIRYENDRANÂRÂYAN (FIRST TIME).

The period of reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan for the first time is mentioned in Râjopâkhyâna as 256-261 Râjsaka = 1172-1177 B.S. = 1687-1692 Sakâbda.

It is mentioned in Rājopâkhyâna that Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan performed the installation of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. Eye-witnesses of this have mentioned the same in 1788 A.D. (279 Râjsaka) before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet.

In a Waqqa dated the 25th Bhadra 254 Râjsaka we find: "Bole ati svargi व jâr waqqaya dui bish sât doner jami mor pitri brahmottar pâyâchhe —e take purva ati svargi व jar wakka pâwa ihâr pitri brahmottar bhog bâbad 229 sakâr 31 Chaitre vilâti âr tâni kâmât vilâyat behar taluk Kârisalat".⁽¹⁵⁾ Though 229 Râjsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan, Dinnârâyan was *de facto* the king at this time. So the use of 'Purva ati svargi व jâr' will not be justified if this deed dated 254 Râjsaka was not granted by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan. Except Dhairyendranârâyan, Devendranârâyan cannot call the temporary ruler Dinnârâyan 'Purva ati svargi'. So the 25th Bhadra 254 Saka falls within the reign of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan.

In a certified copy of a Waqqa written on the 16th Falgun, 254 Râjsaka, we find: "Chhatranazir Bhatija Sree Khagendra-nârâyan Kumar." Both Maharaja Bhatija Khagendranârâyan, Devendranârâyan and Dhairyendranârâyan can call Khagendranârâyan Bhatija (nephew), but Khagendranârâyan was not the Nazir or Gabur Nazir at the time of Maharaja Devendranârâyan. Under these circumstances the Waqqa written on the 16th Falgun 254 Rajsaka must be supposed to have been granted by Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan or in other words, he was on the throne on this date.

(15). In one place of this Waqqa there are the words "Anti svargi" and in other place "Purva ati svargi".

It is revealed from the evidence of eye-witnesses given before the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Khagendra-

Beginning of the reign of
Dhairyendranârâyan.

nârâyan became Gabur Nazir in 254 Râjsaka - on the very day on which the installation of Dhairyendranârâyan took

place. (16). It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that when Devendranârâyan was assassinated, potters were digging a well near the place of occurrence. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 13). In Cooch Behar, the time for sinking wells is in the month of Chaitra or Baisakh. So it can be assumed that the reign of Dhairyendranârâyan began from Baisakh 254 Râjsaka.

It is written in a Waqqa dated the 25th Sraban 260 Râjsaka "Sâksât hukum pramâna Sree Sachinandan Sarma". Sachinandan Mustofi was a Principal officer of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan and was imprisoned with him in Bhutan.

In a Wakka dated the 27th Bhadra 261 Râjsaka we find: "Sâksât hukum pramâna Haresvar Kârji Khâs Dewaniâ".

Imprisonment of Dhairyendranârâyan.

Maharaja Rajendranârâyan appointed Haresvar as Khas Dewania. In this

Waqqa there is a mention of two older Waqqas. One was granted by 'Svargi & Raja' on the 5th Jaisth 224 Râjsaka and the other was written on the 27th Falgun 260 Râjsaka. In the last mentioned Waqqa the name of the grantor is not mentioned. So it is reasonable to infer that the two Waqqas dated 27th Bhadra 261 Râjsaka and 27th Falgun 260 Râjsaka respectively were granted by the same king. From this we get the time of Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan's becoming a prisoner and the installation of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan as between Falgun 260 Râjsaka and Bhadra 261 Râjsaka. Eye-witnesses have mentioned before Commissioners Mercer

(16). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 80, 82 & 85.

and Chauvet that the reign of Rajendranârâyan lasted only for two years and some months⁽¹⁷⁾.

TIME OF MAHRAJA RAJENDRANÂRÂYAN

It is written in Râjopakhyaña that Maharaja Râjendranârâyan reigned from 261 to 262 Rajsaka = 1178-1179 B.S. = 1693-1694 Sakabda. 261 Râjsaka is not equivalent to 1178 B.S. or 1693 Saka. This appears to be a mistake in copying. This mistake has also crept in the translation of Râjopâkhyâna by Rev. Robinson.⁽¹⁸⁾ According to the calculation accepted by Joynath Ghose, these should be 1177 B.S. and 1692 Sakabda respectively.

Haresvar Karji Khas Dewania was the Pradhan Karbari (chief minister) of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan.

In a Waqqa written on the 22nd Jaisth 261 Râjsaka by 'Sâksât hukum

^{wRaja.} pramâna Haresver Karji Khas Dewania,' it is written "Aga w jar 259 sakâr 19 se Âsvine Waqqa diyâchhe", ("Waqqa was given by the previous king on the 19th Asvin 259 Saka"). Here the adjective 'Svargi' has not been used as really speaking at the time of Rajendranârâyan, Âgâ (the previous) Raja Dhairyendranârâyan was living and was a prisoner in Bhutan.

It is written in a Waqqa dated the 14th Chaitra 265 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan : "In the waqqa

^{Jetho svargi w Raja} granted by Jetho svargi w Raja on the 2nd Bhadro 261 Saka, Petbhata was given to you of 4 Bishes of land".

Maharaja Rajendranârâyan and Devendranârâyan were both

(17) Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, pages 149-151.

(18) Râjopâkhyâna, Narakhana, Chapter 16, English Translation, page 86.

uncles of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. Devendranârâyan was younger than the father of Dharendranârâyan.⁽¹⁹⁾ So Devendranârâyan cannot be "Jetho" (uncle senior in age to father) of Dharendranârâyan; Rajendranârâyan was the "Jetho" of Dharendranârâyan.

In a Waqqa written on the 9th Asvin 261 Râjsaka we find "Jetho svargi व Râjâ". 261 Râjsaka is within the reign of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan and Maharaja Upendranârâyan was his "Jetho".

In another Waqqa written on the 15th Chaitra 264 Râjsaka and bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan we find "Jetho svargi व Raja".

Paramananda Tarkalankar in the 5th page of the manuscript 'Vanaparva' written by him in 288 Râjsaka (1797 A.D.) has mentioned :

"Afterwards his eldest, king Rajendra, the best in all qualities".

In Râjopâkhyâna, Rajendranârâyan has been mentioned as the eldest brother of Dhairyendranârâyan. In the genealogical tables given by Mr. Moore and Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet it has been mentioned that among the sons of Kharga-nârâyan, Ramnârâyan was the eldest, Dhairyendranârâyan was the second and Rajendranârâyan was the third. All these differences of opinion have been solved by Dharendranârâyan's (son of Dhairyendranârâyan) calling Rajendranârâyan 'Jetho' in a Waqqa granted by him.

There is another Waqqa dated 15th Magh 262 Râjsaka issued by 'Sâksât hukum pramâna Haresvar Karji Khas

(19) Captain Turner came to Cooch Behar in 1783 A. D. He has mentioned Dhairyendranârâyan the father of Dharendranârâyan as "an infirm old man."

Dewania'. So it is to be accepted that Maharaja Rajendra-nârâyan was living up to this time, for Hareswar left his service immediately on the death of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan.

Maharaja Rajendranârâyan died at the end of 262 Râjsaka (1178 B. S.). One eye-witness mentioned before Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Rajendranârâyan died in Chaitra 1179 B. S. 1179 is a printing mistake. It should be 1178.

Rupchandra Barakayasth Karji was the maternal uncle of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan and one of the principal officers of the State. A Waqqa in his 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' was granted from Balarampur on the 17th Falgun 263 Râjsaka. In it the following is found: "That waqqa given to your father on the 15th Falgun 1178 Saka granting land of half a village regarding other gifts of lands to the priest Sree Nârâyan by the Suttees of Svargi ✓ Raja, has become old." It can be inferred from this that the death of 'Svargi ✓ Raja (Rajendranârâyan) as mentioned by Dharendranârâyan and mounting of his wives on the funeral pyre took place on the aforesaid 15th Falgun or shortly before this.

TIME OF MAHARAJA DHARENDRANÂRAYAN.

In the Râjopâkhyâna it is mentioned that Maharaja Dharendranârâyan reigned from 262 to 265 Râjsaka = 1178 to 1181 B.S.

A Waqqa dated 12th Chaitra 262 Râjsaka (1178 B. S. = 1772 A. D.) bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan has been discovered. It is proved from this that before the 12th Chaitra, Maharaja Rajendranârâyan died and Maharaja Dharendranârâyan became king.

Waqqas dated the 1st Magh and 14th Chaitra, 265 Râjsaka (1181 B.S. = 1775 A. D.) bearing the seal of Maharaja

Dharendranârâyan have been found. It is established from the same that Maharaja Dharendranârâyan was alive at least up to the 14th Chaitra of the aforesaid year.

In the Waqqa written on the 1st Magh 265 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan Some relationships. these words are written together :

"Bappa svargi ւ Raja o Baba ւ Raja o amar o ւ Devai ւ Aye Devatir datta o Dado devan kumarer o dada Nazir kumar."

At this time Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan the father of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan was living. So the adjective 'svargi' was not used in writing 'Bâbâ ւ Raja'. It is also seen that 'Bâppâ svargi ւ Raja' and Bâbâ ւ Raja' were not applied to the same person and 'Dâdo (grandfather) and 'Dâdâ' denote different relationships. Dewan Kharganârâyan was the 'Dâdo' and Chhatra Nazir Khagendranârâyan was the 'Dâdâ' of Maharaja Dharendranârâyan. (20)

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR YAJNANÂRÂYAN KUM R.

It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that Yajnanârâyan got the post of Chhatra Nazir after Maharaja Mahindranârâyan became king, (173 Râjsaka) and he died in usurpation of Yajnanârâyan 182 Râjsaka (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 10).

Two Waqqas dated 177 and 185 Râjsaka bearing 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' of Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan have been discovered. It is mentioned in

(20). Dewan Kharganârâyan was not alive in 265 Râjsaka. But in this document the adjective 'Svargi' has not been used before 'Dâdo devan kumar'. In another Waqqa dated 27th Bhadra 261 Râjsaka issued by 'Sâksât hukum pramâna Haresvar Kârji Khas Dewania', the king who granted a Waqqa on the 5th Jaisth 224 Râjsaka has been mentioned as 'Svargi Raja'. 261 Râjsaka falls within the reign of Maharaja Rajendranârâyan and 224 Râjsaka within that of Maharaja Upendranârâyan. It was fit for Rajendranârâyan to mention Upendranârâyan as 'Ati svargi Reja' but in this place also, we find an exception to the usual manner of writing.

the copy of the decree of the Chaklajat case (1778 A. D.) that 'Raja' Yajnanârâyan died between 107 and 1118 B. S. (191-202 Râjsaka). According to evidence discussed regarding the time of reign of Maharaja Rupnârâyan, it appears that Yajnanârâyan usurped the kingdom from 186 to 194 Râjsaka (1695-1703 A.D.).

TIME OF DEWAN SATYANÂRÂYAN.

Kumar Satyanârâyan was appointed Dewan by Maharaja Rupnârâyan and he was dismissed by Maharaja Upendranârâyan in about 228 Râjsaka (1737-38 A. D.). A certified copy of a deed of gift of a land dated the 2nd Jaisth 201 Râjsaka made by Satyanârâyan has been preserved but there is no indication in the same what post he held at that time. A Waqqa bearing his 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' dated 211 Râjsaka (1720 A. D.) has also been discovered.

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR LALITNÂRÂYAN KUMAR.

The name of Chhatranazir Santanârâyan is greatly famous in the history of Cooch Behar. It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that he was appointed as Chhatra Nazir in 182 Râjsaka by Maharaja Mahindra-nârâyan and he died in 199 Râjsaka (1708 A. D.) during the reign of the next king Maharaja Rupnârâyan. (Narakhanda, Adhyâyas 10 and 11).

Certified copies of documents regarding Chaklajat and bearing the seal of Sântanârâyan and written in 203, 215 and 225 Râjsaka have been discovered. In the copy of the decree of the Chaklajat case (1778 A.D.) there is mention of a document executed by Sântanârâyan and bearing the date 228 Râjsaka and 1144 B. S. A Waqqa dated 211 Râjsaka bearing 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' of Chhatra Nazir Sântanârâyan has also been discovered. It is written in the account

Service of Sântanârâyan.

given to the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet that Sântanârâyan died in 1738 A.D.⁽²¹⁾. Chhatra Nazir the great grandson of Sântanârâyan was the defendant in the case instituted by Loknath Nandi zemindar of Baharband within Rungpur, and it is written in the objection which he filed in that case on the 19th Falgun 1186 B.S. (1780 A.D.) that Sântanârâyan was appointed Nazir when he was 18 years old and he died at the age of 96 years in 1153 B. S. (1746 A.D.).⁽²²⁾.

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR LALIT NARAYAN KUMAR.

It is written in Râjopâkhyâna that when Sântanârâyan died (199 Râjsaka) his adopted son Kumar Lalitnârâyan was appointed as Chhatra Nazir by Maharaja Rupnârâyan. 'Some time after' Maharaja Upendranârâyan became king, Lalitnârâyan died, and Kumar Abhoynârâyan grandson of Kumar Visvanârâyan and the eldest son of Kumar Hemnârâyan became the Chhatra Nazir. 'After some time' when Abhoy-nârâyan died, his youngest brother Rudranârâyan became the Chhatra Nazir (Narakhanda, Chapter 12). When he died in 259 Râjsaka, Maharaja Dhairyendranârâyan appointed Kumar Khagendranârâyan the nephew of the late Nazir as Chhatra Nazir (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 14).

(21). Mercer and Chauvet's Report, Vol. II, page 49.

(22). If this statement be accepted as true, we shall have to hold that Sântanârâyan was born in 1650 A. D. and got the post of the Nazir in 1668 A.D. But this statement of Sântanârâyan's becoming Nazir at this time cannot be true as a waqqa bearing, 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' of the previous Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan (the uncle of Sântanârâyan) dated 185 Râjsaka (1694 A. D.) has been discovered. In 1668 A.D. Kumar Mahinârâyan the grandfather of Sântanârâyan was Chhatra Nazir. It is not known whether in the beginning Sântanârâyan was Gabur Nazir or not.

We have mentioned before this a certified copy of a Waqqa written on the 1st Asvin 229 Râjsaka with 'Sâksât hukum pramâna' of Gabur Nazir Baba Lalitnârâyan and Rasik Ray. This was granted to Gauriprasad Sarma under "Sree Sree Maharajar Hukum".

In the certified copy of the letter of appointment dated the 21st Bhadra 229 Râjsaka bearing the seal of Lalitnârâyan, it is mentioned that Lalitnârâyan had got orders of the Maharaja "to perform State duties within and without the kingdom".

As it was impossible for him to be always present near the king, he engaged Gauriprasad Sarma his Naib by this letter of appointment at a monthly salary of Rs. 30.

In the copies of two Waqqas dated 238 and 239 Râjsaka "Chhatra Nazir Bhaya Lalitnârâyan" are written. 238 and 239 Râjsaka fall within the reign of Maharaja Upendranârâyan and Lalitnârâyan was a brother in relationship to him.

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR RUDRANÂRÂYAN KUMAR.

A Perwana of Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan dated 249 Râjsaka or 1167 B.S. (?) was filed in the Chaklajat case (1778 A.D.). This is mentioned in the copy of the decree of that case. Rudranârâyan worked in the Chaklajat zemindary in 250 Râjsaka. A Perwana executed by him at that time has been discovered. In a certified copy of a Waqqa granted in 252 by the king the words "Chhatra Nazir Dada Rudranârâyan" are written. Maharaja Devendranârâyan was living at this time and he was brother in relationship to Rudranârâyan and younger than him.

TIME OF CHHATRA NAZIR KHAGENDRANÂRÂYAN KUMAR.

In Rājopâkhyân it is written that in 259 Râjsaka, Rudranârâyan died and Khagendranârâyan was appointed Chhatra Nazir. (Narakhanda, Adhyâya 14). In a certified copy of a Waqqa dated 254 Râjsaka, the words 'Chhatra Nazir Bhatija Khagendra-nârâyan' have been found. In 257 Râjsaka, Khagendranârâyan granted Debottar in the zemindary of Chaklajat. A certified copy of this, has been preserved. Under these circumstances, we should hold that in 254 Râjsaka or before this, Rudranârâyan died and Khagendranârâyan got the post of Chhatra Nazir. We have mentioned that Maharaja Dhairyendra-nârâyan was reigning in 254 Râjsaka. Khagendranârâyan was his nephew in relationship.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

(*The time of some of the incidents mentioned in this summary has been written in the work as approximate*).

Vedic age.—Coming of the Aryan race to Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa.

Pauranik age.—Rule of the Dânava dynasty, Kirâta dynasty and Narak and Bhagadatta dynasty in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. Settlement of Varnas, Brahmin etc. in Kâmarupa. The Mahabharata war.

5th Century B. C..—Exchange of merchandise with China through Burma and Assam.

3rd Century B. C..—Account of Indian Brahmin given by Megasthenes. Visit of the representative of Kâmarupa to the religious Council of Asoka.

1st Century A.D..—Account of arts and trade of this country given by Greek merchants.

2nd Century A. D..—Rule of Sudra kings in Kâmarupa.

4th Century A. D..—Rule of Raja Nâgasankar in Kâmarupa. Invasion of Kâmarupa by Samudragupta. Inscription of victory on the Asoka pillar in Allahabad. Inauguration of the Gupta era. Rule of kings Pusyavarmâ, Samudravarmâ, Valavarmâ and others in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa.

5th Century A. D.—Rule of Kalyânvarma, Ganapativarmâ, Mahendravarmâ, Nârâyânvarmâ and Sângaldeva king of Cooch Behar in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa.

6th Century A. D.—Rule of Bhûtivarmâ, Chandramukhavarmâ, Sthitavarmâ, Susthitavarmâ, etc., in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa and occupation of Kâmarupa by kings Visnuvardhan, Narendragupta, Gopichandra (according to another view 8th century A. D.) Vimalchandra etc.

7th Century A. D.—Inauguration of Hijri era. Rule of Bhâskarvarmâ in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. Harshavardhan Silâditya. Writing of Harshacharita. Visit of Yuan Chwang to Kâmarupa. Attack of Bengal and Magadha by the Tibetans. Rule of kings Sâlastambha, Vigrahastambha, Vijaya etc., in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. Rise of the Cooch Behar royal dynasty.

8th Century A. D.—Rule of Pâlaka, Kumâra, Bajradeva, Sri Haris, Gopal, Dharmapâla and Koch kings over Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. Attack af Prâgjyotisa by Lalitâditya.

9th Century A. D.—Jalpesvara the king of Kâmarupa. Rule of Devapala in Kâmarupa. Account of Kâmboja race. Rule of Prâlambha, Harjara, Vanamâla, Joymâla, Viravâhu and Koch kings in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. Visit of the Arabian traveller Soleman to Kâmarupa. Composition of Dâker Bachan.

10th Century A. D.—Rule of Balavarmâ, Tyâgsinha, Brâhmapâla Jitârimuni and Koch kings in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa.

11th Century A. D.—Rule of Ratnapâla, Purandarpâla, Indrapâla, Gopâla, Harshapâla and others in Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. The rock inscription of Tirumalai. Invasion of Kâmarupa by Chalukya prince Vikramâditya. Death of Raja Narasinha in the hands of Saha Soltan. Rule of the Bara Pir of Bagdad, Isvara Ghosh, Prithu Raja and the Koch kings in Kâmarupa. The Kaivarta rebellion in Gauda. Composition of 'the travels of Al Beruni'. Subarnachandra, Trailokyachandra, Srichandra and Bhagadattapâla are the kings of East Bengal.

12th Century A. D.—Dharmapâla and Tingadeva are rulers of Prâgjyotisa or Kâmarupa. Re-occupation of Kâmarupa by Râmpâla. Defeat of the king of Kâmarupa by Vijayasena. Making over of the kingdom of Prâgjyotisa to Vaidyadeva by Kumârapâla. Attack of Kâmarupa by the army of Bengal during the time of Râyâri Deva. Rule of Ballal Sena and Laksman Sena in Kâmarupa. Inauguration of the Laksmana era. Separate rule of some minor Koch kings of Kâmarupa. Account of manufacture of gunpowder and firearms in Bhutan and Assam.

13th Century A. D.—Settlement of the Kachhari race in Kāmarupa. Occupation by the Koch race. Sindhurây, Sindhupati, Ruparay, Sinhadhvaja, Pratâpadhvaja and Durlabh-nârâyan are rulers of Kâmatâ. Compilation of Abhidhâna Chintâmani. Beginning of preaching Mahomedanism in Kāmarupa. Attention of the Mahomedans directed towards invading Eastern Bengal.

1205 A. D.—Attempt of Mohammad Bakhtiar to attack Tibet. Conversion of Ali Mech to Islamism and his friendship with Mohammad.

- 1206 ,,—Rock inscription of Kânâibarsi.
- 1209 ,,—Mohammad Siran killed.
- 1224 ,,—Establishment of the Chhutia royal dynasty.
- 1226 ,,—Occupation of Kāmarupa by Geyasuddin.
- 1229 ,,—Establishment of kingdom by the Ahom race.
- 1257 ,,—Occupation of Kāmarupa by Ekhtiaruddin Tugril and his death.
- 1258 ,,—Composition of Tâbkât-i-Nâseri.
- 1278 ,,—Conquest of Kāmarupa by Magisuddin Tugril.
- 1293 ,,—War between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ and conclusion of treaty.
- 1303 ,,—Ratnadhvajpâla, the son-in-law of the king of Kâmatâ.
- 1313 ,,—Death of Bara Khan Gazi.
- 1328 ,,—Niladhvaja, the king of Kâmatâ.
- 1332 ,,—Amity between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ,

- 1337 A.D.—Invasion of China by Malek Khasru.
- 1346 „ —Visit of Iban-i-Batutâ to Kâmarupa.
- 1358 „ —Account of striking coins of Sekendar Saha in Kâmarupa.
- 1398 „ —Invasion of India by Taimurlang.
- 1397-1407 „ —Quarrel between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ.
- 1434 „ —Compilation of the mathematical work named 'Kitabat Manjari'.
- 1442 „ —Extension of kingdom by the king of Kâmatâ.
- 1447 „ —Death of the Pir of the Chhoto Darga at Pandua.
- 1449 „ —Birth of Sri Sankara Deva.
- 1458 „ —Birth of Visvasinha.
- 1460 „ —Invasion of Kâmarupa by Ismail Gâzi and the account of ruler Kamesvar's embracing Islamism.
- 1460-74 „ —Attack of the Kâmatâ kingdom by Rahamat Khan and his defeat.
- 1479 „ —Relationship between the rulers of Kâmatâ and Gauda.
- 1483 „ —Acknowledgment of supremacy of the Ahom king by Visvasinha. Defeat of the ruler of Kâmatâ by the ruler of Gauda and the former's taking shelter in Assam.
- 1491 „ —Attack of Majlis Khan and killing Dalip Sâmanta.
- 1493 „ —Conquest of Kâmatâpur by Hosain Sâha at the time of Nilâmvara, the ruler of Kâmatâ, and striking coins by him.

- 1496 A.D.—Defeat of the king of Mithila at the joint attack of the ruler of Gauda and the emperor of Delhi. Rise of the Bhuiyâs. Declaration of independence by Visvasinha.
- 1497 „ —Friendship between Visvasinha and the Âhom king.
- 1502 „ —The inscription in mosque of Hosain Sah.
- 1505 „ —Battle between Visvasinha and Tubarak Khan.
- 1506 „ —Re-attack of Tubarak Khan and his victory.
- 1513 „ —Extinction of Mahomedan occupation of Kâmatâpur.
- 1527 „ —Fight between the Âhom soldiers and the soldiers of Gauda.
- 1533 „ —Defeat of the soldiers of Gauda by the Âhom army. Death of Visvasinha. Narasinha's taking charge of the kingdom and his escape. Account of the visit of Sri Chaitanya Deva to Kâmarupa. Account of his death.
- 1533-34 „ —Assumption of the rule of Kâmatâ by Naranârâyan.
- 1543 „ —Beginning of quarrel between the Âhom king and the king of Kâmatâ. Account of striking coins by the Âhom king.
- 1546 „ —Princes of Kâmata killed in battle with the Âhom army. Fight in various places.
- 1547 „ —Invasion of Assam by the king of Kâmatâ and his defeat.
- 1548 „ —Account of a terrible earthquake.
- 1549 „ —Defeat of the king of Kâmatâ the battle in Assâm.

- 1553 A.D.—Attack of Kāmatā and Kāmarupa by Kālāpāhār and his destruction of temples etc.
- 1555 ,—Expulsion of Sucharuchand, the grandson of Nilāmvara, by the king of Kāmatā. Getting the Hanumandanda and the umbrella. Sending of messenger to Assam. Revolt of chieftains. Striking of coins by Naranārāyan. Beginning of the reign of emperor Akbar.
- 1556 ,—Return of messengers from Assam. Preparations for invasion of Assam.
- 1562 ,—Invasion of Assam by the king of Kāmatā and beginning of war.
- 1563 ,—Battles in many places in Assam. Defeat of the Ahom king and his promise to pay tribute. Conclusion of treaty. Conquest of many kingdoms on the east. Change of the course of the Brahmaputra river. Permission given to the Khairam king to strike coins. Prohibition of striking coins in the name of the Jayanta king. [7] Bringing Kayasthas from the eastern country.
- 1564 ,—Invasion of Gauda by the king of Kāmatā and his defeat. Bringing of Pundits from Gauda. Return of hostages of the Ahoms.
- 1565 ,—Reconstruction of the devastated temple of Kāmākhyā.
- 1566 ,—Attempt of the Ahom king to gain independence. Re-attack of Assam by the king of Kāmatā and his defeat.
- 1567 A.D.—Birth of prince Laksminārāyan.

- 1568 A.D.—Composition of the grammar 'Prayogratna-mâlâ'. Death of Sri Sankara Deva.
- 1568-69 „ —Invasion of Kâmatâ by Soleman Kararani.
- 1571 „ —Another attack of Assam by the king of Kâmatâ and his defeat. Death of Sukladhvaja.
- 1575 „ —Taking shelter of the Pathans in the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Occupation of Gauda by the Mughals.
- 1578 „ —Friendship established between the king of Kâmatâ and the emperor of Delhi. Death of Kâlápâhâr in battle.
- 1580 „ —Appointment of Todarmal as Subedar of Bengal. Joining of the king of Kâmatâ with Mâsum Khan and his attack on Gauda.
- 1581 „ —Bestowing the kingdom and the title of 'Chhoto Raja' to Raghudevnârâyan.
- 1582 „ —Preparation of 'Âsal jamâ tumâr' by Todarmal. Occupation of the fort of Yasodal by Isa Khan.
- 1583 „ —Taking shelter of the Pathans in the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Construction of the temple of Hayagrivamâdhava under orders of Raghudeva. Appointment of Azir Koka as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1584 „ —Attack on the kingdom of Kâmatâ by Isâ Khan. Appointment of Sahabax Khan as Subedar of Bengal.
- 1585 „ —Construction of the temple of Pândunâtha by Raghudevnârâyan.
- 1586 „ —Visit of Ralph Fitch. Account of manufacture of silk and cotton cloth in the kingdom of Kâmatâ.

- 1584-87 A.D.—Subjugation of the Pathans by Sahbaz Khan and Wazir Khan and fight with Aniruddha.
- 1587 ,—Death of Naranârâyan. Assumption of the kingdom of Kâmatâ by Laksminârâyan, Striking of coins by Laksminârâyan.
- 1588 ,—Striking of coins by Raghudevnârâyan.
- 1589 ,—Appointment of Raja Mânsinha as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1590 ,—Death of Raja Todarmal.
- 1591-92 ,—Sword bearing the name of emperor Akbar.
- 1592 ,—Cannon of Raghudevnârâyan.
- 1596 ,—Taking shelter under the emperor of Delhi by Raghudevnârâyan. Visit of Mânsinha to the kingdom of Kâmatâ and his marriage with Prabhâbati Devi, the sister of Laksminârâyan. Death of Sri Mâdhava Deva. Account of a terrible earthquake. Friendship between the Raja of Dinajpur and Laksminârâyan.
- 1597 ,—Re-attack by Raghudeva. His fight with Fate Khan and Jujha Khan. The battle of Katrâbhu. Death of Durjansinha. Manufacture of cannons by Raghudeva.
- 1598 ,—Death of Sree Dâmodardeva.
- 1599 ,—Death of Isa Khan. Marriage of the Âhom king with the daughter of Raghudeva.
- 1600 ,—Residence of Osman Khan in the fort of Âtâi.
- 1602 ,—Translation of Mârkandeya Purâna. Assassination of Abul Fazal.

- 1603 A.D.—Death of Raghudeva. Assumption of the reign of Kāmarupa by Pariksitnārāyan. Striking coins by Pariksit.
- 1604 ,,—Appointment of Abdul Mazid Asaf Khan as Subedar of Bengal.
- 1605 ,,—Death of emperor Akbar. Jahangir becomes emperor of Dēlhi.
- 1606 ,,—Composition of the work 'Kirāt Parva'. Appointment of Kutubuddin Khan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1607 ,,—Appointment of Jahangir Kuli Khan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1608 ,,—Appointment of Eslam Khan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1609 ,,—Friendship between Eslam Khan and the king of Kāmatā. Ghoraghat is the boundary of the Koch kingdom. Defeat of the Mughal General by Pariksit.
- 1609-11 ,,—Defeat of the Bārabhuiyās by Eslam Khan.
- 1611-12 ,,—Cannon of Laksminārāyan.
- 1612 ,,—Attack of Kāmarupa by Mokram Khan and his joining with Laksminārāyan.
- 1613 ,,—Occupation of the kingdom of Kāmarupa by the emperor of Delhi. Surrender of Pariksit. Gaining of the kingdom of Kāmatā by Pariksit. Death of Subedar Eslam Khan. Laksminārāyan and Pariksit made prisoners. Existence of Kaikat Mānikyadeva. Revolt of Madhusudan. Death of Mānsinha and the mounting of princess Prabhāvati on his funeral pyre.

1615 A.D.—Revolt in the kingdom of Kâmarûpa and Kâmatâ. Administration of the kingdom by the prince of Kâmatâ.

1616 „ —Compilation of 'the Kaumudies' (works on Smriti). Occupation of the Dimrua kingdom by the Âhom king.

1617 „ —Appointment of Ibrahim Khan as Subedar of Bengal. Revolt of the Mughal officers.

1618 „ —Release of Laksminârâyan. His meeting with the emperor of Delhi. Discovery of Lolârka Kund. Appointment of Sheikh Kamal as the ruler of Kâmarupa. Work of Laksminârâyan under the emperor of Delhi.

1620 „ —Staying of Laksminârâyan in Hajo. Occupation of Bengal by the rebel Sahzada Khuram (Sahajahan). Laksminârâyan takes his side. Account of the independence of the kingdom of Kâmatâ. Composition of Baharistan-i-Ghaibi.

1626 „ —Staying of Laksminârâyan in Hajo. His meeting with Stephen Cacella. Visit of Cacella to Kâmatâpur. Rule of 'Gâbur Sâha'.

1627 „ Visit of Stephen Cacella to Bhutan. Striking of coins by Laksminârâyan. His death. Birnârâyan becomes king.

1629 „ —Return of Stephen Cacella from Bhutan to the kingdom of Kâmatâ.

- 1632 A.D.—Proposal of marriage of the Âhom king with the daughter of Laksminârâyan. Death of Birnârâyan. Prannârâyan becomes king of Kâmatâ (Cooch Behar). Striking of coins by Prannârâyan.
- 1633 ,,—Composition of 'Resala-tos Sohada'. Striking of coins by Prannârâyan.
- 1634 ,,—Letter of the Âhom officer addressed to Nawab Ahlayar Khan.
- 1637 ,,—Fight of Prannârâyan in Assam on behalf of the Mughals and his striking coins.
- 1638 ,,—Attempt of Balinârâyan, the king of Durrung, to recover his father's kingdom. His death. Return of Prannârâyan from Assam.
- 1644 ,,—Practice of writing \cup before the names of living kings of Cooch Behar.
- 1645 ,,—Gift of land to a Brahmin by Prannârâyan at the time of a lunar eclipse. Use of 'Sinha chap' seal.
- 1646 ,,—The Brahmin Nazir of Prannârâyan. His execution of 'Amalnâmâ'.
- 1648 ,,—A copy of Akbarnâmâ (preserved in Patna).
- 1649 ,,—Inscription on a temple of Pratâpamalla the king of Nepal and husband of Rupamati Devi the sister of Prannârâyan. The sign of a dot inscribed on the coins of Prannârâyan. Appointment of Sahazada Suja as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1650 ,,—Map of Blaev,

- 1657 A.D.—Inscription on the door of the Poâ-makkâ mosque in Hajo. Illness of emperor Sahajahan. Quarrels among his sons. Occupation of Kâmarupa (Koch Hajo) by the Âhom king and Prannârâyan.
- 1658 ,,—Preparation of Jamabandi by Suja. Battle with Prannârâyan by the Mughal officers and their defeat.
- 1659 ,,—Battle between the Âhom king and the king of Cooch Behar regarding occupation of Koch Hajo. Defeat of the king of Cooch Behar. Visit of men sent by the Duke of Muscovoy to Bhutan.
- 1660 ,,—Map of Vonden Brooke.
- 1661 ,,—Occupation of Dacca and Ghoraghat by Prannârâyan. Invasion and occupation of Cooch Behar by Mirzumla. Escape of the king. Account of the conversion of the prince to Islamism. Manufacture of coins in 'Alamgir Nagar'.
- 1662 ,,—Invasion of Assam by Mirzumla. Recovery of his kingdom by Prannârâyan.
- 1663 ,,—Account of an earthquake lasting for half an hour (?). Composition of Tarikh-i-Assam.
- 1664 ,,—Attempt of Sayesta Khan to attack Cooch Behar. The king's acknowledging subjection. Promise to pay tribute to keep the kingdom safe. Sending of messengers to Assam by the king.

- 1665 A.D.— Sending of Peskash by the king to the emperor. Construction of the present temple of Gosanimari. Attempt to construct the temple of Jalpesvar. Death of Prannârâyan. Modnârâyan becomes king. Mention of Patrani Rupamati Devi as 'the daughter of the king of Bengal' in an inscription in a temple in Nepal. Famine. Appointment of Mahinârâyan as Chhatra Nazir.
- 1666 ,,— Sending of messengers to Assam by the king of Cooch Behar.
- 1668 ,,— Visit of Raja Ram Sinha and Guru Teg Bahadur to Assam.
- 1670 ,,— Striking of coins in 'Jayanta Nagar'.
- 1674 ,,— Ascertainment of the area of land in Cooch Behar by survey.
- 1676 ,,— Promulgation of order of the king bearing 'Sinhachap' seal.
- 1680 ,,— Death of Modnârâyan. Basudevnârâyan becomes king. Construction of a new 'Sinha chap'.
- 1682 ,,— Assassination of Basudevnârâyan. Mahindanârâyan becomes king.
- 1685 ,,— Invasion of Cooch Behar by Naib Subedar Bhabani Das and his annihilation with his soldiers.
- 1686 ,,— Rajguru Ratikanta Misra. Execution of Waqqa by Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan.
- 1687 ,,— Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Ebadat Khan. Treachery of the officers of the king.

- 1688 A.D.—Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Nurulla Khan.
- 1693 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by the Mughal General, Jabardast Khan. Death of Mahindranârâyan.
- 1694 „ —Granting of Waqqa by Chhatra Nazir Yajnanârâyan. Survey of land.
- 1695 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Ibrahim Khan. Composition of 'Puranî Asama Buranji'.
- 1697 „ —Execution of a Waqqa granting land in Cooch Behar by Bhujadeva. Execution of document bearing the 'Sree' seal by the king. Appointment of Sahjada Azim Ossvan as the Subedar of Bengal.
- 1698 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Sayadat Ali and his defeat. Jabardast Khan leaves Bengal.
- 1699 „ —Invasion of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Samassuddowla Khan, Dewan Yazed Khan, Raja Devakinandan and Fouzdar Ali Kuli Khan. Occupation of the three Chaklas by Ali Kuli Khan and conclusion of treaty with the king.
- 1700-1702 „ —Death of Raikats Jagadeva and Bhujadeva.
- 1704 „ —Rupnârâyan becomes king. The posts of the Nazir, Dewan and Suba in Cooch Behar and the share of each in the kingdom. Account of the independent kingdom of Cooch Behar.
- 1706 „ —Gift of land to the Guru by the king on the occasion of solar eclipse.

- 1707 A.D.—Revenue of Chakla Boda and Purbabhabag as written in the Dufter of the Canoongo of the emperor of Delhi.
- 1708 „ —Striking of coins in Jayantanagar.
- 1710 „ —Granting of a Waqqa by Satyanârâyan. Execution of Waqqa by the king mentioning 53 Râjsaka.
- 1711 „ —Dismissal of Fouzdar Ali Kuli Khan. Appointment of Neyamatulla Khan and denial of the treaty previously agreed upon. Amount of revenue of Patgram.
- 1712 „ —Grant of a Waqqa by Sântauârâyan. Death of emperor Bahadur Saha. Attempt of the temporary Naib Nazim Khan Jahan Bahadur to occupy Chakla. Fight between the prince and Mughal soldiers. Account of the occupation of Chakla written in the Duftar of the Canoongo of the emperor of Delhi. Composition of Burunjee of Rudrasinha.
- 1713 „ —Conclusion of another treaty. Taking Ijara of the three Chaklas in the name of Sântanârâyan.
- 1714 „ —Death of Rupnârâyan. Upendranârâyan becomes king. The area of the kingdom.
- 1720 „ —Execution of Waqqa by Sântanârâyan and Satyanârâyan.
- 1722 „ —Death of Prannath the Raja of Dinajpur. Ramnath gets the zemindary. The Jamabandi of Murshid Kuli Khan named "Jama Kamel Tumari".

- 1724 A.D.—Execution of Waqqa by Sântanârâyan.
- 1728 „ —Jamabandi of Nawab Sujauddin.
- 1732 „ —Composition of 'Manta-Khâbul-lubâb' by Khâfi Khan.
- 1734 „ —Grant of Waqqa by Sântanârâyan. Composition of the work 'Hastividyârnava' by Sukumar Kayet.
- 1736 „ —Conquest of Cooch Behar by Fouzdar Saiyad Ahmed. Dinnârâyan's assumption of kingdom. Execution of Waqqa by Dinnârâyan.
- 1737 „ —Mention of 'Bara Gosain' in Waqqa of Kharganârâyan. Execution of document by Sântanârâyan. Account of a great earthquake.
- 1737-38 „ —Defeat of the Fouzdar and escape of Dinnârâyan. Recovery of the kingdom by the king. Dismissal of Dewan Satyanârâyan and Suba Kântanârâyan. Appointment of Kharganârâyan as Dewan and of Harinârâyan as Suba.
- 1738 „ —Lalitnârâyan Gabur Nazir.
- 1745 „ —Occupation of Khaspur by Laksmichandra the prince of Kâchhâr.
- 1746 „ —Death of Sântanârâyan and appointment of Lalitnârâyan as Chhatra Nazir. "Dhâlâ Jarip".
- 1747-47 „ —Lalitnârâyan Chhatra Nazir.
- 1755 „ —Letter from the Devaraja of the Bhutan to the king of Cooch Behar. Friendship between the Devaraja and Chhatra Nazir. Gaurinandan Mustafi is the 'Pradhân Kârbâri'.

- 1758 A.D.—Death of the 6th Dalai Lama. Grant of a Perwana by Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan.
- 1759 ,.—Grant of a Perwana by Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan. Copy of the manuscript 'Sâttvata Tantra'.
- 1761 ,.—Jamabandi of Nawab Kasem Ali Khan.
- 1762 ,.—Existence of Chhatra Nazir Rudranârâyan. Death of Lama Gishatu. A great earthquake.
- 1763 ,.—Death of king Upendranârâyan. Devendra-nârâyan becomes king.
- 1765 ,.—The East India Company gets Dewani. Assassination of Devendranârâyan. Dhair-yendranârâyan becomes king.
- 1766 ,.—‘Dhâlâ Jarip’.
- 1767 ,.—Revolution in Bhutan. Devayadhur, the ruler of the country. Marriage of Dhair-yendranârâyan.
- 1768 ,.—Birth of Kumar Dharendranârâyan. End of the rule of the Malla dynasty in Nepal.
- 1769 ,.—Dewan Ramnârâyan joins in the battle of Vijaypur. Assassination of the Dewan. Appointment of Surendranârâyan as Dewan. Both the king and the Dewan kept as prisoners in Bhutan. Ascertainment of the boundaries of the kingdom of Cooch Behar and the territories of the Company. Famine of 76. Trade of the Bhutiyas in Rungpur. Kasinath Lahiri joins his service under the king.

- 1770 A.D.—Rajendranârâyan becomes king and appoints Bijendranârâyan as Dewan, Influence of Devayadhur. The mint of Cooch Behar transferred to Bhutan. 'Devatâkâ' coined in Bhutan. Conclusion of a treaty between the Company and the Nawab of Bengal. Mr. Gross becomes the Supervisor in Rungpur.
- 1771 ,,—Attempt of the Company to realise revenue directly from Bengal. Raikat Darpadeva.
- 1772 ,,—Marriage of Rajendranârâyan, his illness and death. Dharendranârâyan becomes king. Rule of the kingdom by the king's mother. Influence of Rajguru Sarvânanda Gosvami. Authenticated document of his Brahmostar. Devayadhur occupies Cooch Behar. Enmity of Raikat Darpadeva. Determination of terms of the Treaty. Battle between the Company and the Bhutiyas. Grant of Waqqa by Dharendranârâyan.
- 1773 ,,—Fixing the boundaries of the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the letters of Mr. Purling and Mr. Hastings. Conclusion of a treaty between the king and the Company. Victory of the Company in Bhutan war. Recovery of the kingdom. Preparation of Hastbud, and ascertainment of the dues of the Company. Right of the king to strike coins. The amount of Peshkas of Raikat Darpadeva. Raids by 'Sannyasi and Fakir dacoits'. Striking of 40 to 50 thousand coins in the king's mint.

1774 A.D.— Sending messenger and proposals for treaty to the Company by Tisu Lama. Bhutan Treaty. Severance of relationship between the Raikat and the king. Release of the king and the Dewan. Increase of revenue of Raikat. Bogle Mission. Mention of the boundary of the kingdom of Cooch Behar in the report of Mr. Bogle. The assent of the Company to the erection of a Buddhist monastery on the banks of the Ganges. Income and expenditure of the kingdom. Unwillingness of the authorities of the Company to accept new Narayani coins but Devaraja's eagerness to get the same. Pilgrimage of the king. Pay of the king's officers. Support of the Company to the 22 Dehas of Brahmottar belonging to Rajguru Sarvânanda Gosvami. Waqqa bearing the name of Dharendranârâyan.

1775 ,,— Finding of Mr. Harwood regarding 'Kutghat'. Undisputed document of the Brahmottar of Gosvami. Grant of Waqqa bearing the name of Dharendranârâyan. His death. The reign of Dhairyendranârâyan (second time). Influence of the Maharani and Gosvami. Annual allowance to Rajguru Gosvami from the whole kingdom. Claim of the Bhutiyas over the Duars. Orders of the Company to reduce the number of Narayani coins.

1776 A.D.— Hamilton Mission. Dhairyendranârâyan gets the Sunnud of Chaklajat. Granting Sunnud for realisation of 'Dharmadander Kari' in the kingdom. The Dharmaraja of Bhutan sends letter to pacify quarrels between the king and the Nazir.

1777 A. D.—A proposal of the king for payment of money to the Company. Hamilton Mission. Intention of the Company to close the king's mint. Decision of the Dinajpur Council regarding 'Duars.' Ascertainment of terms of the Patta of the Rungpur zemindari.

1778 , , —Defeat of the Chaudhuris in the case for the possession of Chaklajat. The rule for realisation of revenue from the zemindars of Rungpur. Demand of Hastbud of the Chaklajat from the king.

1779 , , —Case between the Devaraja and Kanta Babu. The king is prohibited from arresting offenders in the Duars. Case of Loknath Nandi against the king. Attempt of the Naib Suba to have civil and criminal jurisdiction in Bengal. Prohibition of sending Narayani coins to Murshidabad. Printing of Rennels' map. Resolution of the Governor General to keep amity with the Bhutiyas. Debt of the king.

1780 A.D.—Birth of Kumar Harendranârâyan. Imprisonment of Gosvami and Kasinath Lahiri.

1781 ,,—Sarvânanda Gosvami is the 'Mokhtar' of the Maharani.

1782 ,,—Raids by 'Fakir and Sannyasi dacoits.' Prohibition from the Company to displease Devaraja.

1783 ,,—Turner Mission. Honour of Raikat Darapadeva by the emperor of China. Revolt of the raiyats in Rungpur. Will of Dhairyendranârâyan and his death. His eleven Ranis ascend the funeral pyre. Harendranârâyan becomes king. Birendranârâyan becomes 'Yuvaraj'.

1784 ,,—Quarrel with the Nazir regarding the royal seal. The king gets Sunnud for the Chaklajat zemindari. Mr. Moore appointed as the Collector of Rungpur. Enquiry by Dewan Gangaprasad. Remark of the Company's Canoongo. The report of genealogical table written by Mr. Moore. Resolution of the Government regarding succession to the kingdom. Khagendranârâyan sits on the seat of the king. Khagendranârâyan is made a prisoner. Debt of the king. The Bhutiyas get Ambari-Falakata and Moynaguri.

1785 A.D.--Escape of Khagendranârâyan. Proclamation by the Maharani. Preparation of 'Roydâd-i-badiat' regarding Khagendranârâyan. Area of the Brahmottar of Gosvami and Lahiri. Claim of Devaraja to have coins struck in the mint of Cooch Behar. Promise on behalf of the Company to keep the Devaraja satisfied. Resignation of Mr. Hastings. Trial of Dewan Syamchandra.

1786 ,,-Appointment of Mr. Macdowall as the Collector of Rungpur. Efforts of Marichmati. Attempt on behalf of the Company to suppress the dacoits.

1787 ,,-The Maharani bathes in the Ganges. Reply of the Devaraja regarding shelter of Khagendranârâyan. Revolt of subjects in Assam. Hope of Khagendranârâyan's son to become king in Lower Assam. Seizing of the king by Dangar Deo. Confinement of the king and Maharani in Balarampur. Writing out a deed of share. Rescue of the king and the Maharani through the help of the Company. Complaint of the king against Khagendranârâyan. Creation of the 'district of Ghoraghât'. Account of export and import in the kingdom. Raids by the Sannyasi dacoits. Some incidents regarding Duars. False statement of the Bhutiyas regarding the quarrel with the king. Change of the course of the Tista river owing to a heavy flood,

1788 A.D.—Enquiry by the Nawabi Adalat and the Commissioners Mercer and Chauvet regarding the seizure of the king. Acknowledgment of the rights of the king regarding striking coins and the genealogical table in the report of the Commissioners. Publication of the order regulating succession to kingship. Trial of the persons accused for seizure of the king. Attack of Tibet by the king of Nepal. Translation of the history by Gladwin.

1789 ,,—Support of the report of the Commissioners by the Government. Raids of the dacoits. The Company take charge of the Administration of Cooch Behar.

1790 ,,—Account of Jalpesvar in the report of Mr. Purling. Ascertainment of revenue of the three Chaklas. Account of the invalid Brahmottar of Gosvami and Lahiri. End of the dual administration under the management by the Company. The Company get all powers. The Company strike coins in the name of the emperor of Delhi. Support of the resolution regarding Cooch Behar of the Commissioners and the Board by the Directors.

1791 ,,—Nomination of the king of Bijni by the Devaraja. Mental distress of Khagendra-nârâyana. Composition of “Samudra-nârâyana Vansâvali”

- 1792 A.D.—Composition of "An Account of Assam" by Dr. Wade. Attack of Nepal by the Chinese soldiers. Order prohibiting the entrance of Indians to Tibet. Declaration of independence by the king of Durrung. Preparation of certified copies of the old Sunnuds of Cooch Behar at Rungpur.
- 1793 ,,—Determination of the permanent revenue of the three Chaklas.
- 1794 ,,—Prohibition of trial by the king of offences committed by European British subjects. Raids by Nepali dacoits.
- 1795 ,,—End of the revolt of raiyats in Assam. Joynath Ghose joins his post under the king.
- 1797 ,,—Preparation of genealogical table of the king by Paramananda Tarkalankar.
- 1800 ,—The Bhutiyas get the Taluks Majherdabri, Bholka and others. Death of Maharani Kâmatesvari. Discovery of many blank papers bearing the seal of the king. Composition of "Kharganârâyaner Vansâvali".
- 1801 ,,—Account of the deception practised by Sarvânanda Gosvami written by the king.
- 1802 ,,—Adverse criticism by the officers of the Company regarding the interpretation of the Cooch Behar treaty. Acknowledgement of the right of the king to strike coins.
- 1803 ,,—Composition of 'Upakatha' by Mahraj Harendranârâyan and the genealogical table given in the same.

- 1805 A.D.—Stopping the mint of the king by the Company.
- 1808 ,,—Visit to Kāmatāpur of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and the compilation of the genealogical table of the royal family. Raids by the Bhutiyas on the frontier of Cooch Behar. Death of Marichmati Aye.
- 1809 ,,—Raids by the Bhutiyas on the frontier of Cooch Behar. Opinion of Mr. Digby regarding Maraghat. Situation of Dhopguri. Escape of Raikat Sarvadev to Rungpur. Ramohan Ray becomes Dewan of Mr. Digby.
- 1811 ,,—Raids by the Bhutiyas on the frontier of Cooch Behar. Rammohan Ray, the Dewan of Mr. Digby. Visit of Mr. Manning to Bhutan.
- 1813 ,,—Further adverse criticism regarding interpretation of Cooch Behar treaty.
- 1815 ,,—Krisnakanta Mission. The Bhutiyas get Taluks Parorpar, Tapsikhata etc. False statement of the Bhutiyas regarding quarrel with the king and their laying blame on Rammohan Ray and Hemayetulla
- 1816 ,,—Favourable criticism of the interpretation of the Cooch Behar Treaty.
- 1817 ,,—Extinction of the occupation of the king in the Duars except in some Châlâs according to the decision of Mr. Scott.

- 1819 A.D.—The Bhutiyas get Chamurchi. Adverse report of Mr. Scott regarding the rights of the king to rule.
- 1820 ,,—Heavy floods. The Mansai river begin to flow through Kâmatâpur.
- 1821 ,,—Further attempt of the king to strike coins.
- 1823 ,,—Composition of Râjopâkhyâna begins.
- 1824 ,,—Composition or copying of the manuscript “Gosânimangal”.
- 1827 ,,—Prohibition on behalf of the Company to the king's realising tolls from plying boats on the Tista and the Sankos rivers.
- 1828 ,,—The king again attempts to strike coins.
- 1830 ,,—The East India Company occupy the kingdom of Kâchhâr.
- 1832 ,,—Extinction of Bhutiya Mela in Rungpur. Bhutiya raids on the frontier of the kingdom.
- 1835 ,,—First issue of the Company's own coins. The East India Company occupy the kingdom of Jayantia.
- 1836 ,,—Revolt of Hargovind in the Duars. Orders prohibiting receipt of the Narayani coins by the Company.
- 1838 ,,—Pemberton Mission. Prohibition of the currency of Sikka rupees within the dominion of the Company.

- 1839 A.D.—Incomplete copy of 'Râjopâkhyân'. Preparation of three genealogical tables.
- 1840 ,—Remark of Raikat Sarvadev regarding acceptance of 'Kanyâpâtri' in the royal family of Cooch Behar. Composition of "Gandharvanârâyaner Vansâvali". Trial of the Panga succession case.
- 1841 ,—Marriage of Maharaja Shibendranârâyan. Occupation of the Assam Duars by Lord Auckland. Preparation of map by Mr. Tassin.
- 1842 ,—Re-occupation of Ambari-Falakata by the Governor.
- 1843 ,—Repairs to 'Lolârka Kunda' at Benares by Maharaja Shibendranârâyan and fixing an inscribed tablet there. Application to the Agent By Dayâmayi Debya regarding Brahmottar.
- 1844 ,—Bhutiya raids on the Cooch Behar frontier.
- 1845 ,—Further orders of the Government to close the mint at Cooch Behar.
- 1848 ,—Oppression of the subjects by the Bhutiyas in the frontier of the State. Statement of Dr. Campbell regarding the religious views of the Raikat family. Death of Raikat Sarvadeva.
- 1849 ,—Report of Major Jenkins containing history of Cooch Behar.
- 1853 ,—Account of the previous currency of Narayani coins in Assam.

- 1857 A.D.—Oppression by the Bhutiyas on the northern portion of the State. Sepoy Mutiny in the territory of the Company.
- 1858 ,,—Death of Munshi Joynath Ghose. Bhutiya raids in the State.
- 1859 ,,—Preparation by the Magistrate of Cooch Behar of a list of atrocities perpetrated by the Bhutiyas. Proposal of the Agent of the North Eastern Frontier Province to occupy the Duars. Composition of the work "Beharodanta".
- 1860 ,,—Copy of Rājopâkhyâna.
- 1861 ,,—Preparation of a list of atrocities committed by the Bhutiyas.
- 1862 ,,—Attack on the Bhutiyas by the soldiers of the Maharaja. Bhutiya raids in the frontier of the State. New interpretation of the Cooch Behar Treaty by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The Government confers the right of adopting a son upon the Maharaja.
- 1863 ,,—Imprisonment of the residents of Cooch Behar in Bhutan. Eden Mission and its result. Discovery of coins, sword and cannon in Gosânimâri. Composition of 'Rajvansâvali'.
- 1864 ,,—Proclamation of the Company's occupation of the Duars. Attack of the Duars and occupation of the same. Condition of the force of the Maharaja and its reform. Discovery of Books in the Bhutanese language in Chamurchi and Dewangiri.

- 1865 A.D.—Re-attack of the Bhutiyâs and their re-occupation of the Government Duars
Map of Surgeon Rennie. Prohibition of the use of Narayani coins in Cooch Behar.
Composition of the article 'Kochbiharer Itihâs'.
- 1866 ,,—Currency of the Government coins in Cooch Behar.
- 1867 ,,—Stoppage of cultivation of opium in the State of Cooch Behar. Account of Danial and Geyasuddin in the Calcutta Review.
- 1869 ,,—Printing of the report of Mercer and Chauvet. Compilation of 'One authoritative paper on the early History of Cooch Behar'.
- 1871 ,,—Stoppage of cultivation of Ganja in the State of Cooch Behar. Account of the land of Satyanârâyan in Bâdalgarh Chittah.
- 1872 ,,—Criticism of Mr. Glazier of the map of Major Rennel.
- 1874 ,,—Compilation of the history of Cooch Behar in Completion Settlement Report of Mr. Beckett. English Translation of Râjopâkhyâna.
- 1875 ,,—Praise of the Cooch Behar State army by the Government.

- 1876 A.D.—History of the royal family of Cooch Behar in the work of Sir William Hunter
Compilation of "An Account of the Cooch Behar State".
- 1882 ,,—Writing of 'Kochbiharer Itihâs'. Printing of the first volume of 'The Cooch Behar Select Records'.
- 1883 ,,—Captain Hedayet Ali, the Commander of the State forces, gets reward for the Bhutan war. Extinction of the Maha-raja's own postal department. Composition of "Kochbihar rajyer sanksipta vivaran".
- 1884 ,,—Printing of the second volume of "the Cooch Behar Select Records".
- 1885 ,,—Decision of the Privy Council regarding the adoption case of the Raikat family.
- 1893 ,,—Composition of 'Koch Kings of Kâmarupa' by Mr. Gait.
- 1894 ,,—The Bijni Succession Case.
- 1895 ,,—'Kochbiharer itihâs' in the introduction to Damodara Charita.
- 1896 ,,—Determination of the English Spelling of 'Cooch Behar'.
- 1897 ,,—Terrible earthquake.
- 1899 ,,—Printing of 'Gosânimangal'.
- 1901 ,,—Old history of Cooch Behar published in the journal 'Âsambanti'.

- 1903 A.D.—Printing of 'The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement'.
- 1905 ,—Extinction of the post of the Dharmarâja in Bhutan. Tangsu Penlow gets the kingdom.
- 1913 ,—Composition of the work "The Resettlement of the Town of Cooch Behar".
- 1923 ,—Sradh of Maharaja Jitendranârâyan.
- 1929 ,—Introduction of the figure of a tiger in place of that of a lion in the Coat of Arms,
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APPENDIX.

I.

See Chapter IX Page 153.—The original verses of the inscription on the door of the temple of Hayagrīvamādhava are as follow :

“**শ্রীগ্ৰামদুর্বলসিংহঃ ক্ষতিপতিৰভবত্তত্ত্বতঃ খাতকৈর্তিঃ**
শ্রীগ্ৰামমন্দেৰে নৃপতিৰতিমতিনিৰ্জিতাৱাতিজাতিঃ ।
গান্তীয়োদৰ্ধাশৌর্যপ্রথিতপৃথুমশোধৰ্মকৰ্মাবদ্বাতঃ
শ্রীমৎশুলকধৰ্মজাত্যো ব্যজনি তদমুজ্জ্বলে যদ্বশেহশেষদেশঃ ॥
সাক্ষাৎবৰপুজুবো দিশি দিশি প্রথ্যাতকৈর্তিব্রজে
হস্তাপুণ্যজনত্ব যো বিধিবশাদ্যঃ কামৰূপেখৰঃ ।
যো যো বাখিললোকশোকদহনমৃলাবলীবারিদঃ
শ্রীমৎ শ্রীরম্ভুদেৰে ভূপতিৰভূৎ শুলকধৰ্মজসৌরসঃ ॥
তত্ত্বাশেষজনপ্রসাদজনকঃ শ্রীকৃষ্ণপাদার্চকে
ভূপঃ আপ্তবয়া গদাধৰকুলী প্রাপ্তাদৰভূৎ ব্যধাত ।
মধ্যাধ্যানগিরো হস্তামুরিৰিপোৱজ্ঞামানাম্পদঃ
শাকে বাগবিয়তিষ্ঠো শুশিবৰাঃ কাৱাঃ স্বগঃ শ্রীধৰঃ ॥

The original verses of the inscription on the door of the temple of Pandunath are :

“**শ্রীমন্মন্ত্রপাত্রজ্ঞত কৃতিনঃ শুলকধৰ্মজস্তাত্ত্বজে**
বারে শ্রীরম্ভুদেৰভূপতিৰুলোক্ত্বে কলানাং নিধো ।
দুর্গাদত্তবৰেণ শাসতি গুণগ্রামাভিবামে মহীং
তত্ত্বামাত্যগদাধৰত্ব বহুশঃ মেহাহৃক্ষ্যাদপি ॥
শ্রীপাতুনাথত্ব হৰে শিলাভিঃ
প্রাপ্তাদমানিশ্চিতবান্মনোজ্জঃ ।
পঞ্জোনিধিবিঙ্গুপদৈকতানঃ
শাকে শৱবোমশৱেন্দুসংথ্যে ॥”

III

See Chapter IX Page 159.—The original verses in the inscription in the temple of Kâmâkhyâ are :

ଲୋକାମୁଗ୍ରହକାରକ: କରନ୍ତିମା ପାର୍ଥୀ ଧର୍ମବିଦୟମା
 ଦାନେନାମି ଦୟାଚିକର୍ଣ୍ଣଦୂଶୀ ଅର୍ଧାଦାରୀସ୍ତୋନିଧି: ।
 ନାନାଶାସ୍ତ୍ରବିଚାରାକୁଚରିତ: କନର୍ପରାପୋଜିଜ୍ଞ: ॥
 କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାଚରଣାର୍ଥକୋ ବିଜ୍ୟରେ ଶ୍ରୀମହାତ୍ମଦେବେ । ହୃଦୀ:
 ଆସାଦମଦ୍ରିତୁହିତୁଚରଣାରବିଦ୍ଵ-
 ଭକ୍ତ୍ୟାକରୋତ୍ତମଜୋ ବରନୀନଈଶ୍ଵଳେ ।
 ଶ୍ରୀଶ୍ରୀତ୍ରଦେବ ଇମ୍ମଲ୍ଲସିତୋପଙ୍କେ
 ଶାକେ ତୁରଙ୍ଗଗଜବେଦଶାକସଂଖ୍ୟେ ॥”

The verse in the second inscription is :

“ତୈସ୍ୟେ ପ୍ରିୟସୋଦରଙ୍କ ପୃଥ୍ବୀଶା ଦୀର୍ଘମୌଳିକିଷ୍ଠୀ
ମାଣିକ୍ୟ ଉଚ୍ଚମାନକଲ୍ପବିଟପୀ ଦୀଗାଚଳେ ମଞ୍ଜୁଲୀ
ଆସାନ୍ତ ମୁଖିନାଗବେଦଶତ୍ରୁହିଂ ଶାକେ ଶିଳାରାଜିତି-
ଦେ ବୀ ଭକ୍ତିମତାର ବରୋ ରଚିବାନ ଶ୍ରୀ ଶ୍ରୁଦ୍ଧପୁରିଜ୍ଞାନ ॥”

III.

See Chapter X Page 201.—The original verses in the inscription in the temple of Visnu situated on the west of the courtyard of the palace at Katmandu (Nepal) are :—

“ଆପେ କାମରାବତୀବ ବିନସଦହ୍ନୀଲ୍ଲଦିବାଙ୍ଗନା-
ସୁଜା ସର୍ମମ୍ଭୀ ବିହାରନଗରୀ ସା ରାଜ୍ଯଧାନୀ ପରା ।
ଶ୍ରୀମ ଶ୍ରୀକମଳାଧିକା ମଧୁପତେରିଶ୍ରେଣ୍ଗ ତୁଳ୍ୟମୟ ୫
ପ୍ରତ୍ୟଧିବରଜନିର୍ଜିତମ୍ୟ ଅରସୁଜାରାଯଣମାପି ୬ ॥
ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀନାରାୟଣଶ୍ଵାଦ ବୀରନାରାୟଣଶ୍ଵତ୍ତଃ ।
ପୁତ୍ରୀ ଜ୍ଞପମତ୍ତୀ ତମ୍ୟ ପ୍ରାଗନାରାୟଣଃ ୪ ଶୁତ୍: ।
ଦେଯଂ ଜ୍ଞପମତ୍ତୀ ସତୀ ଶୁଣବତୀ ସ୍ଵର୍ଗତିଃ ମନ୍ମତି
ମଦ୍ୟକୁଞ୍ଜରଗ୍ମ ମନୀ ପ୍ରଥମିଶ୍ରି ଶକ୍ତାଂପରା କୁଣ୍ଠି ।
ଆମୀୟ ସର୍ବପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତେରି ରପତେଃ ଶ୍ରୀମଂପ୍ରତାପମୟ ମା
ପରୀ ପ୍ରାଣମା ସଥ ଜଳନିଧିଃ ପୁତ୍ରୀ ଜଗତପାତ୍ନିଃ ॥

কার্ণটা রঞ্জিটা কুচকমকষ্টা কামলৈলেকবাটা
 শঙ্খলঙ্ঘা রকেটা হরিসদৃশকটা চারদেহাহুপাটা ।
 নায়া রাজম্বতী মহারসবতী ভূগ্রাতাপাস্য সা
 ভূতা তোগবধুটকা কিল হরের্তামেব জীবাধিক ॥.....

সংবৎ ৭৬৯ ফাল্গুন শুক্লবংশ্যাং তিথো অছুরাধানফত্তে ইর্ষণযোগে বৃহস্পতিবাসরে ॥”

The original verses in the temple of Ugratârâ at Anantapur are :

“নেপালে সহতেতশবগিরিমুনিভিসংযুতে শুক্লপক্ষে
 চাষাঢ়ে বৈ নবম্যাং সুগলিতদিবসে ঘোগরাজে শিখাখ্যে ।
 চিরায়াং শুক্লবারে জননয়নহবেহনতপুরে সুরাম্য
 ভারায়া উগ্রপূর্বীং কৃতমৰহরণং স্থাপনং রাজপজ্ঞা ॥
 শা পঞ্চী শ্রী প্রতাপক্ষিপতিপতিগ্রস্যাহুৰূপা সুরপা
 বৈষা বদ্ধাধিপত্ত প্রবলরিপুহরস্তাবিতোয়া সুকন্তা ।
 সৈনানতপ্রিয়াখ্যা ত্রিভুবনবিদিতা কৃপপুণ্যাভিজাত্যে
 ওসাদস্ত গ্রাতিষ্ঠাং সুরনয়স্তগাং দিব্যজলে বিধ্যায় ॥”

IV

Chapter X Page 205.—The original of the deed of gift of land to Sironmani Bhattacharya is given below without correction of apparent mistakes.

(Impression of the seal known as Sinhachâp.)

(Illegible Signature)

শ্রীবিষ্ণবে ৬

শ্রাণনারায়ণে শুঃং ৮

ও ষষ্ঠি নিজভুজমন্দরাদিমথিতারাতিসম্মুসঞ্জনিত্যশচন্দ্রকমতেখর শ্রীশ্রীপ্রাণনারায়ণ-
 অঙ্গীমণ্ডলাখণ্ডলানাম
 শ্রীনরহি তাঙ্গাহৃষ্টাকুৰ শ্রীরামকুষ শ্রীরামানাথ মজুন্দারাম্ প্রতি সমাদেশঃ চর্জেগৱাগে
 শ্রীবিষ্ণু স্বাহস্তু প্রাময়েক প্রদত্তবান ।
 শ্রীশ্রীরামণিনামেহ ত্রিপুরাচার্যায় ধীমতে ।
 দৰাবিমং মহীপাল উত্তরপ্রতিপন্তিঃ ॥

অপর ব্রহ্মান্তর বসেছিত্পানারিশালাভিঃ । স্বে(স্বে)য়মপি দেয়ো গ্রামো যুশ্চা(স্ম)ভির্দ্বপ্তুরাজ্ঞীকৃতেশ্চ ।
ব্রহ্মান্তর দোআনদোমুনিশাগহ ন গ্রাহ্যাঃ কদাপি কেনাপি । জলকরপঞ্চান্দির্ভোগ্যেইনেনা-
কুত্তোভয়তঃ ।

মংকুলপ্রভবাশ্চান্যে যে ভবিষ্যত্তি ভূত্তজঃ ।

হৃষ্টা ব্রহ্মান্তরং গ্রামস্ত্রযোগ্যেশ্চকরাশিনঃ ॥

আমর স্থিত রয়ু কার্য্যার বাবদ বেহারের ঘূর্ণারিত পায় পন্দর বিষ ৫/০ কঙ্কসের বাড়ীর
আগত কৃতা সকলের খালি ভিটাত পায় এক বিষ ১/০ এবং এক গ্রাম ১ পায় ইতি ১৩৫
ফাল্গুন ১৮ ”

On the back of the document this is written :

শ্রীকৃষ্ণপুর খাসনীসম্য

V

Chapter X Page 206.—

The inscription on the door of the temple of Kâmatesvari
at Gosânimâri :

“ওঁ নমো গণেশায়

সশত্যা বিষদেকজিত্বরতুজান্ত প্রতাপার্য্যম-
ক্রীড়াকন্তুকবেগবর্ক্তিদিশঃ শ্রী প্রাপ্তভূমিপতেঃ ।

শাকাদে নগনাগমার্গশহিমজ্যোতির্শিতে নিশ্চিতঃ
শ্রীভাজা কবিমগুলেন ভজতা ভবো ভবানীমঠঃ ।

১৮৫৭”

VI

Chapter XVIII Page 457.—Bengali Copy of the Cooch Behar Treaty.

নকল বমজিব নকল ১২২০।২৫ মাঘ

৭ শ্রীকৃষ্ণারাম

রাজা ধরেন্দ্রনারায়ণ কোচবিহারের কলিকাতাতে কঙ্চলি সাহেব ও বড় সাহেবকে দরখাস্ত
করিলেন তাঁহার মন্ত্রকের খারাব আহঙ্কাৰ জে তাঁহার মন্ত্রকের সঁজিক অন্ত রাজা সকল তাঁহার
মন্ত্রকে ঢাকাই কৰিলা লুট তাঁহাজ কৰে এবং সকলে একজোগ হইয়া তাঁহার মন্ত্রক ছাত কৰে বড়
সাহেব ও কঙ্চলি সাহেব লোক যুভার ইন্দাফ নিমিত্তে আৱ সহকাৰি নিমিত্তে গৱিন্দোকেৰ এতোহাবা

চারি কুম্পানি সিপাহি আর এক ময়দানি কামান রাজার এবং তাঁহার মনুকের হেফাজতি নিমিত্তে
এবং তাঁহার বিপক্ষ লোকের দমন কারণ পাঠাইবেন এই সকল দফা। বর্মেজিব তপসীল জএল
কঙ্গ করার উভয়তো রাজি পূর্বক হইল।

১ দফা—

রাজা দিবেন পঞ্চাশ হাজার টাকা। রঙপুরের তহসীলদারকে ফৌজের খরচ কারণ জে ফৌজ
গীয়াছে তাহার হেফাজতি কারণ।

২ দফা—

যদি পঞ্চাশ হাজার টাকা হইতে জাদা খরচ হয় তবে সে টাকা রাজা দিবেন কুম্পানিতে
জদি পঞ্চাশ হাজার অন্দরে ফৌজের খরচ দিয়া জে কিছু উদ্বৃত্ত হয় তাহা রাজা ফিরিয়া পাইবেন।

৩ দফা—

রাজা করার করিবেন তাবেদারী অঙ্গরেজ কুম্পানির তাহার মনুক দুষ্যম হইতে পরিছপ্প
হইলে মনুক কোচবিহার ঘূরে বাঙালীর মোতালুক হবেক।

৪ দফা—

রাজা রাজি হইলেন অর্দেক থাজনা কোচবিহারের কুম্পানিতে দিবেন।

৫ দফা—

আর অর্দেক থাকিবেক রাজার ও রাজার সন্তান আদির দখলে বসরতেক এইরূপ কওল
করার জদি তিনি রাখেন।

৬ দফা—

তহকিক করিতে থাজনা কোচবিহারের রাজা খোলাসা হস্তবুদ দিবেন জে সাহেব ঐ কাজের
নিমিত্তে বড় সাহেব ও কঙ্গলি সাহেবেরা জে লোককে তরনাত করিবেন তাহা তহকিক হইলে রাজা
যে টাকা দিবেন তাহা নিরোপণ হইবেক।

৭ দফা—

জে লোককে গবরনর সাহেব ও কঙ্গলি সাহেবলোক পাঠাবেন হস্তবুদ করিতে তাহাই
ধীর হইবেক।

৮ দফা—

কুম্পানি রাজার সহকারি করিবেন ফৌজের জখন তাঁহার সহকার হইবেক এবং মনুকের
হেফাজত নিমিত্তে রাণি দিবেন তাঁহার ধর্ম।

১ মুক্তি—

এই কওল করার রবেক দুই বৎসর তক কিম্বা জতদিন কক থবর পছচে বিশাত হইতে রবে
কঙচলি লোকের। এবং বড় সাহেব সধা হবেক মজবুত করিতে এই কওল করার দন্তথত
করিলেন মোহর করিলেন এবং সমধা করিলেন ড় সাহেব ও কঙচলি সাবেরা মোকাম
ফলিকাতার ফোঁটী ৪ দিজিয়ার ১৭৭২ সন অঙ্গরেজি।

দন্তথত	দন্তথত
ধর্মেন্দ্রনারায়ণ	গুরিম হিন্দী
	গুলিম অনডরসি
	রিচার্ড বারওয়েল

VII

Chapter XIX Page 496. The original verse in the Manuscript of
Sattvata Tantra preserved in Cooch Behar Sâhitya Sabhâ :

“শাকে থার্ডিশৈবেহলিখদহনি খনো কাস্তনে কুষপক্ষে
শ্রীরামামন্দেবদ্বিজবরবচনা রামচন্দ্রবিজো হি।
শ্রীশ্রীদেবেন্দ্রনারায়ঃ মহুজপতৌ কামরূপকদেশে
দেশশ্রেষ্ঠে বিহারে গুর্ণগণগনিতে সাস্ততং তত্ত্বমিষ্টম্ ॥”

VIII

Chapter VII, Page 98. Footnote 12

”و راجه های کوچ از عهد شنکل اباعن جد خداوند و خداوندان سر زمین خود بوده اند لیکن درین مدت چهار بار میان اینشان تغیر و تبدیل واقع شده و این زمرة که اکنون بر مسند حکومت تمکن دارند از قوم برهمدان کوهی اند و نزد مردم هند چندان اعتباری ندارند الحاصل یکطرف ولایت اینشان بملک ثبت رسیده و طرف دیگر تا چین سر کشیده و طرف ثالث به بنگاه متصل گشته“ *

[تاریخ فرشته جلد دوم صفحه ۴۱۹ - ۴۲۰]

”راجه کوچ کا عہد شنکل سے بطیعاً بعد بطن مالک اپنی سر زمین کا ہے لیکن اس مدت میں چار بار انکی درمیان میں تغیر اور تبدیل واقع ہوا اور یہ گروہ جو اب مسند حکومت پر تمکن رکھتا ہے قوم براہمہ کوهی سے ہے اور مردمان هند کے نزدیک چندان اعتبار نہیں رکھتے خلاصہ یہ کہ ایکطرف ولایت انکے ساتھ ملک ثبت کے اتصال رکھتی ہے اور دوسروی سمت چین تک پہنچی ہیں اور تیسروی طرف بنگله سے متصل ہوئی“ *

[تاریخ فرشته ادو صفحه ۵۷۵]

IX

Chapter VII, Page 99. Footnote 13

”پیشتر ازین بصد سال در پرستش گاہ جلپس (کہ او را بمهادیو نسبت دهند) پارسا زنی به نیایشگری بر نشست و خواهش فرزند فرمائی - فرمای

دریپیش گرفت و بایزدی نیرو آبستن شد و پسر بزاد بشذنا نام نهادند و راجگی آن دیار یافت ”*

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

”اکبر بادشاہ کے عہد سے ۱۱۵ برس پہلے اُسکا پردادا بیسا مہادیو جی کے برداں سے پیدا ہو کر اس ملک کا مالک ہوا تھا“ *

[اکبر نامہ اردو جلوس ۱۴۳]
X

Chapter VII, Page 99. Footnote 14

”زمینداران هند راجہائی این ولایت را عزت بسیار کنند و از خلاف راجہائی اسلاف معتبرکہ قبل از ظہور اسلام بودہ اند دانند“ *

[تاریخ اثام مقدمہ صفحہ ۱۳]
XI

Chapter IX, Page 147. Footnote 36

”چون راجہ کوچ را کہ برخود بادشاہست صد سالہ مسلط می سازد“ *

[بھارتستان غیری صفحہ ۱۴۵ - ب]
XII

Chapter IX, Page 166. Footnote 61

”نبیرہ او مال گشائین فراوان اگھی داشت و ستودہ خوبیا پیرایہ خال و لختی معنوی حسی (حسن) بر سرگی بار خدیو شناسائی اندوخت و در شاہنشاہی ستایش کتابے برساخت و انرا باگرین کالا روانہ قدسی درگاہ گردانید ہموارہ بہ نیا شگری سعادت می اندوخت“ *

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

بیسا کا پوتا مال گوشایدُن بڑا پنڈت تھا اُس نے ایک کتاب بادشاہ کی تعریف میں تصنیف کر کے بیبیجی تھی *

[اکبر نامہ اردو جلوس ۱۴۳]

” در پنجاه سالگی جانشی ببرادر زاده خود پات کنور نامزد گردانید
بزرگ برادر او شکل گسانین خواهش کددانی نمود از فرzon دوستی پذیرفت
او را پسر شد و لچهمی نرائی نام کرد چون روزگار او بسر امد راجگی بدو باز گردید
و پات کنور سر بشوزش سرداشت ”*

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

XIV

” و از سوانح فرمان پذیری لچهمی نرائی او مربیان کوچ است ”*

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

XV

” و پس از چندی همشیره خود را برآجه داد ”*

[اکبر نامہ صفحہ ۷۱۶]

” لچهمی نرائی فی کچھہ دنوں کے بعد اپنی بہن کی شادی راجه کے
ساتھ گردی ”*

[اکبر نامہ اردو جلوس ۳۳]

XVI

” چون راجه رگمات با راجه لچهمی فرائیں بعد از روانه شدن بمقام مقصود
رسید و راجه را بشف ملاقات خان بھرہور ساخت روز اول خان بملایمات تمام
گذرانید و روز دوم در مجلس حضور نوعیکے موسی خان ولد عیسی خان
زمیندار را با زمیداران دیگر بروش اسلام خان کثر دوستاخ هستیوی یعنی نظر بند
حواله مخصوصان معنیر نگاه می داشت ”*

[بہارستان غیبی صفحہ ۱۵۲ - ب]

”۱۴ جلوس صفر ۱۹۵۷ء“

لچھمی نرائیں راجہ ملک کوچ کا کہ نواح ملک بنگالہ کے واقع ہے
آستانہ بوسی سے مشرف ہوا پانسو مہرین نذر کیں اور عنایت خلعت اور
خنجر مرصع سے سرفراز ہوا *

”۱۳ جلوس ربیع الاول“

راجہ لچھمی نرائیں کو بھی چار انگوٹھیاں لعل اور عین الہڑہ اور زمزد اور
نیلم کی دین *

”اور راجہ لچھمی نرائیں کو شمشیر حاصل اور تسبیح مرصع اور چار سوتی
واسطے کان کے حلقة کے عنایت کئے *“

پہلے راجہ لچھمی نرائیں کو عراقی گھوڑا دیا تھا اس تاریخ میں ہاتھی
و ترکی گھوڑا بھی مرحمت کوکے بنگالے کے طرف رخصت کیا“ *

[توزک جہانگیری اردو صفحہ ۱۶۰-۱۶۲-۱۶۶]

”و پسر راجہ از پدر گردیختہ بملازمت نواب مستغنى القاب مستعد گشت
و طوع و رغبت شرف اسلام دریافت راجہ این پسر را صاحب داعیہ دانسته
همیشه در قید داشت بعد از دیدن پسر یقین شد کہ آنچہ پدر گمان بردا بود
نچنانست و مقدار بینش راجہ نیز ازین معنی مستنبط گشت“ *

[تاریخ اثام مقدمہ صفحہ ۱۳]

”و این پیغم نرائیں راجہ بود عالی منش عشرت پیشہ و صاحب تصرف
معاشرت اندیشہ لب از الب پیالہ بر تکریتی و دست از گردن صراحی

بر نداشتی در کاخ دماغش صدای جز مغینات دلربانه پچیدی و در آغوش
خیالش غیر از تمدنی محبت سرو قدان رعنای نگنجدی از هوای ملک عیش
پروای ملک نداشت و از هوس عشوت بکار حکومت نمی پرداخت :

* شعر *

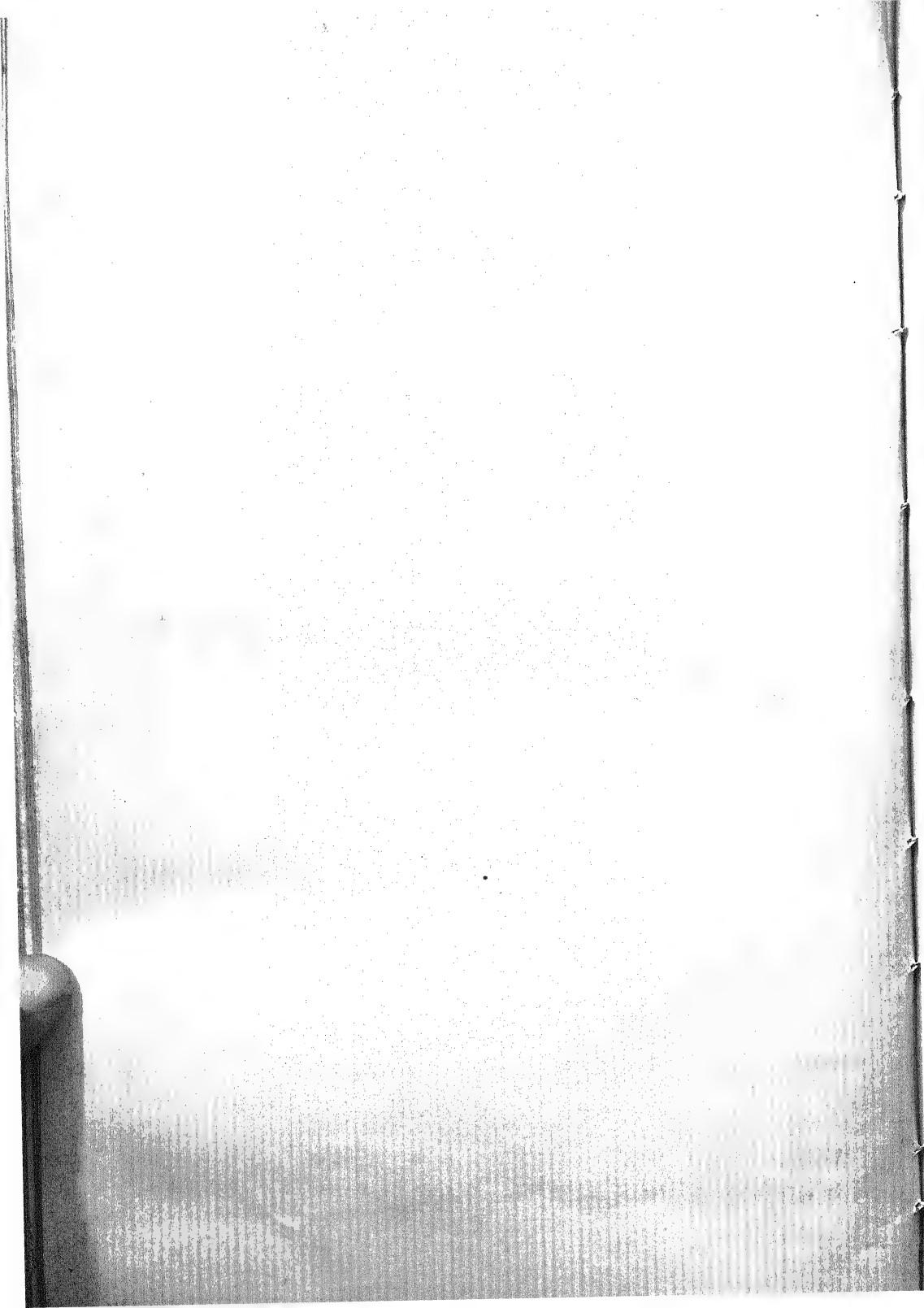
بسا ملکی که مستی داد از دست گریزد دولت هشیار از مست
[تاریخ اثام مقدمه صفحه ۱۴]

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”عمارت پادشاهانه دلنشیں و بقویّه مشتمل بر عام و خاص و غسل خانه
و درس و خلوت و حرم و خواصپوره و حمام و فوارها و ایشارها و باغیچه در
کمال حضرت و نصرت ساخته و شهر نیز بطرح آباد شده کوچها همه بقویّه
و خیابان وار و طرفین خیابان درختان موزون مستوی ناگیسر و کچنار“ *

[تاریخ اثام مقدمه صفحه ۱۳]



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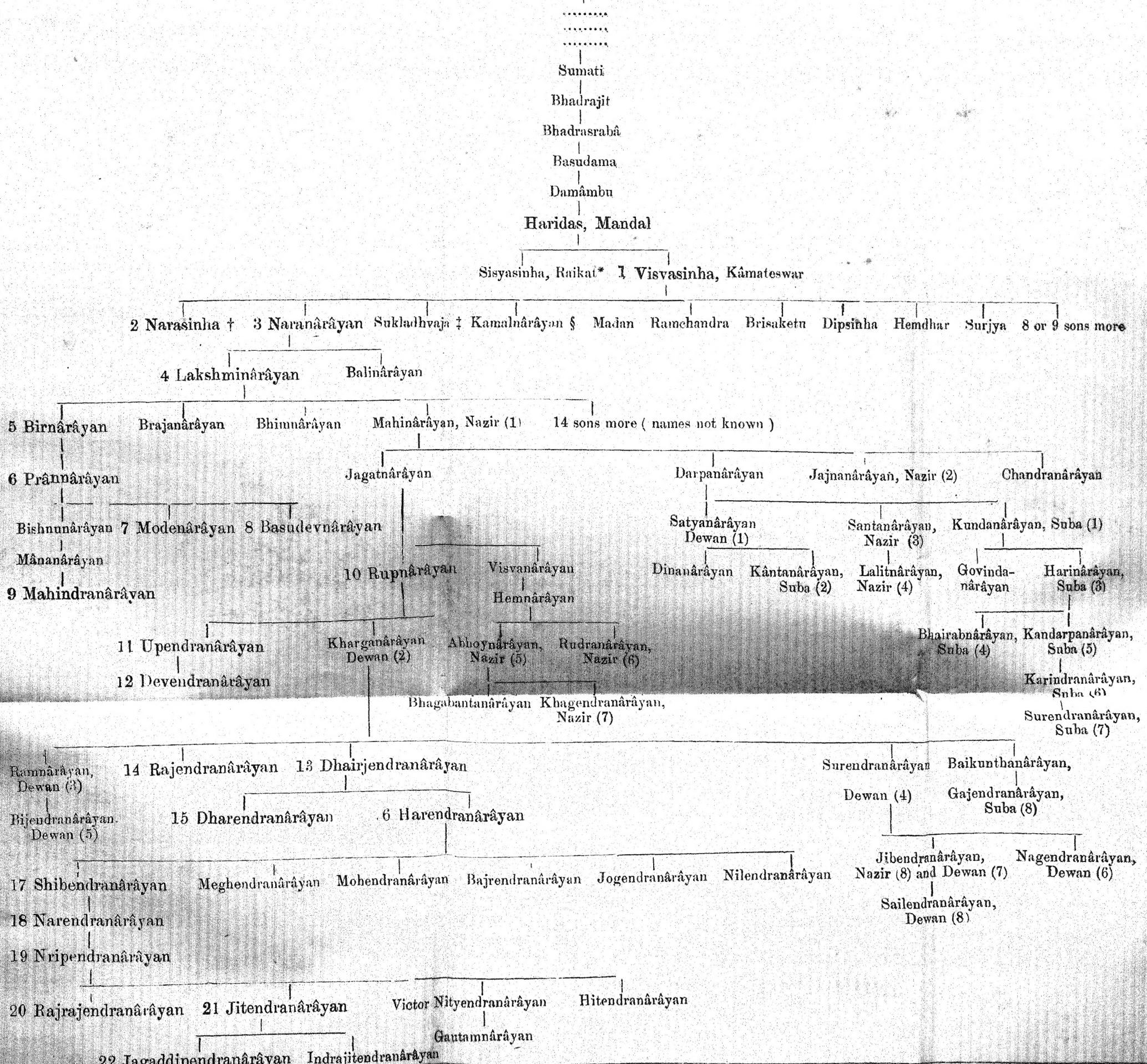
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE

(The names of the rulers have been printed in comparatively larger types)

A certain Kshatriya of the Haihaya Dynasty.



* Originator of the Raikat family of the Jalpaiguri District
§ Originator of the Raj family of Kachhar in Assam.

[†] Originator of the Raj family of Panga in the District of Rungpur.

¹ Originator of the Raj families of Bijui, Durrung and Beltala in Assam.